

A N
Universal History,

FROM THE
Earliest Accounts to the Present Time.

Compiled from
ORIGINAL AUTHORS.

Illustrated with
CHARTS, MAPS, NOTES, &c.
AND
A GENERAL INDEX to the Whole.

Ιστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέσχεσθαι μὴ κατὰ νόμιμον ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ ἐυρήσεις ἀκόπως
ἅπτερ ἕτεροι συνήξαν ἐγκρίτως. Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.

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MDCCLXXX.

C O N T E N T S

OF THE

FOURTEENTH VOLUME.

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posed him under the conduct of Demosthenes, a man of great resolution and intrepidity, who, after the city was taken, opened himself a way, sword in hand, through the midst of the enemy, and made his escape ^g.

*Balista
cuts many
of them in
pieces.*

*Odenatus of
Palmyra.*

In the mean time the Roman troops, who had dispersed upon the captivity of Valerian, rallying, chose for their leader Callistus, or rather Balista, who had been captain of the guards to Valerian, and was a man of great address, intrepidity, and experience. He immediately transported his forces in boats into Cilicia, and obliged the Persians to raise the siege of Pompeiopolis, a maritime city of that province, when it was upon the point of surrendering. From Cilicia he flew with great celerity into Lycaonia, and made a dreadful havock of the Persians, whom he found busied in plundering the open places, and entirely off their guard. He retook all their booty and captives, made a great many prisoners, and, among the rest, the wives of Sapor. From Lycaonia he retired with his plunder, before the Persians could collect their dispersed forces; and, embarking his army in the vessels and boats he had assembled, landed some of his men at Sebaste, and others at Corycus, two cities on the coast of Cilicia, and in both places surprised and cut in pieces above three thousand Persians ^h. Balista was well seconded in his attempts by Odenatus, whose name is famous in the history of these times, for the many victories he gained over the Persians, and his saving the Roman empire in the East. All authors agree, that he was a native of Palmyra, a city of Phœnicia, about one day's journey from the Euphrates; but some writers call him a citizen and decurio, while others style him prince of that place. Procopius gives him the title of prince of the Saracens, who dwelt in the neighbourhood of the Euphrates, and were allies of the Romans ⁱ. As Palmyra was at this time a Roman colony, Odenatus was prince, not of that city, but probably of the Saracens, who dwelt in that neighbourhood. As he had been accustomed, from his infancy, to the manly exercise of hunting, he bore with great cheerfulness and alacrity the toils of a military life. Of his wife Zenobia we shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

Odenatus was scarce known till the captivity of Valerian, when, dreading the power of the Persian monarch, as he lived in amity with the Romans, he wrote a most respectful and submissive letter, protesting that he had never borne arms against the Persians; and at the same time sent several

^g Zonar. p. 234.
cop. p. 97.

^h Zonar. p. 382. Syncell. p. 235.

ⁱ Pro-

camels loaded with rich presents: but Sapor, provoked at the arrogance of such an insignificant person, as he expressed himself, in presuming to write to him, tore his letter, ordered his presents to be thrown into the river, told his ambassadors, he would teach their master the respect a man of his mean condition owed to his lord and sovereign; that he would exterminate him, his whole family and country; adding, that if he came and threw himself prostrate at his feet, with his hands tied behind his back, he might perhaps, by that submission, atone in some degree for his temerity and presumption. Odenatus resenting, as became a man of spirit, this vile treatment, swore he would pursue the Persians with fire and sword, and either humble the pride of their mighty monarch, or perish in the attempt^k. With this view, he immediately declared for the Romans; and, joining Balista with all his forces, bore a great, if not the chief share, in the above mentioned exploits; for to him Trebellius Pollio ascribes the taking of Sapor's wives^l. The Persian, greatly affected by that loss, and apprehending it might be attended with others still greater (for Odenatus and Balista closely pursued him), resolved to retire; and accordingly directed his march towards the Euphrates: but as he advanced through the province of Euphratesiana, at a small distance from Palmyra, Odenatus, falling upon his rear, made a dreadful havock, and obliged it to repass the Euphrates with great confusion. Many perished in the river; and Sapor was glad to compound with the Roman garrison in Edeffa, which city he had never been able to reduce, for the liberty of returning into his own country, by yielding all the Syrian money he had amassed in the plunder of so many cities^m.

How treated by Sapor.

He sides with the Romans,

and gains great advantages over the Persians.

After these victories, Odenatus assumed the title of king of Palmyra. Gallienus, to reward his eminent services, appointed him commander in chief of all the Roman forces in the East; which trust he discharged with great fidelity, and was attended with greater success than any of the Roman generals. In the following year, when Gallienus was consul the fourth time with Petronius Volusianus, Odenatus, not satisfied with having driven Sapor out of the Roman dominions, entered Mesopotamia, and recovered the cities of Nisibis and Charræ. From thence he advanced into the very heart of the Persian dominions, extremely desirous of crowning his glorious successes with the deliverance of Valerian. Sapor met him at the head of a power-

Odenatus assumes the title of king of Palmyra.

^k Petr. Patr. in Excerpt. de Legat. p. 29.
cap. 14. p. 192.

^l Trig. Tyr. in Excerpt. de Legat. p. 25.

*Defeats
Sapor, and
besieges
Ctesiphon.*

ful army; when an engagement ensuing, the Persians were defeated, and Sapor, with his children, obliged to shelter themselves within the walls of Ctesiphon, the metropolis of the Persian dominions. Thither Odenatus pursued them, and laid close siege to the place, after having desolated the neighbouring country with fire and sword to a great distance. The Persian lords, alarmed at the danger that threatened their prince and nation, armed all their vassals, and flew from the most distant parts of the kingdom to Ctesiphon. Many battles were fought under the walls of that metropolis, which served only to increase the number of Odenatus's victories; many Persians of great distinction were taken prisoners, and sent by the emperor to Gallienus: Sapor on one side, and the brave Odenatus on the other, exerted their utmost efforts, the latter to deliver Valerian, and the former to avoid the like misfortune, which now threatened himⁿ. But here Trebellius Pollio, after having raised our expectation, drops at once both Odenatus and the siege of Ctesiphon; and giving himself no farther trouble about either, leaves us entirely in the dark, as to the issue of so glorious and important an undertaking. The reader may thence judge of his abilities as an historian. All we certainly know is, that Sapor was not taken, nor Valerian rescued from his cruel bondage. Some writers seem to insinuate, that the revolt of Macrianus, which, according to most historians, happened this year, obliged Odenatus to raise the siege of Ctesiphon.

*The rise of
Macria-
nus.*

Macrianus was of a mean descent; but had, by his courage and experience, raised himself from the low station of a common soldier to the highest posts in the army. He was exceeding rich, and had married a lady of great distinction, by whom he had two sons, Macrianus and Quietus, who had been elevated to the rank of tribunes by Valerian, and were esteemed two of the best officers of the whole army^o. The father is styled, by Dionysius of Alexandria, the chief of the Egyptian magicians^p; whence we conclude him to have been an Egyptian, and greatly addicted to the study of magic. Macrianus was an implacable enemy to the Christians, and inspired Valerian with an irreconcilable hatred to them; which occasioned the eighth persecution, as we have already mentioned. About a year after the captivity of the unhappy emperor, he revolted from his son; and, having gained over Balista, was by his means acknowledged emperor by most of the troops, who had served

*Yr. of Fl.
260.
A. D. 261.
U. C. 1009.*

ⁿ Vit. Gall. p. 179. Zos. p. 651.
^p Euseb. lib. vii. cap. 10.

^o Trig. Tyran. cap. 13.

under Valerian, but despised Gallienus. He immediately took his two sons for his partners in the empire, and appointed Balista his captain of the guards (A). *He is proclaimed emperor.*

Macrinus no sooner beheld himself invested with the sovereignty, than he marched with all the forces he could assemble into the East, says Pollio, that is, as we conjecture, from Egypt into Syria. He engaged and defeated the Persians several times; but regarded P. Valerius Valens as a far more formidable enemy. Valens had been sent by Gallienus into Achaia, or Greece, with the title of proconsul; but hearing that Macrianus had been proclaimed emperor, he assumed the same title. Macrianus immediately detached Piso, with a competent force, to suppress this new usurper. But Piso, finding him upon his guard, retired into Thessaly, and assumed the title of emperor, with the surname of Thessalicus, as appears from his medals¹. But he did not long enjoy that empty and dangerous title, being soon after murdered by some soldiers employed by Valens *Valens proclaimed emperor in Achaia, and Piso in Thessaly; but they are both killed.*

¹ Birag. p. 388.

(A) Trebellius Pollio does not inform us in what country Macrianus was created emperor, nor where, or how long, he reigned; and as to the other historians, Zonaras is the only one among them that takes any notice at all of him. That writer relates, that the inhabitants of Asia received him with extraordinary marks of joy (1). Dionysius of Alexandria gives us room to think, that he was acknowledged in Egypt; and that his and his son's reign ended before the ninth year of Gallienus (2). During his usurpation happened, in all likelihood, at Alexandria, the disturbances described by that writer, who was bishop of the place. Fury and discord, says he, raged to such a degree, that it was more easy to pass from the East to the remotest provinces of the West, than from one place of Alexandria to another: the in-

habitants had no intercourse but by letters, which, with great difficulty, were conveyed from one friend to another: it was more dangerous to cross the street than the most tempestuous seas, the most dry and inhospitable deserts: the port resembled the shore of the Red Sea strewn with the carcases of the drowned Egyptians; the sea was dyed with blood, and the Nile choaked up with dead bodies. The war was attended with a general famine, and the famine by a dreadful plague, which daily swept off great numbers of people, insomuch that there were then in Alexandria fewer inhabitants from the age of fourteen to that of eighty, than there used to be from forty to seventy. Of such persons a register, it seems, was kept; and a certain quantity of corn distributed among them.

(1) Zonar. p. 236.

(2) Euseb. lib. vii. cap. 23.

The character of Piso.

for that purpose. Valens himself was slain a few days after by his own troops; and his death, as well as that of his rival, was known at Rome before the twenty-fifth of June^r. Piso, who was descended from one of the most ancient and illustrious families of Rome, was universally lamented on account of the merits of his ancestors, as well as his own. He had been highly esteemed by the emperors, and even by Valens himself, who, upon hearing the news of his death, "What account (said he), shall I give to the gods, the infernal judges, of the death of Piso? The Roman empire has not a person equal to Piso." Upon the news of his death, it was moved in the senate, that divine honours might be decreed him, as to a lawful prince; and some writers assert, that he was actually ranked among the gods with this remarkable eulogium, that there never was a better man, nor a man of more firmness and constancy. However that be, he was decreed a statue, with a triumphal chariot^s.

Aureolus made emperor in Illyricum.

About the time that Macrianus usurped the empire in the East, Manius Acilius Aureolus was compelled by the army, which he commanded in Illyricum, to take upon him the sovereignty; for the soldiers of every province abhorred Gallienus, and would only obey emperors elected by themselves. Aureolus marched from Illyricum into Italy, and made himself master of Milan. Gallienus, after various unsuccessful attempts to suppress him by force, was at length obliged to come to an accommodation, and accept of his assistance against Posthumius, as we shall relate hereafter. He was, according to Zonaras, a native of Dacia, of a mean descent, and in his youth a shepherd; but lifting himself afterwards in the army, he was soon raised from the rank of a common soldier to the command of a body of horse. He distinguished himself in a very eminent manner under Gallienus, in the battle against Ingenuus; for some authors ascribe the whole glory of that victory to him^t. This year, 261, the Scythians bursting again into Bithynia, laid waste the whole country a second time, levelled with the ground several cities, plundered Nicomedia, and returned unmolested into their own country with a valuable booty, and many captives^u. At the same time, that no part of the empire might be exempt from some signal calamity, the island of Sicily, less exposed than other countries to the ravages of the Barbarians, was miserably harassed by a band of robbers, who, roving up and down, committed dreadful

Bithynia plundered by the Scythians.

^r Trig. Tyrann. p. 194, 195.
^t Zonar. p. 235.

^s Trig. Tyr. Vit. cap. 20.

^u Gall. Vit. p. 177.

devastations, and kindled a kind of servile war, which was not suppressed without much difficulty and bloodshed.

Gallienus being consul the fifth time with Faustianus, the empire was in many places afflicted by other calamities besides the wars and commotions we have related. The sun was overcast with thick clouds, and a great darkness continued for several days together, attended with a violent earthquake and dreadful claps of thunder, not in the air but in the bowels of the earth, which opened in many places, and swallowed up great numbers of people, with their habitations. The sea, overflowing its boundaries, broke in upon the continent, and drowned whole cities. The plague raged with great violence in Greece, Egypt, and especially at Rome, where it swept off, for some time, five thousand persons a day. The books of the Sibyls were consulted, public processions ordained, and sacrifices offered to Jupiter the author of health; but all to no purpose; and to their other calamities were added the incursions of the Goths into Greece, and of the Scythians into Asia. The former, having made themselves masters of Thrace, pillaged all Macedon, and laid siege to Thessalonica, the capital of that province, a siege which threw all Greece into the utmost consternation: troops were dispatched to guard the streights of Thermopylæ, so famous in history; the Athenians rebuilt their walls, which had lain in ruins ever since the time of Sylla; the inhabitants of Peloponnesus shut up the isthmus from sea to sea; new levies were made, and the troops quartered in that province drawn together: in the meantime Macrianus, arriving in Greece on his march into Italy, attacked the Barbarians while they were attempting to enter Achaia, defeated them, and obliged them to retire into their own country, whither they carried, however, great part of their booty*. At the same time the Scythians crossing the Hellespont, under the conduct of Rapsa, committed dreadful ravages in Asia, burnt several cities, and plundered the celebrated temple of Diana at Ephesus, so much respected by the pagans, and so famous for its rich ornaments, and immense wealth*. In this irruption they ruined the city of Chalcedon; destroyed the poor remains of ancient Troy, and the famous Ilium; then repassing the Hellespont, they laid waste all Thrace, and retired to their own country with an immense booty.

Macrianus, having settled the affairs of Syria, left his younger son Quietus, with Balista, to guard that province against the Persians; and set out for Italy, with his eldest

The empire afflicted with a plague, famine, earthquakes, &c.

New irruptions of the Scythians,

who plunder the temple of Diana at Ephesus.

* Gall. Vit. p. 177, 178.

* Jornand. Rer. Goth. cap. 20.

Macrianus and his eldest son defeated and killed by Aureolus.

Balista assumes the title of emperor,

Yr. of Fl.
2610.
A. D. 262.
U. C. 1070.

*and like
our Æmilianus.*

Gallienus makes war upon Posthumus in Gaul.

son Macrianus, at the head of forty-five thousand men, to try his fortune against Aureolus in Illyricum, and Gallienus at Rome. He was opposed by the forces of the former, either in Illyricum, or on the borders of Thrace; a battle ensued, in which Macrianus and his son being killed, their whole army submitted to Aureolus, and were incorporated with his troops^y. The news of their defeat and death were no sooner heard in the East than most cities revolted from Quietus, who shut himself up with Balista in Emesa, whither Aureolus, to complete his victory, sent ruffians to dispatch him. But before their arrival, Odenatus had invested the place; a circumstance which so terrified the inhabitants and the garriſon, that they killed Quietus, threw his head over the walls, and then submitted. Macrianus and his children being thus cut off, Gallienus was acknowledged in Egypt and Syria; for Odenatus, though master of almost all the Eastern provinces, acted, or at least pretended to act, in his name. He had no sooner withdrawn his troops from Emesa, than Balista, whom he had spared on account of his advising the inhabitants to murder Quietus, assumed the title of emperor, and put such numbers of the citizens to the sword, for refusing to acknowledge him, that the unhappy city was almost depopulated.

About the same time Æmilianus, styled on the ancient medals Tiberius Cestius Alexander Æmilianus^z, commander of the legions in Egypt assumed the title of emperor, hoping, by thus openly revolting from Gallienus, who was no less abhorred in Egypt than in the other provinces, to appease the populace of Alexandria, who had risen upon a very trifling occasion, and invested the house where Æmilianus resided, threatening him with present death. He no sooner proclaimed himself emperor, in opposition to Gallienus, than the rage of the incensed multitude abated, and the whole city of Alexandria, with loud acclamations, acknowledged him for their sovereign. He immediately seized all the corn in the public granaries, and by that measure occasioned a famine in several provinces. He visited in person the most distant parts of Egypt, redressed many grievances, repulsed with great vigour the neighbouring Barbarians, and was preparing for an expedition into India, when the troops detached against him by Gallienus arrived in Egypt^a, as we shall relate hereafter. This year Gallienus, agreeing with Aureolis, marched into Gaul with him and Claudius, who succeeded him in the empire, to

^y Zonar. p. 236. Trig. Tyran. cap. 10. Gall. Vit. p. 176.
^z Goltz. p. 115. ^a Trig. Tyr. cap. 21.

depose Posthumius, who had reigned three years undisturbed. As Posthumius was greatly beloved, and vigorously supported by the Gauls, the war lasted some years. Gallienus was defeated in the first general engagement of this year, and Posthumius in the second, after having lost the flower of his troops. But Aureolus, who was ordered to pursue, having suffered him to escape, when he might have easily taken him, he levied new forces, and renewed the war with fresh vigour^b.

Gallienus, however, quitting Gaul, returned to Rome, and from thence hastened into the East, where he wreaked his rage on the city of Byzantium; but upon what provocation Trebellius Pollio, who describes the miserable condition to which that place was reduced, has not thought proper to explain. All we know is, that Gallienus, as soon as he appeared before it, despaired of ever being able to reduce it; but being nevertheless admitted, the day after his arrival, within the gates, upon terms, without any regard to the agreement, he caused the garrison and all the inhabitants to be butchered. Not one person, says Trebellius Pollio, was left alive in the place. From Byzantium Gallienus returned to Rome, where he celebrated the tenth year of his reign with extraordinary pomp, and a kind of triumph, in which were dragged in chains mock-captives, dressed like Goths, Sarmatians, Franks, and Persians. During this spectacle, some persons of humour, mixing with those who personated the Persians, viewed with great attention their faces, examined their dress, and seemed to betray great surprize. Being at last asked what they wanted, "We are looking (said they), for the emperor's father;" which so incensed Gallienus, that he commanded them immediately to be burnt alive.

This year a new tyrant started up, named P. Sempronius Saturninus. He was a man of great abilities, and renowned for his victories over the Barbarians. History does not inform us where, or how long, he reigned; but only tells us, that he performed great things while he was emperor, and was, on account of his severity, cut off by the same soldiers who had raised him to the empire. When he was first proclaimed emperor by the troops under his command, he told them, that they had lost a good captain, and made a bad prince^c. Towards the end of the year, Theodotus, a native of Egypt, dispatched by Gallienus against Æmilianus, who reigned in that country, defeated him in

The Byzantines slaughtered by Gallienus.

Yr. of Fl.
261.
A. D. 263.
U. C. 1011.

Saturninus assumes the title of emperor, and is murdered by his soldiers.

^b Gall. Vit. p. 178. Zon. p. 236.
cap. 22. p. 196.

^c Trig. Tyrann. Vit.

*Æmilianus
defeated,
taken, and
strangled.*

a pitched battle, took him prisoner, and sent him to Rome, where he was, by the emperor's order, strangled in prison, according to the ancient custom of putting captive princes to death. The emperor, to reward Theodotus, designed to make Egypt a proconsular province, and honour him with the government of that province; but was diverted from it by the priests alleging a prediction, which had prevailed even in Cicero's time, importing, that Egypt would recover its ancient liberty, when the fasces appeared there; the fasces being carried, as is well known, before the proconsuls. At this time happened, as we conjecture, the siege of Bruchium, described by Eusebius; Æmilianus himself, or his partisans, having probably taken shelter in that city after the battle (B). This year the Scythians made another irruption into Asia; but were with great slaughter driven back into their own country by the Roman forces quartered in that province ^d.

*Bruchium
besieged
and taken.*

The next consuls were Gallienus, the sixth time, and Saturninus. This year Gallienus, by the advice of his brother Valerian, and his kinsman Lucillus, to reward the brave Odenatus for the many victories he had gained over the Persians, took him for his partner in the empire, honoured him with the titles of Cæsar, Augustus, and emperor, and all the ensigns of sovereignty, and caused money to be coined with his name, on which he was represented leading the Persians captive. The title of Augusta was given to his wife, and that of Cæsar to his children ^e. This action of Gallienus was highly applauded by the senate, by the people of Rome, and the whole empire; for to his valour was entirely owing the preservation of the Eastern provinces, over-run and miserably harassed by the Persians. Balista, who had seized some provinces in the East on the death of Macrianus and his children, was at last killed, ac-

*Eulista
murdered.*

^d Gall. Vit. p. 278.

^e Ibid. p. 179. Goltz, p. 115.

(B) Bruchium, or as Eusebius styles it, Pyrruchium, was a quarter of the city of Alexandria near the sea, on the side of the Pharos, and was considered as the citadel of that metropolis. There stood the royal palace, the place where the Egyptian senate or council met, the public granaries, the museum, and the celebrated library of the

Egyptian kings, containing once seven hundred thousand volumes, of which four hundred thousand were burnt in Julius Cæsar's time. The Roman army, under the command of Theodotus, having taken the rest of the city, laid siege to this quarter, and reduced it by famine (1).

(1) Euseb. lib. vii. cap. 31. p. 285.

according to the most probable opinion, by a soldier sent by Odenatus for that purpose ^f. Gallienus, in the spring of this year, left Rome, and marched a second time in person against Posthumius, who still reigned in Gaul. At his approach, Posthumius withdrew into a strong place, which the emperor immediately invested; but soon after raised the siege, having received a wound in the back with an arrow, while he was viewing the walls. However, Posthumius still maintained himself in possession of great part of that country; and this year, being hard pressed by Gallienus, he chose for his colleague M. Aurelius Piauvonius Victorinus, as he is styled on the ancient coins, of whom we read the following character in Julius Aterianus, a writer of those times: "No one (in our opinion), ought to be preferred to Victorinus, who reigned some time in Gaul: he equalled Trajan in bravery, Antoninus in clemency, Nerva in gravity, Vespasian in managing the public money, and Pertinax and Severus in his care of the military discipline: but his unbridled lust obscured all his good qualities, and cast such a blemish upon his reputation, that no one dares to record the virtues of a man, whom all own to have deserved the fate which in the end overtook him." Of this event we shall speak in its proper place.

Posthumius takes Victorinus for his partner.

Next year Valerian, the emperor's brother, and Lucillus, his kinsman, being consuls, the Isaurians revolting in Asia Minor, chose C. Annius Trebellianus for their leader, who took upon him the title of Augustus, caused money to be coined with his name, and reigned some time in Isauria and Cilicia; but was in the end drawn by Causiroleus, the brother of Theodotus, from among the rocks and mountains, where he had taken refuge, into a plain, and defeated and killed. The Isaurians ranked him after his death among the gods; and refusing to submit to Gallienus, whose cruelty they dreaded, maintained themselves a free people in the very heart of the Roman empire, at least till the time of the emperor Constantine. While Gaul, Pontus, Thrace, and Illyricum, were held either by a domestic or foreign enemy, Africa too had its tyrant; namely, T. Cornelius Celsus, raised by Vibius Pausanias, proconsul of Africa, and Fabius Pomponianus, who commanded on the frontiers of Libya. He was but a tribune, and led at that time a retired life in the country. Galliena, a lady nearly related to the emperor, bore a great share in this revolt. Celsus was a man of great integrity, and worthy of the rank to

The Isaurians revolt.

Celsus made emperor in Africa, and soon after murdered.

^f Trig. Tyrann. Vitel. cap. 17. p. 193.

which he was elevated; but he held it a short time, being killed the seventh day after his election. The inhabitants of Sicca, who had continued faithful to Gallienus, threw his body to the dogs, and crucified him in effigy^h. Among the other misfortunes of this unhappy reign, we may number the loss of all the conquests of Trajan, that is, of the whole province of Dacia, seized by the Goths, and other northern nations; and the dreadful ravages committed by the Franks in Spain.

Gallienus being consul the seventh time, with Sabinillus, the brave Odenatus, entering the Persian territories, ravaged them with fire and sword, overcame Sapor in several battles, besieged a second time, and, according to Syncellus, made himself master of Ctesiphon. But in the mean time the Goths, entering Asia by the Euxine sea, over-ran Lydia, Bithynia, Phrygia, Troas, Cappadocia, and Galatia, laying waste the country, plundering the towns, and carrying off an immense booty, with an incredible number of captivesⁱ. Next year Odenatus leaving Ctesiphon, flew to the relief of Asia; but the Goths not daring to wait his arrival, reembarked at Heraclea in Pontus, and returned home, loaded with booty. Many of them, however, were drowned, being overtaken in the Euxine sea by the Roman fleet. All authors agree, that Odenatus was killed about this time; but differ both as to the place and manner of his death (C). He left behind him three sons by Zenobia, Herennianus, Timolaus, and Vabalath, or as he styled on some medals, Hermias Vhaballat^k. As they were very young at the time of their father's death, Zenobia governed in their name with the title of Queen of the East. She

Yr. of Fl.
2614.
A. D. 266.
U. C. 1014.

He is murdered.

^h Trig. Tyrann. cap. 28. p. 198.
^k Birag. p. 386.

ⁱ Gall. Vit. p. 179.

(C) According to Syncellus, he was killed at Heraclea (1); according to Zosimus, at Emesa (2). Trebellius Pollio writes, that he was murdered by one Mæonius, his cousin, who was proclaimed emperor, but soon after put to death. Syncellus ascribes his death to another Odenatus, who was himself murdered by the guards (3).

Some writers suppose Zenobia herself to have privately encouraged the conspirators, being provoked against her husband for preferring his eldest son Herod, by a former wife, to the children he had by her (4). It is certain that Herod was killed with his father, who, according to some writers, had shared his dominions with him.

(1) Syncell. p. 382.
16.

p. 192.

(3) Syncell. p. 382.

(2) Zof. p. 651. Trig. Tyr. cap. 14.

(4) Trig. Tyrann. cap. 16.

arrayed them with purple robes, and other ensigns of the imperial dignity; and in that attire presented them, after the death of their father, to the armies, and the assemblies of the people¹. It is uncertain whether or not they were murdered by Aurelian. From their medals it appears, that Herennianus reigned at least two years, Timolaus three, and Vhaballat seven. Zenobia did not tread in the footsteps of her husband, and keep up a good understanding with Gallienus; for we find that Heraclianus, whom the emperor, upon the news of the death of Odenatus, had sent into the East to make war upon the Persians, was this very year defeated by Zenobia, and obliged to retreat to Rome.

His wife Zenobia governs in the name of her children.

Towards the end of the year L. Ælianus assumed the title of emperor at Mentz; but was soon deposed by Posthumius, who reduced the rebellious city, but would not give it up to be plundered by his soldiers; who for this reason mutinied, and, transported with rage, murdered their brave leader, with young Posthumius, his son. Trebellius Pollio ascribes his death to Lollianus, who had revolted, and caused himself to be proclaimed emperor. Lollianus, styled on the ancient coins Spurius Servilius Lollianus^m, was meanly born; but had raised himself in the army by his gallant conduct. He reigned in that part of Gaul which bordered on the Rhine, while Victorinus, whom Posthumius had taken for his partner, held the rest. But he did not long enjoy the sovereignty, being murdered by his own soldiers, instigated by Victorinus, who, upon his death, became sole master of all Gaul; but was soon after mortally wounded at Cologne, by a person whose wife he had debauched. Before he died, he named his son L. Aurelius Victorinus his successor, though then an infant. But the Gauls, despising the government of a child, murdered him, and elected in his room, M. Aurelius Marius, originally an armourer, a man of great valour, and extraordinary strength. He was killed the third day of his reign by a soldier, who had formerly worked under him. The assassin ran him through with his sword, telling him, that it was of his own makingⁿ. Upon his death, the troops in Gaul proclaimed P. Pivesus or Pesusius Tetricus emperor. He was a Roman senator, had been consul, and was at this time governor of Aquitaine. He was acknowledged in Spain and Britain, as well as in Gaul, and held those provinces with the title of emperor till the fourth year of Aurelian's

Posthumius murdered in Gaul, and Lollianus declared emperor.

Victorinus and his son murdered.

Marius declared emperor, and murdered; and Tetricus raised to the empire in his room.

¹ Trig. Tyran. cap. 26. p. 192. ^m Goltz, p. 117. ⁿ Trig. Tyran. cap. 7. p. 187.

reign,

reign, when he was taken and led in triumph by that prince, as we shall relate hereafter. He immediately conferred the title of Cæsar upon his son C. Pacuvius Pivesus Tetricus, who was then but an infant. All these usurpers in Gaul, namely Posthumius, Lollianus, Victorinus, Marius, and Tetricus, were supported by Victorina, or Victoria, the mother of Victorinus, who had a great interest in Gaul, and bore an irreconcilable hatred to Gallienus. She was honoured, probably by her son Victorinus, with the titles of Augusta, and the Mother of the Armies. As she was a woman of masculine courage, and possessed of immense wealth, which she liberally distributed among the soldiers, she gave the empire of Gaul to whom she pleased, and bore under all the usurpers, who were but her creatures, an absolute dominion. She died during the usurpation of Tetricus; but whether a natural or a violent death, is uncertain; for some writers seem to insinuate, that she was privately dispatched by his orders *.

*The irrup-
tions of the
Goths and
the Heruli:*

In the course of the same year the Scythians, or the Goths, ravaged the provinces of Asia, Bithynia, Pontus, and Cappadocia, and thence carried off an immense booty; while the Heruli, passing from the Palus Mæotis into the Euxine sea with five hundred vessels, landed at Byzantium, and Chrysopolis, now Scutari, under the conduct of Naulobat. At the latter place they were attacked and defeated by Venerianus, who was himself killed in the engagement. Notwithstanding their defeat, instead of returning to their own country, they crossed the Bosphorus; and, steering their course towards Cyzicus, surprised and plundered that great and wealthy city, with part of Asia, and the islands of Lemnos and Scyros in the Archipelago. Then they sailed towards Greece; besieged and burnt Athens, Corinth, Sparta, and Argos, and laid waste all Achaia; but were at length attacked and defeated with great slaughter by the Athenians, under the conduct of Dexippus the historian. However, in their retreat, they committed dreadful devastations in Bœotia, Acarnania, Epirus, and Thrace †. Gallienus, who was just then returned from Gaul, where he had been making war upon Lollianus, leaving Aureolus at Milan, hastened into Illyricum; and, coming unexpectedly upon the Barbarians, gave them a total overthrow. Naulobat, their leader, was obliged to submit to the emperor's mercy, who treated him with great humanity; and, to gain the affections of the Barbarians,

*who are
defeated by
by Gallie-
nus.*

* Trig. Tyrann. cap. 30. p. 200.
p. 382. Zos. p. 651.

† Gall. Vit. p. 184. Syncell.

even honoured him either with the consulship, or the consular ornaments. Aurelius Victor, Eutropius, St. Jerom, Orosius, and Trebellius Pollio, speak of a great victory gained by Gallienus in Illyricum over the Goths, meaning, no doubt, the Heruli; for all the northern nations are, by some writers, styled Goths, by others Scythians. After this victory, Gallienus, leaving Marcianus in Illyricum, vigorously pursued the war with the Heruli; a task which he performed with no less courage than success, cutting off great numbers of them, and obliging the rest to resign their booty, and abandon the Roman dominions⁹.

The revolt of Aureolus obliged Gallienus to return to Italy; for Aureolus, not satisfied with the power which he already enjoyed, took advantage of the other's absence, to march with all the troops under his command towards Rome, with a design to depose Gallienus, and cause himself to be acknowledged sole emperor. Gallienus, hearing of his march, and suspecting his design, left Illyricum, and, reaching Italy in a few days, came up with him, defeated him in a pitched battle, and obliged him to shelter himself within the walls of Milan; which city Gallienus immediately invested¹. All authors agree, that Gallienus was killed during this siege; but differ both as to the manner and authors of his death. The most probable opinion is, that Marcianus, who had returned from Illyricum, Heraclianus, and Cecrops, a native of Mauritania, and commander of the Dalmatian cavalry, no longer able to bear his tyrannical government, conspired against him, and, alarming the camp in the dead of night, as if Aureolus were falling out with all his forces, killed him in the dark, with his son Gallienus, and his two brothers, Valerian and Egnatius. The soldiers, hearing the emperor was dead, and suspecting he had been murdered, began to mutiny; but Marcianus distributing large sums among them, the commotion was appeased, and the whole army declared Gallienus a tyrant, and took the usual oaths to Claudius, whom the conspirators proposed to the soldiers, as the best qualified man in the whole empire, to sustain the name and dignity of a Roman emperor. Such was the end of Gallienus, in the thirty-fifth year of his age, according to the most probable opinion, after he had reigned fifteen years, seven before, and eight after, the captivity of his father Valerian.

The senate declared him a public enemy, ordered most of his friends, ministers, and relations, to be thrown down

War between Aureolus and Gallienus.

Yr. of M.
2616.
A. D. 268.
U. C. 1016.

Gallienus murdered;

⁹ Claud. Vit. p. 208.

¹ Gall. Vit. p. 181.

*and most of
his ministers
and friends
condemned
by the se-
nate.*

from the Tarpeian rock, and erased his name from all public inscriptions. He was one of the most wicked princes mentioned in history, and is said to have equalled Nero in cruelty, and Heliogabalus in lewdness. He passed his whole time in the company of the most infamous prostitutes in Rome, and, laying aside all care and thought of the public, suffered the Roman dominions to be over-run by the Barbarians, and the empire to be rent in pieces by the many usurpers who started up in his time. He exerted his cruelty chiefly against the soldiers, of whom he is said to have sometimes ordered three or four thousand to be massacred in one day. He excluded all senators from military employments, and would not even suffer any of that body to appear in the camp, or among the soldiers. Notwithstanding all his vices, he was a great encourager of learning, being himself well versed in all the branches of polite literature, especially in oratory and poetry. His historian tells us, that, on the marriage of his brother's son, he made an extemporary epithalamium, which far excelled those that were written at the same time, after many days study, by the best Greek and Latin poets then in Rome¹. After his death, Claudius caused him, though universally abhorred both by the senate and people, to be deified with the usual ceremonies. His body was, in all likelihood, conveyed by Claudius's order to Rome; for Ammianus Marcellinus speaks of his tomb on the Appian Way, about nine miles from the city² (D).

*Gallienus
generally
abhorred,
but deified.*

As

¹ Gall. Vit. p. 180.

² Ammian. p. 472.

(D) Palfurius Sura wrote the history of the reign of Gallienus (1); and this is all we know of him. Cælestinus, and Mæonius Astyanax, quoted by some of the Augustine writers, are equally unknown. They all flourished under Gallienus; for they speak of the transactions of his reign as of things happening in their time (2). Vossius ranks them among the Latin historians (3). Suidas mentions one Ephorus of Cumæ,

who wrote the history of Gallienus, or rather, as others read, Gallienus, in twenty-seven books (4). Trebellius Pollio quotes a passage from Julius Aterianus, much to the credit and reputation of Victorinus, who usurped the empire in Gaul (5). The same writer quotes another passage out of Gallus Antipater, who wrote the history of Aureolus, and probably of the other tyrants. Under Gallienus flourished like-

(1) Gall. Vit. p. 183.

rann. cap. 11. p. 190.

p. 1111.

(2) Valer. Vit. p. 175.

(3) Voss. Hist. Lat. p. 182.

(5) Trigint. Tyrann. cap. 5. p. 187.

Trig. Ty-
(4) Suid.

As soon as the tumult, occasioned by the death of Gallienus, was appeased, the soldiers, with loud acclamations, proclaimed Claudius emperor. Intelligence of what had happened at Milan reaching Rome on the twenty-fourth of March, the senate immediately assembled; and the letter which Claudius wrote to them being publicly read, they unanimously confirmed the election of the army, proclaimed Claudius emperor, and heaped upon him all the honours which had ever been conferred upon any prince, repeating forty times, that they had always wished to have Claudius, or such a person as Claudius, for emperor ^u. He was a native of Illyricum, born, according to some, in Dardania, according to others in Dalmatia. Trebellius Pollio owns that he knows but very little of his father and ancestors, though, after his accession to the empire, some flattering genealogists pretended to derive his pedigree from Dardanus and the Trojans. On most medals he is styled M. Aurelius Claudius ^w. He had no children, but two brothers, Quintillus, who succeeded him, and Crispus, the father of Claudia, who married Eutropius, and had by him Constantius, the father of Constantine the Great. The name of Constantine was, it seems, peculiar to the family of Claudius; for one of his sisters was called Constantina, a name hitherto unknown in history. The present emperor is, by all writers, even by Zozimus, an avowed enemy to Constantine, extolled as one of the best princes that ever governed the empire. He was highly esteemed by the emperor Valerian, who first gave him the command of the fifth legion, and afterwards, at the request of the senate, appointed him general of all the troops in Illyricum, which comprehended Thrace, Mœsia, Dalmatia, Pannonia, and Dacia. The same emperor designed to raise him to the consulship, and the command of the prætorian guards. Gallienus stood in great awe of him; and, being informed that Claudius disapproved of his conduct, he did all that lay in his power to attach him to his interest, sent him rich presents, and wrote to Venustus, his particular friend, charging him, by all means, to gain Claudius, and remove all jealousies and suspicions from his mind. In his letter he styled Claudius his friend and kinsman. Claudius attended him in his

Claudius proclaimed emperor.

His extraction and preferments.

^u Claud. Vit. p. 203, 206.

^w Goltz. p. 117. Birag. p. 402.

wife Lupercus of Berytus, a celebrated grammarian, who composed several grammatical pieces, and was, in many things, preferred to Herodian (6).

(6) Suid. p. 58. Voss. Hist. Græc. lib. ii. cap. 16. p. 240.

was against Posthumius in Gaul, and the Heruli in Illyricum; and was ordered by him, after the revolt of Aureolus, to defend the city of Ticinum or Pavia: but in the mean time, Gallienus being killed, he was, though according to some writers, not privy to the conspiracy, proclaimed emperor *.

*Aureolus
defeated
and killed.*

His election was no sooner confirmed by the senate, than he attacked Aureolus, who was encamped at a small distance from Milan, defeated the troops under his command, and took the usurper himself prisoner. He designed to grant him his life; but the soldiers killed him without his order. After the death of Aureolus, the troops that had served under him acknowledged Claudius, who immediately led them and the rest of his army against the Germans, who had broken into Italy, and were advanced as far as the Lake Benacus, now Lago di Garda, near Verona. There the emperor defeated them in a pitched battle, cut incredible numbers of them in pieces, obliged those, who outlived the general slaughter, to save themselves by a precipitate flight into their own country, and returning to Rome, where he was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy, passed the remaining part of the year in settling the affairs of state; with great prudence and justice redressing all grievances, and suppressing the many abuses and disorders which had prevailed in the late reign.

*The Ger-
mans de-
feated by
Claudius.*

*Hemarches
against the
Goths, and
other nor-
thern na-
tions;*

In the beginning of the following year he entered upon his second consulship, having Paternus for his colleague; and soon after left Rome to make head against the Goths, and other northern nations, who, to the number of three hundred and twenty thousand fighting men, besides women, servants, and children, had invaded the Roman dominions, and committed most dreadful ravages. The emperor intercepted them, as they were retiring, loaded with booty, through Upper Mœsia.

As he was upon the point of engaging, he wrote with his own hand the following letter to the senate: "I am, conscript fathers, in sight of the enemy, and ready to engage them: they are three hundred and twenty thousand strong. If I overcome them, you will not, I hope, be ungrateful: if I should not be attended with success, you will remember, that I fight after the reign of Gallienus. The whole empire is quite spent and exhausted, partly by him, and partly by the many tyrants, who, during his administration, usurped the sovereignty, and laid waste our provinces. We want even shields, swords, and spears. The provinces of

* Claud. Vit. p. 203.

Gaul and Spain, the chief strength of the empire, are in the hands of Tetricus. Our archers, to our great shame, are with-held from us by Zenobia. Whatever, therefore, we perform successfully in our present circumstances, must be accounted great." But notwithstanding these disadvantages, Claudius intrepidly advanced against the Barbarians, and, after a long and obstinate dispute, gained one of the greatest victories recorded in history; for no fewer than three hundred thousand of the enemy were killed or taken prisoners. The emperor himself gave the following account of this memorable battle, in a letter, which he wrote after the action, to Junius Brocchus, governor of Illyricum: "We have utterly defeated an army of three hundred and twenty thousand Goths, and destroyed their fleet, consisting of two thousand sail. The fields and shores are covered with swords, shields, and dead bodies. We have taken such numbers of captives, that, not to mention the men, two or three women will fall to the share of each soldier in our victorious army." Among the prisoners were many princes, and persons of great distinction. All the provinces of the empire were filled with captives, who were employed to till the ground; and every city could shew you, says Pollio, glorious monuments of the fortune and courage of the brave and invincible Claudius. For this victory the emperor took the surname of Gothicus².

and gains a memorable victory over them.

While Claudius was thus employed against the Barbarians, Zenobia, having overcome Probus, who commanded a body of troops in Egypt, reduced that province, and, after a long siege, took and destroyed Bruchium, the citadel of Alexandria. Probus, finding he could not escape falling into the hands of the victorious queen, dispatched himself with his own sword. In the following year, when Antiochianus and Orphitus were consuls, the emperor, having nothing to fear from the Barbarians, resolved to march against Zenobia, who held all the provinces in the East; but was prevented by a violent plague which broke out in his army, and made a dreadful havock of his men. The emperor himself was carried off by the raging distemper, at Sirmium in Pannonia, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, after he had reigned, according to the most probable opinion, two years, and one month³. In him centred, says Trebellius Pollio, the moderation of Augustus, the valour of Trajan, the piety of Antoninus, and all the virtues of the good princes who had reigned before him^b. He may

Zenobia reduces Egypt.

Yr. of Fl.
2618.
A. D. 270.
U. C. 1018.

The death of Claudius.

¹ Claud. Vit. p. 204. ² Goltz. p. 118. ³ Zol. p. 654.
Euseb. Chron. p. 138. Gruter. p. 276. ^b Claud. Vit. p. 203, 208.

Extraordinary honours conferred on him by the senate and people of Rome.

His brother Quintillus proclaimed emperor, but dies soon after.

Aurelian raised to the empire. His expedition and preferences.

be truly said to have sustained, during his short, but glorious reign, the tottering empire, and to have restored it to its former lustre. The senate not only bestowed divine honours upon him after his death, but devoted in the place where they assembled, a shield of gold, on which was engraved his image. This shield was to be seen in the reign of Constantine the Great. The people erected at their own expence two statues, one of gold ten feet high, which they placed by that of Jupiter in the Capitol, and another of silver in the forum, weighing fifteen hundred pounds, and representing the emperor in his triumphal robes.

Upon the death of Claudius the senate and people of Rome proclaimed his brother Quintillus emperor, who was then at Aquileia, in which city he was murdered by his soldiers, after a short reign of seventeen days, for attempting to enforce, with too much severity, the discipline of the primitive times. Thus Trebellius Pollio: but Zosimus and Zonarus^d tell us, that Quintillus, hearing Aurelian had been acknowledged emperor by the army in Pannonia, and finding his own troops ready to revolt, by the advice of his friends, caused his veins to be opened, and thus put an end to his life and reign. Most writers speak of him as a prince in every respect equal to his brother. Upon his death the senate readily confirmed the election of Aurelian, and honoured him with the title of Augustus. He was, according to most writers, a native of Sirmium in Pannonia, of a mean descent, but universally admired on account of his extraordinary strength and courage. He had distinguished himself under the emperors Valerian, Gallienus, and Claudius, in their wars with the Barbarians, of whom he is said to have killed with his own hand forty-eight in one engagement, and in several others nine hundred and fifty; whence songs were made upon his exploits, and sung publicly by the youth on festival days. As there were two Aurelians at the same time in the army, and both tribunes, the soldiers used to distinguish the present Aurelian with the surname of *Manu ad Ferrum*, that is, *Hand to the Sword*; so ready was he, on all occasions, to draw his sword, and encounter the enemy^e. He was a strict observer of military discipline, and punished with the utmost severity the smallest neglect of duty, and the least injury offered by his soldiers to any of the inhabitants of the provinces through which he marched. He was, when proclaimed emperor, commander in chief of the cavalry, to which post he had raised himself from the low station of a

^d Zonar p. 239.

^e Aurel. Vit. p. 210, 211.

common soldier^f. From Sirmium, where he was saluted emperor by the whole army, after the death of Claudius, he repaired to Rome, and was received, both by the senate and people, with extraordinary demonstrations of joy; but before he could settle affairs in the metropolis of the empire, he was obliged to return hastily to Pannonia, the Goths, notwithstanding their late dreadful overthrow, having again broken into that province. Aurelian engaged them, and the battle continued, without any considerable advantage on either side, till night, when the enemy re-passed the Danube, and next day sent ambassadors to sue for peace; which Aurelian readily granted them, being informed that the Alemanni, the Juthongæ, whose country bordered upon Rhætia, and the Marcomanni, threatened to invade Italy itself, and were committing dreadful ravages and devastations in several parts.

Concludes a peace with the Goths.

Against these nations, therefore, Aurelian led the flower of his army, and, meeting them in Vindelicia, which comprehended all Bavaria, and great part of Suabia, he put them to flight, and destroyed vast numbers as they attempted to pass the Danube. Dispirited by this defeat they offered to renew their ancient alliance with Rome, provided they were allowed to return unmolested into their own country; for Aurelian had cut off their retreat, and detached part of his army to guard the banks of the Danube. The emperor, elated with his victory, would listen to no terms; a circumstance which threw the enemy into the utmost despair. After various consultations they resolved at length to enter Italy, since they could not return to their own country; and accordingly, finding the passes unguarded (for Aurelian apprehended no attempt of that nature), they advanced, before the emperor came up with them, as far as Placentia. There Aurelian attacked them; but after having lost most of his troops, was totally defeated. The Barbarians elated with so signal a victory, pursued their march, not doubting but they should be able to take Rome itself. But in the mean time Aurelian, having rallied his dispersed troops, and reinforced them with the legions quartered in Illyricum, came unexpectedly upon the enemy in the neighbourhood of Fanum Fortunæ, now Fano, and gave them a dreadful overthrow. Such as escaped from the first battle were slain in two others, one of which was fought near Placentia, and the other on the plains of Ticinum. Thus was the whole multitude almost exterminated^g.

He defeats several German nations;

who nevertheless enter Italy,

and put the emperor to flight:

but are in the end all cut off.

^f Aurel. Vit. p. 211.
^g Idem. p. 7—11.

^g Idem ibid. p. 215, 216, Dexipp. Legat. p. 7—11.

The Vandals defeated.

While the emperor was preparing to return to Rome, news were brought him, that the Vandals had passed the Danube, under the conduct of two of their kings, and several other princes. This intelligence obliged him to hasten to the defence of the threatened provinces. The Vandals retired upon his approach; the emperor, however, pursued and overtook them before they reached the Danube, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to sue for peace; which he granted upon their delivering the sons of their two kings, and several other persons of great distinction, as hostages. He incorporated two thousand of their best men in his army, and ordered the rest to be supplied with provisions at the public expence, till they reached the Danube. Aurelian having thus happily terminated the wars with the Goths, Germans, and Vandals, returned to Rome, and, in the beginning of the following year entered upon his first consulship, with his colleague Numerius Ceionius Virius Bassus. As several disturbances had been excited in Rome during his absence, he punished the authors of them with great severity. Trebellius Pollio tells us, that though he was in other respects an excellent prince, he often suffered his passion to get the better of his reason, and punished, with excessive rigour, faults which an humane prince would have overlooked. He put several senators to death upon the deposition of a single witness; and often encouraged the accusations of persons who deserved no credit; a weakness which much lessened the reputation he had gained by his exploits in the field, and estranged from him the minds both of the senate and people. This year, with the consent and approbation of the senate, he undertook the reparation of the city walls, which he likewise extended; so that they were near fifty miles in compass^b. This great work was not accomplished till the latter end of the reign of Probusⁱ.

Aurelian estranges the minds of the senate and people with his severity.

Yr. of Fl.
2620.
A. D. 272.
U. C. 1020.

He marches against Zenobia.

In the following year, when Quietus and Voldumianus were consuls, Aurelian having settled affairs in Pannonia, Italy, and at Rome, left the city once more, and set out for the East, to humble the celebrated Zenobia, who, to the great disgrace of the empire, had possessed for several years most of the eastern provinces. This queen, one of the most illustrious women mentioned in history, is styled on several medals Septimia Zenobia^k; whence some writers conclude her to have been allied to the family of the emperor Septimius Severus. She pretended to derive her pe-

^a Aurel. Vir. p. 116.
Spanh. p. 937.

ⁱ Zof. p. 655.

^k Birag. p. 385.

degree from the Cleopatras and Ptolemies of Egypt, and her family was one of the most conspicuous in the East. She was well versed in polite literature, understood thoroughly the Egyptian, Greek, and Latin languages, and in the knowledge of history excelled most men of her time. She is even said to have compiled an abridgement of the Egyptian and Oriental historians, which was in great request among the learned. St. Athanasius writes, that she professed the Jewish religion; and is therein followed by Abulfarajius^m. She married the celebrated Odenatus, prince of Palmyra, and afterwards partner in the empire with Gallienus. She had a great share in the many signal victories gained by her husband over the Persians, and is affirmed to have been no less courageous than that brave commander, and equally experienced in military affairs. Upon his death she arrayed her three sons, Herennianus, Timolaus, and Vhaballat, in purple, caused them to be acknowledged by all the eastern provinces as joint emperors of Rome, and obliged them to conform to the Roman customs, and use the Latin tongue instead of the Greek, which was spoken by other eastern princes. As they were under age, she governed in their name, with the title of Queen of the East, for the space of five or six years, discharging each duty of an excellent ruler and experienced commander, with all the prudence and intrepidity of a man. She shewed great wisdom in her counsels, was steady in her resolutions, kind and generous to persons of merit, but inexorable when severity was judged necessary. She lived with all the grandeur of a queen, imitating the pomp and magnificence of the Persian monarchs, and causing all who approached to fall prostrate before her, after the manner of the Persian court. She often appeared at the head of her troops, armed with a helmet, and arrayed with the imperial robes, harangued them, and marching with them many miles on foot. In imitation of the Roman emperors, she gave magnificent entertainments, not scrupling, on these occasions, to drink plentifully with the officers of her army, and the Persian and Armenian ambassadors, though otherwise very sober and temperateⁿ.

Her extraction, conduct, and administration.

In the reign of Gallienus she defeated Heraclianus; and by this overthrow remained in peaceable possession of all Syria and Mesopotamia, to which she added Egypt while Claudius was engrossed by the Gothic war. Not satisfied with these acquisitions, in the reign of Aurelian she seized on great part of Asia, and attempted to reduce Bithynia^o.

Her exploits.

^l Athan. Solit. p. 857. ^m Abul. p. 81. ⁿ Trigint. Tyran. cap. 26. p. 168. ^o Zos. p. 685.

*Aurelian
defeats the
Goths, and
kills one of
their kings.*

*Takes Ty-
ana in
Cappado-
cia.
Zenobia's
army de-
feated.*

*Zenobia
defeated a
J. cond time.*

Aurelian, desirous to terminate her usurpation, ordered all his forces to assemble in Illyricum; and early in the spring directed his march through Thrace, where he engaged and repulsed several barbarous nations, who had made irruptions into that province. He even passed the Danube, and in an engagement with Caunabaud, a Gothic prince, slew him, and five thousand of his men^p. Having thus defeated the Goths, he pursued his march to Byzantium, and crossing the Bosphorus, entered Bithynia, which immediately submitted. From Bithynia he advanced into Cappadocia, where the inhabitants of Tyana shut their gates against him; an insult which so incensed Aurelian, that he swore he would not leave a dog alive in the place. His soldiers attacked it with great fury; but were, in their repeated assaults, repulsed with considerable loss by the inhabitants, till one of them, named Heraclammon, betrayed his country and fellow-citizens to the enemy.

From Tyana Aurelian marched his army to Antioch, defeated the troops of Zenobia in the neighbourhood of that city, and entered in triumph the metropolis of Syria. This victory, however, cost him dear; for the Palmyrenians (so the troops of Zenobia are styled by historians) fought with incredible bravery, and the Romans owed the victory rather to art than valour; for, observing the enemy's cavalry heavily armed, they immediately fled; and facing about unexpectedly, when they were spent with the long pursuit, put them easily in disorder, and gained a complete victory^q. From Antioch Aurelian pursued his march to Emesa, whither Zenobia had retired with her army, consisting of seventy thousand men. Under her commanded Zabas, or Zabdas, a man of great courage and experience, who had signalized himself in the Persian wars in the time of Odenatus. After several skirmishes with various success, both armies came to a general engagement, in which the Roman horse were broken at the first onset; but their infantry, attacking the enemy both in front and flank, left naked and exposed by the departure of their cavalry, who were pursuing the Romans, obliged them, after a long and obstinate dispute, to give ground, and shelter themselves behind the walls of Emesa; which place, however, they abandoned at the approach of the victorious army, and retired with Zenobia to Palmyra, whither Aurelian closely pursued them, though greatly harassed in his march by the Syrian robbers, who cut off great numbers of his men.

^p Aur. Vit. p. 216.

^q Zos. p. 655.

He immediately invested the place, hoping to carry it by assault; but all his efforts proving unsuccessful, he began to batter it with an incredible number of warlike machines. The besieged, animated by the example of their queen, not only repulsed the aggressors with showers of arrows, darts, and stones, but insulted them from the walls, without sparing the emperor himself; who being at length quite exhausted with the toils and fatigues of so long a siege, wrote a letter to Zenobia, exhorting her to surrender, and promising to spare her life. To this letter Zenobia returned the following answer: "No man ever before you made such a demand. It is not by letters, but valour, that you must induce me to submit. You cannot but know, that Cleopatra chose rather to die than live under Augustus, notwithstanding the great promises he made her. I expect daily the Persians, Saracens, and Armenians, who are all hastening to my relief; and what will then become of you and your army, whom the robbers of Syria have put to flight? You will then lay aside that pride and presumption with which you command me to surrender, as if you were the conqueror of the universe." Aurelian, enraged at this answer, immediately ordered a general assault; but was repulsed with great loss. However, he defeated the Persians, who were coming to the relief of the place; and partly by menaces, partly by promises, prevailed upon the Armenians and Saracens to join him against the queen, whom they were come to assist. Zenobia, finding herself disappointed of the succours which she had long expected, and despairing of being able to hold out much longer with her own forces, resolved to withdraw privately from the city into Persia, and solicit in person more powerful supplies. Accordingly she departed in the dead of the night, with a small retinue, mounted on camels, carrying with her part of her jewels and treasures: but Aurelian, who was very vigilant, having had timely notice of her flight, detached a party of horse after the fugitive queen; who, coming up with her as she was ready to cross the Euphrates in a boat, seized her, and carried her to Aurelian, who from that moment began to look upon himself as the conqueror and sole lord of the East. When she was brought into his presence, he asked her, what had prompted her to take up arms against, and insult over, the emperors of Rome? To this question the queen replied, with no less intrepidity than address, that she looked upon him, indeed, who knew how to conquer, as emperor; but as for Gal-

Zenobia's answer to Aurelian, requiring her to submit.

Yr. of Fl
262.
A. D. 273
U.C. 1021.

Zenobia taken, and brought to Aurelian.

lienus, Aureolus, and such as resembled them, she had never thought them worthy of that name².

The city of Palmyra submits.

The city of Palmyra still resisted, and some of the inhabitants were against submitting upon any terms whatever; but others sued for mercy, and, upon the emperor's promising to grant them their lives, opened their gates to the conqueror, who spared the inhabitants, but stripped the city of all its wealth, and appointed Sandarion governor of the place, with five hundred archers, and other troops, under his command¹. After this achievement, the emperor returned to Emesa, carrying with him the captive queen, whose death the soldiers demanded with loud clamours; but the emperor thought it beneath his dignity to spill the blood of a woman, especially as she had with great intrepidity defended the eastern provinces against the Persians, and other neighbouring nations, during the domestic disturbances that prevailed in every part of the empire. The fame of this victory soon reached the most distant nations, who all strove, with solemn embassies and rich presents, to gain the friendship of the conqueror of Zenobia (E). Aurelian, having thus recovered, and settled in peace, the eastern provinces, returned by Chalcedon and Byzantium into Europe, carrying with him his illustrious captive.

All the eastern and southern nations court the friendship of Aurelian.

Palmyra revolts; but is retaken, and all the inhabitants put to the sword.

He defeated, on his march through Thrace, the Carpi, who had invaded that province; but at the same time he was informed, that the inhabitants of Palmyra had revolted, put the Roman governor and garrison to the sword, and proclaimed a kinsman of Zenobia, named Achilleus, or, as Zosimus calls him, Antiochus, their sovereign. Upon this intelligence, the emperor, returning with great expedition, arrived at Palmyra before the inhabitants had any notice of his march, took the city without opposition, and put all the inhabitants to the sword, without distinction of sex, age,

¹ Trigint. Tyran. cap. 29, p. 199.

² Aur. Vit. p. 219.

(E) Hormisdas, or, as Eutychius calls him, Hormoz al Horri, who had succeeded his father Sapor in the kingdom of Persia, sent to the emperor, amongst other presents, a chariot enriched with gold, silver, and precious stones of an inestimable value, and a scarlet mantle of such a lively colour, that

the Romans had never seen any but what came infinitely short of it. Aurelian, and after him Probus and Dioclesian, enchanted with its extraordinary brightness and beauty, sent, but to no effect, persons into the East, to discover the art of dying to such an extraordinary perfection (1).

(1) Aur. Vit. p. 218.

or condition ^u. He had not quitted the East, when he received advice, that Egypt had revolted, and proclaimed emperor one Firmus, or rather Firmius, as he is styled on such of his medals as have reached our times ^w. He was a native of Seleucia in Syria, but possessed an immense estate in Egypt, and carried on an advantageous trade with the Saracens, the Blemyes, a people of Ethiopia, and the inhabitants of India; for he used to boast, that, with his profits alone upon paper and glue, he could maintain a whole army. Vopiscus relates wonderful things of his strength and appetite. He was greatly attached to Zenobia, and, to support her party and interest, assumed the title of Augustus, made himself master of Egypt, and stopped the corn which it used to send yearly to Rome. Aurelian marched against him with that expedition which was peculiar to him; and, being attended with his usual success, overcame the usurper, stormed a strong castle to which he fled, and, having taken him prisoner, caused him to be publicly executed ^x.

The revolt of Firmus.

Having thus suppressed the troubles in the East, he returned the second time to Europe, with a design to recover, and reunite to the empire, the provinces of Gaul, Spain, and Britain, which were governed by Tetricus. This design he easily compassed, Tetricus himself, no longer able to restrain the continual disorders and mutinies of his troops, inviting him privately into Gaul ^y. However, a battle was fought near Chalons on the Marne; during which, Tetricus voluntarily surrendering to Aurelian, his troops, destitute of a leader, were cut in pieces. Thus was Gaul, after it had been held for the space of thirteen years by different tyrants, united again to the empire. Towards the end of this year, when Tacitus, afterwards emperor, and Placidianus, were consuls, Aurelian returned to Rome, where he was received with the most magnificent triumph the city had ever beheld. There were four royal and stately chariots: the first, which had belonged to Odenatus, was entirely covered with silver, gold, and jewels; another, equally rich and magnificent, was a present to Aurelian from the king of Persia; the third was Zenobia's own chariot; and the fourth, which was drawn by four stags, had been taken by Aurelian from a Gothic prince. In the latter the emperor himself made his entry. These chariots were preceded by twenty elephants, and great variety of wild beasts from different countries. Next came eight hundred

Gaul reduced.

Aurelian's triumph.

^u Aur. Vit. p. 219. ^w Goltz, p. 119. Spanh. lib. vii. p. 599.
^x Aur. Vit. p. 220. Zof. p. 661. ^y Trig. Tyran. cap. 23. p. 119.

couple of gladiators, followed by an incredible number of captives of different nations, with their hands tied behind their backs, namely, Goths, Alans, Roxolans, Sarmatians, Franks, Suevians, Vandals, Alemans, Blemyes, Auxumites, Arabians, Eudæmonians, Indians, Bactrians, Iberians, Saracens, Armenians, Persians; the Palmyrenians who had escaped the late slaughter, some Egyptians engaged in the late rebellion of Firmius, and ten Gothic women, whom Aurelian had taken fighting in the habit of men. These were followed by Tetricus in a scarlet robe, and his son, with whom he had divided the empire. Next to them marched Zenobia, whose uncommon beauty, noble stature, and majestic mien, attracted the eyes of the spectators, and seemed to eclipse the grandeur and lustre of the emperor himself. She was bound with chains of gold, which other persons supported, apparelled with the richest tissues and robes, and so loaded with pearls and precious stones, that she was often obliged to halt, being ready to sink under so great a burden. Zenobia was followed by the emperor's triumphal chariot, the senate in a body, the people of Rome, with their various standards, and the victorious legions, horse and foot, in rich and splendid armour, with crowns of laurel on their heads, and branches of palm-trees, the symbol of victory, in their hands. The senate, however, in the midst of the public rejoicings, betrayed no small concern to see Tetricus, one of their own body, who had even been consul, led in triumph. In the Capitol Aurelian sacrificed to Jupiter the four stags that had drawn his chariot, in compliance with a vow he had made. From the Capitol he proceeded to the palace, attended by the senate, and such crowds of people, that the day was far advanced before he could reach it. The next and several following days, he diverted the people with plays, races in the circus, shews of gladiators, combats of wild beasts, sea-fights in the Naumachia, and all sorts of entertainments ^z.

His humanity towards Zenobia, and her children;

and towards Tetricus, and his son.

He treated his illustrious captives with great humanity and kindness. To Zenobia he gave lands and possessions in the neighbourhood of Tibur, now Tivoli, sufficient to maintain her according to her rank. She lived on that estate, says Trebellius Pollio, like a Roman matron, with her children, that is, according to Zonaras, with her daughters, whom Aurelian took under his protection, and married to persons of the first quality in Rome ^a. The emperor shewed no less clemency to Tetricus than to Zenobia. To make some

^z Aur. Vit. p. 220.
Zon. p. 240.

^a Trigint. Tyrann. cap. 29. p. 193.

amends for the injury he had done him, by leading him like a captive in triumph, he heaped many honours upon him, styling him his colleague, his fellow-soldier, and even honouring him sometimes with the title of emperor. He appointed him governor of Lucania, telling him pleasantly, that it was more to his reputation to govern a province of Italy, than to reign beyond the Alps^b. He treated with the same humanity and good-nature young Tetricus, whom he had led in triumph with his father, suffering him to continue in the senate, and leaving his estate untouched, which he transmitted to his posterity, who lived at Rome, under the succeeding princes, in great splendor, esteemed and revered by persons of all ranks.

The next consuls were, Aurelian the second time, and C. Julius Capitolinus. This year the emperor continued at Rome; and, being now diverted by no foreign or domestic wars, he applied himself wholly to the reformation of several abuses which had prevailed in the time of Gallienus, and which Claudius had not been able to suppress during his short reign. He made several regulations, which gained him the affections of the people, whom he had estranged from him, in the beginning of his reign, by his cruelty, to which he had naturally a great inclination. To the bounties of the emperors his predecessors, who had established funds for distributing bread and oil among the people, he added a certain portion of hogs-flesh to be given with the bread and oil; and increased the latter largess by the addition of an ounce to each pound. He even designed to establish a fund for distributing a certain quantity of wine among them; but was either prevented by death from putting his design in execution, or persuaded from it by the captain of the guards, who told him, that if he allowed the populace wine, they would next expect geese and chickens^c. He appointed, that Egypt should supply the city of Rome yearly with a certain quantity of glass, paper, linen, and several other things, that were either the natural growth, or manufacture of that country^d. He caused wharfs to be built along the banks of the Tiber, and the channel of that river to be cleaned.

But nothing more obliged persons of all ranks than his generously remitting whatever was owing this year by private persons to the treasury, and his publicly burning in the forum of Trajan all the papers, bonds, and registers, relating to such debts. At the same time he published an act of obli-

Yr. of Fl.
262.
A. D. 274.
U. C. 1022.

Several
regulations
made by
Aurelian]

His generosity.

^b Eutrop. Aur. Vi&. Epit. Vit. p. 224.

^c Aurel. Vit. p. 225.

^d Aurel.

vion with respect to all crimes committed against the state to that day. From that time forward he punished with the utmost severity such as accused others, without being able to establish their charge. He framed many wholesome laws, by which he is said to have purged Rome of all professed lewdness, irreligion, and wicked arts. Finding that eunuchs began to be sold at a very great rate, he fixed the number which each person might keep of such slaves, according to their different ranks. He enacted rigid laws against adultery, and punished with death one of his own domestics guilty of that crime. He would suffer none to keep women free-born for concubines. His domestics, freedmen, and slaves, he kept in great awe, causing them to be severely beaten in his presence for the smallest faults, and delivering them up, when guilty of transgressing the laws, to the civil magistrates^c. About this time he built and consecrated a most magnificent temple to the Sun, of which frequent mention is made in history; and embellished it with rich and costly ornaments. It was one of the most stately and magnificent structures in Rome. The gold vessels belonging to it weighed fifteen hundred pounds. He likewise enriched the Capitol, and most of the temples in the city, with presents of great value sent him by foreign princes^f. He extended the jurisdiction of the pontiffs, encreased their revenues, and established funds for repairing temples, and for the salaries of the inferior ministers.

He builds a magnificent temple to the Sun.

A great sedition in Rome.

Towards the end of the year, a dangerous sedition was excited in Rome by the persons employed in the mint, who, having, by a notorious breach of trust, coined a great quantity of false money, to avoid the punishment due to their crime, joined in a body, under the conduct of one Felicissimus, formerly a slave, but appointed by Aurelian one of the receivers of the treasury; these insurgents raised such disturbances, that the emperor was obliged to order his troops to march against them, whom they received drawn up in order of battle on Mount Cælius; killed seven thousand of them; but were in the sequel, though they fought with the most desperate bravery, overcome, and punished with the utmost severity. This insurrection being quelled, the emperor called in all the false coin, and issued true money in its room. Soon after this sedition, he put several senators to death, and likewise the son, or, as others will have it, the daughter, of his own sister, for faults not specified in history, but only said not to have deserved such a severe punishment^g.

^c Tacit. Vit. p. 230.
661, 665.

^f Aur. Vit. p. 217, 222. Zof. p.
^g Aur. Vict. Epit.

Towards the close of this, or the beginning of the following year, when Aurelian was consul the third time, with Marcellinus, some disturbances happened in Gaul, which obliged the emperor to quit Rome, and hasten thither. All we know of this expedition is, that Gaul was restored to its former tranquility; and that the emperor, marching from that province into Vindelicia, obliged the Barbarians, who had made an irruption on that side, to repass the Danube ^h. From Vindelicia the emperor marched into Illyricum; and finding the province of Dacia in the hands of the Barbarians, who had seized it in the reign of Gallienus, he did not think it worth his while to recover a country, which, he was well apprised, he could not maintain in the midst of so many barbarous nations. He therefore withdrew the Roman troops from the few forts they still held beyond the Danube, and resigned to the inhabitants, who had been driven out by the Barbarians, part of Mœsia and Dardania.

Aurelian marches into Gaul, to appease some disturbances there.

He abandons to the Barbarians the province of Dacia.

From Illyricum the emperor marched into Thrace, with a design to pass the winter there, and early in the spring to cross over into Asia, and lead his army against the Persians, upon what provocation, history does not inform us: but while he was wholly intent upon this war, death put a period to this, and his other vast designs. Historians give us the following account of his unhappy end: he suspected Mnestheus, one of his freedmen and secretaries, of extortion, and had threatened to punish him. Mnestheus, probably guilty of the crime laid to his charge, and well acquainted with the emperor's cruel and inflexible temper, resolved to frustrate his design. Accordingly, counterfeiting his master's hand, he wrote a roll of the names of the chief officers in the army, and, among the rest, his own; and, shewing it to those whose names he had set down, told them, that he had found it in the emperor's closet; that they were all doomed to destruction; and that only by some desperate attempt they could avert their impending ruin. They all believed him, and, prompted partly by fear, partly by indignation, to see their services thus rewarded, took, without hesitation, the resolution suggested to them by Mnestheus; and a few days after, as the army was marching to a place named Cænophrurium, that is, the *new castle*, half-way between Byzantium and Heraclea, they fell upon the emperor sword in hand, while he was attended only by a small guard, and dispatched him with many wounds. The emperor must have been killed about the latter end of January, for his death was known at Rome on the third of February of the year 275, so that he had reigned five full

A conspiracy formed against him.

Yr. of Fl.
2623.
A. D. 275
U. C. 1023.

He is murdered.

^h Zonar. p. 240.

years ; and lived, according to the most probable opinion, sixty-three ⁱ. His death did not remain unpunished ; for the officers, who had killed him, finding soon after, that they had been imposed upon by Mnestheus, threw him to the wild beasts, and built a magnificent temple and tomb to the honour of the deceased emperor, in the place where he had been killed, the whole army solemnizing his obsequies with the utmost pomp and magnificence. All those who were engaged in the conspiracy were either cut in pieces on the spot by the enraged soldiery, or afterwards executed under his successors Tacitus and Probus. His death was much lamented by the senate, who, at the request of the army, ranked him among the gods ; but more by the people, whom he had gained with greater bounties and largesses than they had ever received from any of his predecessors.

His character.

Aurelian is commonly styled the restorer of the empire, which, after the evils it had suffered by the captivity of Valerian, and indolence of Gallienus, began to revive under Claudius, and was by Aurelian restored to its former strength and lustre. He delivered Italy from the incursions of the Alemanni, rescued the East from the shameful yoke of a woman, humbled the Persians, still elated with the captivity of Valerian, reunited Gaul to the empire, and restored to Rome Thrace and Illyricum, over-ran and oppressed by the Barbarians. His arms were dreaded, and his friendship courted, by the most distant nations. He was a prince of great bravery, prudence, and generosity ; but as his cruelty overbalanced all his other good qualities, he is by Vopiscus, and most other writers, ranked not among the good, but the useful princes (F).

As

ⁱ Aur. Vit. p. 221. Aur. Vict. Epit. Zof. p. 661.

(F) Under Aurelian flourished two celebrated philosophers, Longinus and Amelius. The former, named Cassius Longinus, and likewise Dionysius, which name is prefixed to his treatise on the sublime, is by most writers thought to have been a native of Athens (1). He professed and taught the philosophy of Plato, and had the celebrated philosopher Porphyrius for his disciple, who

tells us, that he and some other philosophers were feasted at Athens by Longinus, on Plato's birth-day (2). Longinus was not only a great philosopher, but the best critic and orator of his age, and so well versed in the various branches of literature, that he was commonly styled a treasure of knowledge, and a living library (3). He taught Zenobia the Greek tongue, espoused her cause with

(1) Johnf. lib. iii. cap. 14. p. 234.
Evang. lib. x. cap. 3. p. 464. Plot. Vit. p. 14.

(2) Euseb. Præpar.
(3) Eunap.

As all the principal officers in the army had been concerned in the death of Aurelian, the soldiers, by whom he was greatly beloved, not able to prevail upon themselves to nominate one of them in his room, wrote to the senate, acquainting them with the death of the emperor, and referring the choice of a new prince to them. When their letter was read, Tacitus, who was at that time prince of

*The army
refer the
election of a*

great warmth against Aurelian, and was supposed to have dictated the letter which that prince wrote to the emperor during the siege of Palmyra. That letter so provoked Aurelian, that, upon the reduction of the place, he caused the supposed author of it to be put to death; which he suffered with great firmness and intrepidity, consoling those who were affected with his misfortune. Suidas mentions several philological pieces published by Longinus (4); but takes no notice of his treatise on the sublime, the only entire work of Longinus which has reached our times, and fully answers the great idea which the ancients raise in us of its author.

Amelius, against whom Longinus wrote, was a philosopher of great reputation among the Platonics (5). He was disciple to Plotinus, and greatly attached to him; for he lived twenty-four years with him at Rome, from the third year of Philip to the first of Claudius, that is, from the year 246, to the beginning of 269 (6). He was a very laborious man, and is said to have composed an hundred volumes, containing only what he

had heard of Plotinus in the frequent conferences that philosopher had held with him, and others of the same sect (7). Amelius and Plotinus were, in the opinion of Longinus, the only philosophers, who, in his time, published works worth perusing (8).

Some historians too flourished under Aurelian, to wit, Callicrates of Tyre, whom Vopiscus styles the most learned of all the Greek historians of his time (9); and Theoclius, or Theon, of Chios, as some critics conjecture (1). Both these historians wrote the life of Aurelian; but dwelt, it seems, too much on trifling incidents (2). Nicomachus, another Greek historian, wrote at the same time. Aurelianus Festivus, a freedman of the emperor Aurelian, wrote the history of his reign, or at least part of it, with the life of Firmus, who usurped the title of emperor in Egypt (3). Erennius Dexippus, by birth an Athenian, by profession an orator, the son of another Dexippus, flourished under Aurelian, and was esteemed one of the greatest orators Greece had ever produced (4).

(4) Suid. λ. p. 50. (5) Euseb. Præpor. lib. xi. cap. 18. p. 540. (6) Plot. Vit. p. 3, 6. (7) Idem, p. 3. (8) Idem, p. 14. (9) Vit. Aurel. p. 209. (1) Voss. Hist. Græc. lib. iv. cap. 17. p. 485. (2) Aurel. Vit. p. 110. (3) Firm. Vit. p. 244. (4) Suid. δ. p. 659. Voss. Hist. Græc. lib. iv. cap. 17. p. 485. Aurel. Vit. p. 209. Long. cap. viii. p. 26. Plot. Vit. p. 3, 6. Phot. cap. 82. p. 202.

*new prince
to the se-
nate, and
the senate
to the
army.*

the senate, and voted the first, declared, that he wished to refer the choice of a new emperor to the army, as the army had done to the senate: "For what disputes (said he), and disturbances will inevitably ensue, should not the army approve of the person whom we choose!" The senate acquiesced in his proposal; but the soldiers referred the choice a second and a third time to the senate, as the senate did to the soldiers; so that the empire, by this reciprocal exchange of compliments, and commendable dispute between the senate and army, remained near eight months without a head: nevertheless, no usurper started up during that period; no disturbances happened either at Rome, or in the provinces. But the Barbarians in the mean time, taking advantage of the inter-regnum, began to put themselves in motion. The Germans, that is, the Lyges, the Franks, the Burgundiones, and the Vandals, broke into Gaul; the Goths threatened Illyricum; and every one expected, that the Persians, against whom Aurelian had declared war, would not continue long quiet. These events Velius Cornificius Gordianus, then consul, laid before the senate on the twenty-fifth of September; and earnestly pressed them to proceed, without farther delay, to the election of an emperor. He concluded his speech by telling them, that the empire could no longer exist without a head; and that the army would either accept the prince whom they chose, or, rejecting him, choose another.

*Tacitus un-
animously
chosen by
the senate.*

There had been some talk before of raising Tacitus to the empire, who had withdrawn into Campania, and lived two months in retirement; but, being recalled by the senate, he was present at this meeting held on the 25th of September. After the consul Gordianus had ended his speech, he rose up to deliver his opinion the first, as prince of the senate; but, before he had uttered a single word, the whole assembly exclaimed with one voice, "We salute you, Tacitus, emperor: to you we commit the care of the state, and the world. Take the empire given you by the authority of the senate: your rank, your character, your past conduct, deserve it." He attempted to excuse himself on account of his great age (for he was then seventy-five); but they replied, that other emperors, advanced in years, had governed with great reputation; that they wanted not a soldier, but an emperor; not a strong body, but a vigorous mind; and that he had a brother, who would bear with him part of the burden. Then each senator, in particular, gave his suffrage. Metius Falconius Nichomachus, the eldest consular, after having in an elegant speech be-
stowed

flowed the highest encomiums upon Tacitus, displayed in a very affecting manner the many evils attending the administration of young and unexperienced princes; and conjured Tacitus, by the love he bore his country, not to leave the empire to his sons, who were yet children, but to appoint for his successor a person, whom he judged equal to so great a trust, if the state were, by the immutable decrees of the Fates, deprived of him before his children attained the age of maturity. He added, that, to dispose of the senate, the people of Rome, and the whole empire, in the same manner as he devised his houses, lands, and slaves, was repugnant to the laws of justice and equity; and that nothing would so much commend his name to future ages, as to shew at his death, that he loved the republic above his family and issue^k. The decree was then drawn up, vesting him with the sovereign power, and signed by all the senators, even by Tacitus himself. From the senate they proceeded to the field of Mars, where Ælius Cæsetianus, then governor of Rome, declared to the soldiers and people assembled, the election of Tacitus, which was received with the usual acclamations.

The present emperor, named on his coins, M. Claudius Tacitus, but, by Vopiscus, Aurelianus, or Aurelius Tacitus, acknowledged Cornelius Tacitus, the celebrated historian, for his kinsman; and therefore, to secure his inimitable performance against the injuries of time, he ordered ten copies of it to be transcribed every year, and to be lodged in the public libraries, and in the cabinets of the learned; but, notwithstanding his care, only a small part of what that excellent historian wrote has reached our times. The emperor was advanced in years; but had several children who were very young. Florianus, named on the ancient coins M. Annius Florianus, was only his uterine brother. All we know of his preferments is, that he had been consul, and was, at the time of his election, prince of the senate. He was a man of learning, of a mild temper, an enemy to all pomp, and a great admirer of the manners of the primitive Romans. When he was created emperor, he gave his immense estate to the public, allotting part of it for the repairing and beautifying the temples. His ready money he distributed among the soldiers, set at liberty all the slaves he had at Rome, and caused his house to be pulled down, in order to build public baths in the place where it stood. His temperance and regularity, his œconomy, and care of the public money, his impartiality in

His preferments.

^k Tacit. Vit. p. 227—231.

the administration of justice, are much celebrated by the authors of his life.

Two of his laws.

In the first speech he made to the senate, he declared, that he would transact nothing without their consent and authority; and then proposed two laws, which were received with great applause, and confirmed by a decree. They enacted, that whoever should mix metals with a baser sort, should forfeit his estate and life; that slaves should not be admitted as witnesses against their masters, even in cases of treason. In the same speech he asked the consulship for his brother Florianus; but the senate did not think fit to grant him his request: a repulse which he was so far from resenting, that, on the contrary, he seemed highly pleased with the liberty they had taken, saying, "I am glad they know him." From the very beginning of his reign, he applied himself to the removing of several abuses which still prevailed in Rome. By one edict, he suppressed all brothels; by another, he ordered all the public baths to be shut up at sun-set; and, by a third, prohibited all sorts of gold tissue and gilding. He respected the memory of the good emperors, and caused a temple to be built to their honour, and sacrifices to be offered on their several anniversaries. He had a particular esteem for Aurelian, and prevailed upon the senate to decree him a statue of gold, to be erected in the Capitol, and others of silver, to be placed in the senate, in the temple of the Sun, and in the square of Trajan¹. The senate, overjoyed at the recovery of their ancient right of creating emperors, ordered public processions, vowed hecatombs, appeared in white garments, feasted their friends, and wrote to all the states and cities in alliance with Rome, acquainting them, that they were at length restored to their former authority; that the kings and princes of the Barbarians were to apply to them; and that all appeals from the proconsuls were to be made, not to the emperor, or the captain of the guards, but to the governor of Rome, from whom they might appeal to the senate^m.

Tacitus marches against the Barbarians, and defeats them.

The new prince was scarce settled in the empire, when he received intelligence that incredible multitudes of Barbarians were advancing from the Palus Mæotis through Colchis, pretending to have been invited by Aurelian to assist him in his intended expedition against the Persians. Tacitus immediately left Rome, and, arriving in Thrace, where he was received by the army with the greatest demonstrations of joy, passed from thence into Asia, defeated the Bar-

¹ Tacit. Vit. p. 232.

^m Idem ibid.

barians, and obliged them to return to their own countryⁿ. In the following year the emperor entered upon his second consulship, having Æmilianus for his colleague; and, after passing the winter in Cilicia, was preparing to return to Italy, when he was, according to some writers, seized with a violent distemper, which, in a few days, put an end to his life; but, according to others, he was killed by his own soldiers. He died at Tarsus in Cilicia, or, as others write, at Tiana in Cappadocia, after a reign of only six months. Upon his death, his brother Florianus, whom he had appointed captain of the guards, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor, and was acknowledged in all the provinces of Europe and Africa; but the legions quartered in Syria, Phœnicia, Palestine, and Egypt, declared for Probus, whom Tacitus had appointed commander of all the forces in the East. This competition kindled a civil war in the bowels of the empire, while the Barbarians were ready to invade it on all sides. Florianus gained at first some advantages over his competitor; but as the troops under his command were more attached to Probus than to him, they mutinied. At the approach of Probus, who was resolved to put the whole to the issue of a general engagement, they fell upon their own leader, cut him in pieces, after he had reigned about two months, and joined Probus, in the neighbourhood of Tarsus in Cilicia.

Yr. of Fl.
262.
A. D. 276.
U. C. 1024.

His death, Florianus assumes the empire; but is murdered by his own men.

The death of Florianus was no sooner known in Europe and Africa, than the armies unanimously proclaimed Probus emperor, and the senate readily confirmed their election, honouring the new emperor with the titles of Augustus, Father of his Country, and High Pontiff; and vesting him with the tribunitial and proconsular power; for they all entertained a great opinion of his justice, equity, and moderation; and looked upon him as a person in every respect qualified for the discharge of so great a trust: and indeed, if Vopiscus is to be credited, he was one of the best and greatest princes that ever swayed a sceptre. That writer prefers him to Trajan, Adrian, Antoninus, Alexander, Claudius, and to Augustus himself. He was an excellent commander, an able statesman, a friend to virtue, an enemy to vice, generous, affable, good-natured, and, in short, endowed with every good quality commendable in a prince^o. He was a native of Sirmium in Pannonia. His father, Maximus, was, in his youth, a gardener; but afterwards, lifting himself among the troops, he was raised to the post of tribune, and married a woman of rank, by

Probus proclaimed emperor.

His character.

Extraction and preferences.

ⁿ Zonar. p. 240. Zof. p. 266.

^o Prob. Vit. p. 233, 234, 241.

whom he had one son, the present emperor, and a daughter, of whom we find no farther mention in history. Probus entered into the army when very young; and having distinguished himself on many occasions under Valerian, Gallienus, Claudius, and Aurelian, he was, by these princes, raised to the highest posts, and employed, always with success, in the many wars which they waged with the Barbarians. He was about forty-four years old, according to the chronicle of Alexandria, when preferred to the empire. His election was no sooner confirmed by the senate, than he left Cilicia, and returned to Europe.

He delivers Gaul from the Barbarians, and reduces great part of Germany.

He passed the winter in Pannonia, and having taken upon him his first consulship, and named M. Aurelius Paulinus for his colleague, he set out in the spring for Gaul, where the Franks and other German nations had committed dreadful ravages. He is said to have fought in that province many successful battles, to have killed near four hundred thousand of the Barbarians, and to have obliged the rest to relinquish the booty they had taken, and save themselves by flight beyond the Rhine. Having restored Gaul to its former tranquillity, he passed the Rhine at the head of his victorious army, and made war upon the enemy in their own country, with greater success than ever attended any of his predecessors (G).

Early

(G) This appears from the account which he himself transmitted to the senate in the following letter: "I return thanks to the immortal gods, conscript fathers, who have given manifest tokens of their approving your choice in raising me to the empire. Germany, that wide and extensive country, is entirely subdued. Nine kings of different nations have thrown themselves prostrate at my feet, or rather your's. All the Barbarians now plough and sow for you, and even fight for you. Return, therefore, thanks to the gods for so signal a conquest. Four hundred thousand of the enemy have been destroyed; sixteen thousand have been incorporated in our troops. We have recovered sixty great cities

which they had taken, and delivered Gaul from the yoke under which it groaned. The crowns of gold, with which the cities of Gaul have presented me, I have transmitted to you, to be consecrated, and, by your hands, offered to the great Jupiter, and to the other gods and goddesses. We have not only recovered the booty which they had taken, but enriched ourselves with their spoils. The fields of Gaul are ploughed with the cattle of the Barbarians; their sheep are inclosed in our folds; and our magazines are filled with their corn: in short, we have left them nothing but the bare soil. I have had some thoughts of reducing Germany to a Roman province; but the republic, exhausted with so many

Early in the spring the emperor set out for Gaul, and bending his march through Rhætia, arrived in Illyricum, whence the Sarmatians, who had invaded that province, withdrew, upon the news of his approach, and abandoned their booty. From Illyricum he pursued his march into Thrace, where he received deputies from all the Gothic nations, sent by their respective states and princes to court his friendship ^{*The Goths sue for peace.*} Having thus settled peace and tranquillity in all the provinces of Europe, he passed over into Asia, and entered Isauria, which had revolted from Rome. After many dangerous conflicts with the Isaurian robbers, and Palfurius their leader, whom he took, and put to death, he entirely reduced that country, transplanted the inhabitants into distant provinces, and divided Isauria among his veterans, upon condition that they should send their sons, as soon as they attained the age of eighteen, to serve in the army, i.e., trusting to their rocks and mountains, they should follow the example of the ancient inhabitants, and turn free-booters. ^{*Isauria reduced.*}

From Isauria the emperor marched into Syria, where he entered upon his third consulship, having Paternus for his colleague; and, in the spring, led his army against the Blemyes, a barbarous nation, dwelling between Egypt and Ethiopia, who had made themselves masters of Coptos and Ptolemais in Thebais, and struck terror into the neighbouring countries. Probus defeated them with great slaughter, recovered the above-mentioned cities, and sent a great number of the Barbarians prisoners to Rome, where their extraordinary figure, says Vopiscus, raised great admiration in the Roman people (H). The king of Persia, Varranes II. alarmed at the victories gained by Probus over so fierce and warlike a nation, sent ambassadors, with rich presents, to sue for peace; but the emperor, not satisfied with their proposals, refused the presents, and sent back the deputies; a repulse which so terrified the king, that he concluded a peace with Probus upon his own terms. The eastern pro- ^{*The Blemyes defeated.*} ^{*The Persians sue for peace.*}

P Prob. Vit. p. 239.

ny wars, is not perhaps at present in a condition to maintain the additional troops which must be raised for that purpose (1)."

(H) Plin. had described them

many years before, as a people without heads, and having their mouths and eyes in their breasts (2). Some writers suppose, that the shortness of their necks gave rise to this fable.

(1) Prob. Vit. p. 239.

(2) Plin. lib. v. cap. 8.

*Probus
triumphs.*

vinces being thus settled in peace, the emperor returned to Thrace, where he allotted lands to one hundred thousand Bastarnæ, a Scythian nation, of whom we shall have frequent occasion to speak hereafter. They all remained faithful to him; but the Gepidæ, Juthungi, and Vandals, on whom he bestowed lands in the same province, rebelled, while he was engaged in domestic wars the following year. From Thrace the emperor returned to Rome, triumphed over the Germans and Blomyes^q, and entertained the people, for several days together, with all sorts of shews, combats, and diversions.

*Yr. of Fl.
2718.
A. D. 280.
U. C. 1028.*

*Saturninus
revolts.*

No foreign nation daring to attempt an invasion, peace reigned throughout the whole empire; but this general tranquillity was soon disturbed by domestic broils, which first broke out in the East, where Sext. Julius Saturninus, as he is styled on the ancient coins, was proclaimed emperor. He was, according to some, a native of Mauritania, according to others, of Gaul, and had distinguished himself in many wars; for he is said to have restored tranquility to Gaul, to have recovered Africa from the Moors, and appeased the disturbances that had long prevailed in Spain^r. The emperor Aurelian had appointed him commander of the troops quartered on the frontiers of the eastern provinces, and at the same time ordered him never to set foot in Egypt, fearing, says Vopiscus, as he was well acquainted with the ambitious temper of the Gauls, and the strong inclination of the Egyptians to novelty, that he might be tempted to assume the sovereignty. Notwithstanding this prohibition, Saturninus being led by curiosity to visit Egypt, he no sooner appeared at Alexandria, than he was, by that turbulent and restless people, proclaimed emperor. He at first declined that dignity, and, quitting Alexandria, returned to Palestine; but afterwards apprehending, that what had already happened might exasperate Probus, and occasion his ruin, he suffered himself to be proclaimed emperor, shedding many tears amidst the acclamations of the soldiery and populace^s. Zonaras writes, that Probus, who had a great esteem for him, not believing he had revolted, caused the person to be punished, who brought him intelligence of his rebellion. He afterwards wrote several kind letters to him; but his soldiers threatening him with death, if he complied with the emperor's offers, he was forced to reject them. Probus finding his remonstrances ineffectual, dispatched some troops against him, which, being joined by

^q Prob. Vit. p. 240.
Goltz. p. 116. Birag. p. 309.

^r Saturn. Vit. p. 244. Zof. p. 663.
^s Sat. Vit. p. 249.

others in the East, engaged Saturninus, routed him, and obliged him to shelter himself in the citadel of Apamea, which they took by storm, and put the whole garrison, together with Saturninus, to the sword. The emperor, who designed to pardon him, expressed great concern for his death †.

He is overcome and killed.

In the following year, Messala and Gratus being consuls, two usurpers appeared in Gaul, namely, Proculus and Bonosus. The former was a native of Albingaunum, now Albenga, subject to the republic of Genoa. His ancestors had been famous robbers, and had acquired immense wealth; for Proculus is said to have armed two thousand slaves of his own, when he revolted. In his youth he had been himself a robber; but entering afterwards into the army, had signalized himself by many gallant exploits. He was tribune, and had the command of several legions, when he assumed the title of emperor, prompted thereunto chiefly by his wife, called first Viturgia, and afterwards Sampso, a woman of great ambition, and masculine courage; and by the inhabitants of Lions, who had been treated with great severity by Aurelian, and apprehended the like usage from Probus. He was proclaimed emperor at Cologne, and acknowledged, according to Vopiscus, in Narbonne Gaul, Britain, and Spain. The same writer tells us, that he defeated the Alemanni in several battles; but was himself at last vanquished by Probus, and forced to take refuge among the Franks, from whom he pretended to derive his origin. The Franks offered him assistance; but, instead of performing their promise, betrayed him to the emperor, by whom he was punished as a traitor.

Proculus revolts.

Is betrayed by the Franks, and put to death.

Bonosus, or, as he is styled in the ancient coins, Q. Bonosius, was descended of a Spanish family, but born in Britain. His father kept a public school, and taught children the first rudiments of the Latin tongue. The son entered early into the army, and raised himself from the rank of a common soldier to the post of general, and was employed to guard the frontiers of Rhætia; but having suffered the Germans to surprise and burn the Roman fleet on the Rhine, the dread of being punished for this neglect induced him to assume the sovereignty, and cause himself to be proclaimed emperor by the troops under his command. He maintained himself in that dignity longer than was expected, and fought several battles with Probus; but, being at length reduced to great distress, he chose rather to strangle himself, than to fall into the hands of the conqueror.

Bonosus proclaimed emperor.

Is overcome, and lays violent hands on himself.

† Sat. Vit. p. 245, 247, 249.

How Probus employed his soldiers in time of peace.

The whole empire now enjoyed profound tranquility; all domestic troubles were happily appeased, and foreign enemies intimidated by the fame of Probus's glorious achievements. However, that the troops might not abandon themselves to idleness, he employed them in many useful works, saying, that since they were maintained by the people, they ought either to fight or labour for the public. As Hannibal therefore, to find some employment for his soldiers, had formerly filled Africa with olive-trees, so Probus, for his valour styled a second Hannibal, ordered his troops to plant vines on the hills of Gaul, Pannonia, and Mœsia, allowing, says Vopiscus, the Gauls, Pannonians, Spaniards, and Britons, liberty to cultivate as many vineyards as they pleased; a liberty which had been denied them ever since the time of Domitian^u. The emperor Julian writes, that Probus, during his short reign, either rebuilt or repaired seventy cities^w. As the city of Simium, the place of his nativity, stood in a low marshy ground, he engaged great numbers of his soldiers in digging a canal to convey the waters into the sea. This employment incensed them against him, and their rage was inflamed by the apprehension they were under of being soon disbanded; for the emperor had said, that he hoped in a short time there would be no occasion for soldiers or armies. This prospect they could not bear; and therefore in the following year, when Probus was consul the fifth time with Victorinus, they attacked him with great fury, as he was marching from one town in Illyricum to another. The emperor had time to retire into an iron tower of an extraordinary height, which he himself had built, to observe the soldiers, while they were at work. But thither the incensed multitude pursued him, and, having easily stormed the place, as it was defended by the prince alone, dispatched him with many wounds, after he had lived fifty, and reigned six years and four months (1). He was, without all doubt, one of the best, as well as greatest princes, that ever reigned^x. After

He is murdered by the mutinous soldiery.

^u Prob. Vit. p. 240.
Vit. p. 241.

^w Jul. Cæs. p. 17.

^x Prob.

(1) The loss of so good a prince was greatly lamented, not only by the senate and people of Rome, but by the Barbarians themselves, who dreaded his valour, and revered his probity, clemency, and

justice. His successors honoured his memory with all possible marks of respect and esteem, ranking him among the gods, and consecrating temples to his name.

his death, his family withdrew from Rome, and settled in the neighbourhood of Verona (K).

Upon the death of Probus, Carus, then captain of the prætorian guards, was, by the unanimous consent of the army, raised to the empire, as a person in every respect qualified to succeed so good a prince, and so great a warrior. The senate were satisfied with the election of Carus; but, dreading the vicious and cruel temper of his son Carinus, were unwilling to confirm the choice of the soldiery. However, apprehending the power of the army, and desirous to maintain the peace and tranquility established by Probus, they at last acknowledged Carus, and conferred upon him the usual titles and honours ^y. Of his family and ancestors we know but very little. Some say, that he was by birth a Roman, but by descent an Illyrican; others, that he was born in Illyricum, but of Carthaginian parents. In a journal quoted by Vopiscus, he is styled a native of Milan. The two Victors, Eutropius, and several others, assert he was born in Narbonne. The emperor himself pretended, that his ancestors were originally Romans. He raised himself, by degrees, to the chief employments in the state, both civil and military. Probus, after having employed him in most of his expeditions, appointed him captain of the guards, in which station he gained the affections of the soldiers to such a degree, that, upon the death of this emperor, they all agreed to raise him to the empire. That prince entertained a great opinion of the prudence, justice, and integrity of Carus; as appears from a letter quoted by Vopiscus, which he wrote to the senate in his behalf, desiring them to reward his eminent services, by erecting an equestrian statue, and building him a house at the public charge, for which the emperor himself promised to supply the necessary quantity of marble.

Yr. of Fl.
2630.
A. D. 282.
U. C. 1030.

Carus proclaimed emperor.

His extraction and pre-
servments.

^y Car. Vit. p. 243, 249.

(K) Under Probus flourished Turdulus Gallicanus, who wrote a kind of journal, often quoted by Vopiscus in his life of Probus, who styles the author of it a man of honour and sincerity (1). He likewise cites M. Salvidienus, from whom he copied the speech made by

Saturninus, when he put on the purple, and assumed the title of emperor (2). Ouefinus published the life of Probus, written, according to Vopiscus, with great exactness (3), and likewise that of the emperor Carus (4).

(1) Prob. Vit. p. 233.
Vit. p. 246. & Car. Vit. p. 250.

(2) Saturn. Vit. p. 245.
(4) Idem ibid.

(3) Bonof.

*He creates
his two
sons Cæ-
sars.*

*Defeats the
Sarma-
tians.*

*Gains
great ad-
vantages
over the
Persians,
and takes
Seleucia
and Ctēsi-
phon.*

His death.

Carus was no sooner settled in the empire, than he bestowed the title of Cæsar on his two sons Carinus and Numerianus, of whom the former was a youth abandoned to all manner of wickedness, and the latter endowed with every good quality requisite in a prince. Some writers pretend, that at the same time he declared them his partners in the empire, giving them equal power and authority with himself; but on the medals of the year 282, the first of Carus's reign, his two sons are only styled Cæsars^z. The Sarmatians were no sooner informed of the death of Probus than they burst into Illyricum and Thrace, over-ran those countries, and threatened Italy itself. In consequence of this invasion, Carus, drawing together his forces, marched against the Barbarians; and coming to a general engagement, cut sixteen thousand of them in pieces, took twenty thousand prisoners, and obliged the rest to abandon the Roman dominions, and retire into their own country. Thither he would have pursued them, had he not been apprised, that the Persians were ready to invade the eastern provinces with a numerous army, under the conduct of their king Varranes II. a warlike prince, who had lately signalized himself against the Segetani, and entirely reduced that brave and powerful people. Upon this intelligence, Carus committing the care of the western provinces to his eldest son Carinus, and taking with him Numerianus, left Thrace, and, crossing over into Asia, marched immediately to Antioch, and thence into Mesopotamia; which the Persians, who, it seems, had already seized that province, abandoned at his approach. From Mesopotamia he advanced into Persia; laid waste the country to a great extent; and, meeting with no opposition, as the Persians were then engaged in a civil war, he besieged and took the famous cities of Seleucia and Ctēsi-phōn, with Coche, which was a place of great strength on the other side the Tigris, and, as it were, the citadel of Ctēsi-phōn^a. For these conquests he assumed the surname of Persicus, which we read on most of his coins^b. He was determined upon utterly ruining the Persian monarchy, and would, in all likelihood, have succeeded in that great design, the Persians being then divided among themselves, had he not been prevented by death, which overtook him in the neighbourhood of Ctēsi-phōn, while he was preparing to pursue his conquests beyond that city; contrary to the injunction of an ancient oracle. He reigned, according to the most probable opinion, a year,

^z Birag. p. 446.
cap. 5.

^a Car. Vit. p. 250. Greg. Naz. Orat. iv.
^b Spanh. lib. v. p. 419.

and four months. He was consul when he died, and had his son Carinus for his colleague in that dignity.

Upon the death of Carus, Numerianus was immediately saluted by the whole army with the title of emperor. As to his other son, Carinus, he was then in Gaul, and had been raised by his father to the sovereignty before he engaged in the Persian war. Numerianus, grieved beyond expression for the death of his father, broke up his camp, and began to retire. As his eyes, weakened by the great quantity of tears he had shed, could not bear the light, he caused himself to be carried in a close litter. Arrius Aper, his father-in-law, and captain of the guards, who had free access to him, took that opportunity to murder him privately, with a design to raise himself to the empire. The body of the deceased prince he left in the litter, telling the soldiers, who wanted to see their emperor, that he could not endure the air, and endeavouring in the mean time to gain them over to his own interest. The dead body was thus carried three days; but as it began to be offensive to the smell, the crime was discovered sooner than Aper expected, and he was immediately seized, no one doubting but he was the author of the murder.

Numerianus proclaimed emperor.

He is murdered.

Upon the death of Numerianus, the army with one voice proclaimed Dioclesian emperor. Such was the unhappy end of Numerianus after he had reigned about eight months. He was killed near Heraclea in Thrace. All the ancients speak of him as a prince endowed with every good quality becoming a person of his rank (L).

*Yr. of Fl. 263.-
A. D. 284.
U. C. 1032.*

Dioclesian was descended of a mean and obscure family in Dalmatia, being, according to some, the son of a notary; and of a slave, according to others. Victor the younger relates, that he was himself, in his youth, slave to a senator, named Anulinus, who afterwards gave him his liberty^c. The name, both of his mother, and the place of his birth, was Dioclea; whence he was called Diocles, till his accession to the empire, when he gave his name a Latin sound

*Dioclesian raised to empire.
His extraction, pre-ferments, &c.*

^c Vict. Epit. p. 542.

(L) He was an excellent orator, and is said to have once sent such an eloquent speech to the senate, that a statue was decreed him, to be erected in the Ulpian library, with this inscription, "To Numerianus Cæsar, the most eloquent orator of his age." In poetry he far surpassed all the writers of his time, and left several pieces, both in verse and prose, which were highly extolled by the learned (1).

(1) Numerian. Vit. p. 251.

and termination, calling himself Dioclesianus. He entered early into the army, and raised himself to the first military employments (M). Dioclesian served with great credit under Probus, who preferred him to the command of the troops quartered in Mœsia ^d. He attended Carus in his expedition against the Persians, and distinguished himself in that war. Syncellus tells us, that he was raised by that prince to the consulship ^e. He had, at the time of Numerianus's death, the command of the guards that attended the emperor's person, and were superior in rank to the prætorian guards, as we have observed above. He was a great master of civil affairs, ready at foreseeing events, dextrous at concerting schemes, naturally inclined to violent measures, but at the same time master of his temper; an enemy to all useless expence, and a great encourager of learning, though from his youth he had been brought up in the camp, and had never applied himself to any study but that of the military art, in the knowledge of which he was equal to the famous commanders of ancient times ^f. He was, according to Eutropius, naturally covetous, and determined upon amassing riches by any means whatever ^g. By his wife Prisca he had a daughter, named Galeria Valeria, who was married to Maximinus Galerius; but proved barren ^h.

Dioclesian, being, by the unanimous consent of the army, proclaimed emperor, ascended the tribunal; and, after having harangued the soldiers, and solemnly declared, upon oath, that he had not been accessory or privy to the death of Numerianus, he caused Aper to be seized, reproached him in bitter terms with the murder of his prince and son-in-law, and then, descending from the tribunal, drew his sword, and buried it in his breast, saying, "You shall have the honour, Aper, to fall by an illustrious hand." The new emperor would not have begun his reign with an action that favoured of cruelty, had it not been to fulfil

*He puts
Aper to
death.*

^d Zonar. tom. ii. p. 243.
Vit. p. 241. Macrin. Vit. p. 96.
p. 586.

^h Birag. p. 444.

^e Syncel. p. 387.
Carin. Vit. p. 251.

^f Prob.
^g Eutrop.

(M) We are told, that, while he yet served in an inferior post, a Druid woman, in whose house he lodged, upbraided him with covetousness, he answered her in jest, "I shall be more generous when I am emperor." "You are joking, Diocles,

(replied the Druid), but I tell you in good earnest, that you will attain the empire after you have killed a boar." This is supposed to have happened in the city of Tongres, in the present bishoprick of Liege (2).

(2) Car. Vit. p. 252.

the prophecy of the Druid, the word *aper* signifying in the Latin tongue a *boar*; whence, in seeing *Aper* fall, he cried out, "I have at length killed the fatal boar." Dioclesian was proclaimed emperor at Chalcedon, on the seventeenth of September, of the year 284, which epoch is the more remarkable, as it is the beginning of a new æra, called,

The æra of Dioclesian.

Dioclesian made his public entry into Nicomedia on the twenty-seventh of September, of this year; and employed the remaining months in making the necessary preparations to oppose Carinus, who, hearing of his brother's death, and the assumption of Dioclesian, had left Gaul, and was marching, at the head of a powerful army, into Illyricum. The following year Carinus entered on his third consulship, having Aristobulus, his captain of the guards, for his colleague; and, arriving in Venetia, overcame and slew Julianus, governor of that province, who had caused himself to be proclaimed emperor. Elated with this victory, he advanced into Illyricum, where he fought several battles with Dioclesian, whom he entirely defeated in a general engagement near Margum, a city on the Danube in Upper Mœsia; but while he was pursuing the enemy, he was killed by some of his own men, excited against him by a tribune, whose wife he had debauched. Such is the account given by Aurelius Victor: but Eutropius asserts, that he was betrayed by his own army, and killed by Dioclesian^k. Be that as it will, Dioclesian, finding himself, by the death of his rival, sole master of the empire, marched to Rome; and, having established his authority there, visited Germany, where he gained several advantages over the Alemanni, who had made an irruption into Gaul. The same year his generals fought with success against the inhabitants of Britain, who, it seems, had attempted to shake off the yoke. For these victories he assumed the surnames of Germanicus and Britannicus. From Germany he returned through Illyricum into the East; for he was at Sirmium on the first day of the following year^l, and at Nicomedia on the twenty-first of January. The next consuls were Junius Maximus the second time, and Vettius Aquilinus.

The death of Carinus.

^l Eutych. p. 585. Aur. Vict. p. 524.

^k Cod. Justin. lib. vi. Tit. 21. leg. 6. p. 331.

^k Eutrop. p. 585.

*Dioclesian
takes Maxi-
mian for
his partner
in the em-
pire.*

In the course of this year Dioclesian took Maximian, styled on the ancient coins M. Aurelius Valerius Maximianus, for his colleague, and partner in the empire. Maximian was born of obscure parents, in a village near Sirmium in Pannonia; but entering early into the army, had signalized himself by many gallant actions, and was esteemed one of the best commanders of his time. All the ancients paint him as a man of a most cruel and savage temper, and addicted to all manner of wickedness; but, at the same time, extol his courage, his experience in military affairs, and his inviolable attachment to Dioclesian, with whom he had lived many years in great friendship. The emperor, therefore, who had no issue male, and reposed an entire confidence in Maximian, chose him for his partner in the empire, vested him with the tribunitial and proconsular power, and honoured him with the title of Augustus (N). Aurelius Victor writes, that Dioclesian was induced to share the empire with Maximian, chiefly by the disturbances which happened this year in Gaul, where two commanders, Aulus Pomponius Ælianus, and Cn. Salvius Amandus, having assembled a great number of vagabonds, robbers, and peasants, proclaimed themselves emperors.

*A rebellion
in Gaul
suppressed
by Maxi-
mian.*

Maximian, leaving Dioclesian in Nicomedia, hastened into Gaul; and, with the troops quartered in that province, defeated the rebels, and restored the province to its former tranquility^m. While Maximian was employed against the rebels in Gaul, Dioclesian was making great preparations in the East, in order to recover Mesopotamia from the Persians, who, after the death of Carinus, had seized that province. But Varanes II. king of Persia, chose rather to restore what he had taken from the Romans, than engage in a war which he apprehended would prove long and dangerousⁿ. Mention is made of some advantages gained this year by Dioclesian over the Saracens. He was the last day of this year at Tiberias in Palestine, as appears from the date of some laws in the Code. From Palestine he passed into Pannonia^o; but what called him into that province, or what he performed there, we cannot learn. Maximian was attacked in Gaul by the Alemanni, the Burgundians, the Heruli, whom Bucherius places on the coasts of the Baltic sea, and by several other barbarous nations,

^m Aur. Vict. p. 514.

ⁿ Panegyr. orat. x. p. 125—132.

^o Cod. Just. lib. v. tit. 42. leg. 3. p. 487.

(N) Maximian had by his wife Galeria Valeria Eutropia, and Fausta, the wife of Constantine the Great.

who

who were all subdued and destroyed, either by the sword or by famine. Mamertinus, in his panegyric upon this prince, tells us, that of such an immense multitude not one was left alive to carry back the news of their overthrow.

He utterly defeats several German nations.

In the same year Carausius, a native of Gaul, having, by Maximian's orders, built a fleet at Boulogne, gained great advantages over the Franks and Saxons, who infested the seas with piracies; and, in several engagements by land, made a dreadful havock of the German nations that had invaded Celtic Gaul. However, as he applied to his own use the booty which he had taken from the Barbarians, instead of returning it to the proprietors, Maximian resolved to put him to death: but Carausius having timely notice of his design, failed to Britain with the fleet under his command; and taking upon him the title of emperor, was acknowledged by all the troops quartered in that island. He afterwards built a great number of vessels, levied new forces, called the Barbarians from the continent to his assistance, and by instructing them how to work their ships, and fight by sea, maintained himself a long time in possession of the island, in spite of the utmost efforts of Maximian.

Carausius revolts and seizes Britain.

In the following year Maximian was consul the second time with Januarius. Mamertinus, his panegyrist, relates, that on the first day of his consulship, news being brought to Treves, that the Barbarians had made an irruption into Gaul, and were but a small distance from that city, he immediately quitted his consular robes, put on his armour, and, mounting his horse, marched against the enemy, defeated them with horrid slaughter, and the same day re-entered Treves in triumph. Soon after he crossed the Rhine, and entering Germany, laid waste the enemy's country, took a great number of captives, and returned to Gaul loaded with booty. These exploits struck such terror into the Franks, that two of their kings, Atec and Genobaud, submitted, beseeching him to confirm them in their respective kingdoms. Dioclesian likewise entered Germany this year on the side of Rhætia, and is said to have extended the bounds of the empire to the springs of the Danube.

*Yr. of Fl. 2636.
A. D. 288.
U. C. 1036.*

Maximian defeats the Barbarians a second time. Gains great advantages over the Franks.

Next year, Bassus being consul the second time with Quintianus, Claudius Mamertinus pronounced his famous panegyric on the emperor Maximian in the city of Treves, the emperor himself being present. As he was then assembling, on the coast of Gaul, the ships which he had caused to be built in different ports, with a design to attack Ca-

^p Eutrop. p. 585. Aur. Vict. p. 524.

¹ Panegyrg. p. 125. &

seq. ^r Vales. Rer. Francic. lib. i. p. 11, 12.

*Britain
governed up to
Carausius.*

raufius in Britain, his panegyrist promises him certain victory over that rebel. But it happened quite otherwise; for Carausius's men, who had been trained to the sea-service, easily repulsed those who had been sent against them, dispersed the emperor's fleet, and drove them on the coast of Gaul, where most of the vessels were dashed in pieces. Maximian, to cover the disgrace of this defeat, pretended that the sea had not proved favourable to him, and that he only put off the war to a more clement season. In the mean time he negotiated a treaty with Carausius, wherein it was concluded, that he should enjoy the government of Britain, as the more proper person, on account of his skill in sea-affairs, to defend the island against the invasions of the Barbarians^s (O). Thus was Britain, by treaty, ceded to Carausius, who governed it, with the title of emperor, for the space of six or seven years. Our authors maintain, that he repaired and fortified the wall of Severus, and gained some advantages over the Barbarians. At this period Dioclesian gained a complete victory over the Sarmatians, the Vithungæ, or rather Juthungæ, and the Quadi^t. Eumenius writes, that the whole nation of the Sarmatians was cut off, and the province of Dacia, which they had seized, re-united to the empire. For these victories Dioclesian assumed the surname of Sarmaticus, as appears from several ancient coins and inscriptions^u.

*Dioclesian
defeats the
Sarmatians.*

*The two
emperors
meet at
Milan.*

The next consuls were Dioclesian the fourth time, and Maximian the third. The former gained some considerable advantages over the Saracens this year; then, leaving the eastern provinces, returned to Illyricum, and from Illyricum entered Italy by the Alpes Juliæ, in the depth of winter. Maximian at the same time left Gaul, and passing the Alpes Cotticæ, met Dioclesian at Milan, where the two emperors held several private conferences, and then returned to their respective armies (for they came attended only by a small guard); but were received in all the cities through which they passed, with the greatest demonstrations of joy.

Tiberianus and Dio, the son, or rather grandson, as is conjectured, of the celebrated historian, being consuls the following year, a bloody war raged among the Barbarians,

^s Eutrop. p. 586. Aur. Vict. p. 525.
^u Birag. p. 426.

^t Paneg. xi. p. 132, 133.

(O) This agreement is marked on all Carausius's coins, shaking hands, with this legend, Concordia Aug(1). which represent two emperors

(1) Noris. de Dioclef. Num. cap. 4. p. 22, 23.

both in the North and in Africa. The Goths having vanquished the Burgundians dwelling on the banks of the Danube, were resolved upon utterly extirpating that rival nation; but the Burgundians were powerfully supported by the Alani, and the Tervingæ. Another Gothic nation, entering into a confederacy with the Taifalæ, declared war against the Vandals and the Gapidæ. In Africa the Blemyes were engaged in hostilities with the Ethiopians, and the Moors plunged in a civil war. Neither was Persia exempt from intestine disturbances, raised by Hormisdas, who revolting from his brother Varranes II. endeavoured to expel him the throne, and seize it for himself, being supported in his unjust pretensions by several Persian lords and some foreign nations *.

The Barbarians being thus diverted from making inroads into the empire, all the provinces subject to Rome enjoyed profound tranquility, which, however, was but short-lived, for next year, when Annibalianus and Asclepiodotus were consuls, the empire was in great danger of being torn in pieces by foreign as well as domestic enemies. Carausius still held Britain; the Persians, delivered from their domestic broils, broke into Mesopotamia, and threatened Syria; the Quinquegentiani, perhaps so called because they consisted of five nations, joined in confederacy against the Romans, and over-run Africa; M. Aurelius Julianus revolted in Italy, and caused himself to be proclaimed emperor; the same title was assumed at Alexandria in Egypt by Achilleus, styled on his coins L. Epidius Achilleus †. The two emperors, alarmed at the danger which threatened the empire, resolved to strengthen their interest with the assistance of others, and to name each of them a Cæsar, who should succeed them in the empire, and jointly defend the Roman dominions both against foreign invaders and domestic usurpers. Pursuant to this resolution and agreement Dioclesian chose Maximinus Galerius, and Maximian pitched upon Constantius, surnamed Chlorus; who were each of them vested with the tribunitial and proconsular power, and honoured with the titles of Emperor, Father of their Country, and High Pontiff, which had hitherto been peculiar to the sovereign ‡. The two emperors, the better to cement the union between them and their Cæsars, obliged them to repudiate their wives, and ally themselves to the imperial families. Constantius married Theodora, daughter-in-law to

The empire threatened on all sides.

The two emperors choose two Cæsars.

* Paneg. 11. p. 131—137. † Aur. Vict. epit. p. 524. Eutrop. p. 585. ‡ Grut. p. 166. Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 17. p. 315.

Maximian; and Galerius espoused Valeria, the daughter of Dioclesian.

Yr. of Fl. 2640. After the nomination of the two Cæsars, the empire was divided into four parts: Dioclesian chose the countries beyond the Ægæan sea; Thrace and Illyricum were allotted to Galerius; Italy and Africa, with the adjacent islands, to Maximian; and Gaul, Britain, and Spain, with Mauritania Tingitana, to Constantius.

The empire divided into four parts.

Each of these princes governed the provinces that fell to his share with absolute authority; but the other three paid great deference to Dioclesian, acknowledging themselves indebted to him for the power they enjoyed, and revering him as their common father. An entire union and concord reigned among them, each carefully avoiding to assume any superiority over the rest, or to give the least motive of jealousy or umbrage to his colleagues^z. From this time the empire continued almost constantly divided; but each emperor was considered as master of the whole. Hence, to the laws which any of them enacted, were always prefixed the names of his colleagues; and likewise to all the requests and petitions that were presented to them. As each of the four sovereigns insisted upon having as many officers, both civil and military, and the same number of forces, as had been maintained by the state when governed only by one emperor, there were more soldiers to pay, than people to supply the necessary sums. Hence the taxes and imposts were increased beyond measure, the inhabitants in the several provinces reduced to beggary, and the lands left untilld. In proportion as the people grew less able to pay the heavy taxes, the number of the officers was increased to exact them by force. Thus was the empire greatly weakened, and almost ruined. Italy itself, which had hitherto only supplied the court, and the troops attending it with provisions, was obliged to submit to the same tribute that was exacted from the other provinces^a.

The evils attending this division.

Galerius, whom Dioclesian raised to the dignity of Cæsar, is styled on most of his coins, Caius Galerius Valerius Maximianus. He was born in a village near Sardica, the metropolis of New Dacia; his mother Romula having retired thither from Old Dacia, or Dacia beyond the Danube, when that country was over-run by the Carpi. Galerius, in honour of his mother, gave afterwards the name of Romulianum to the place of his nativity^b. As Romula was

^z Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 17. p. 315. Vict. p. 524.
 Vict. p. 512.

^b Eutrop. p. 531.

^a Aur.

^a pro-

a professed enemy to the Christians, she inspired her son with the same hatred; and this chiefly occasioned the bloody persecution which raged in the latter end of Dioclesian's reign. Galerius was descended of an obscure family; for both he and his sister's son Maximinus, whom he afterwards created Cæsar, are said to have been in their youth cow-herds: whence Galerius was nick-named Armentarius, from the Latin word *armentum*, signifying a drove of cattle. He was a person totally illiterate; but nevertheless raised himself, from the mean condition of a common soldier, to the chief posts in the army, having given signal proofs of his valour and conduct under the emperors Aurelian and Probus ^c (P). He had no children by Valeria, the daughter of Dioclesian; but a son, named Candidianus, by a concubine, and a daughter by his former wife, who was married to Maxentius, the son of Maximian ^d. Of Constantius, the other Cæsar, we shall speak in a more proper place. Galerius was no sooner created Cæsar, than he marched, with all the troops he could assemble, against the Barbarians in the neighbourhood of the Danube and Illyricum; but performed nothing, either in this or the three following years, against the enemies of Rome, which historians have judged worth transmitting to posterity. He caused several large forests to be grubbed up in Lower Pannonia, and a lake to be discharged into the Danube; by which means he gained a new province, which, from his wife's name, he styled Valeria, lying between the Danube and the Draw, and known in future ages by the name of Pannonia Secunda ^e. Maximian passed this year over into Africa; where he gained a complete victory over the Quinquegentiani, and reduced Julianus (who had usurped the title of emperor in Italy, as we have hinted above, and afterwards crossed over into Africa) to such difficulties, that he dispatched himself by falling on his own sword ^f.

Pannonia Secunda, a new province.

Constantius was no sooner vested with his new dignity, than he hastened into Gaul; and arriving at Gesoriacum,

^c Aur. Vict. Epit. p. 543.

^d Laët. Perf. p. 401. 44. 19 16.

^e Aur. Vict. p. 525, 526. Baudran. p. 303.

^f Panegy. 7, 8.

(P) Lactantius reckons him to cruelty, and a declared enemy amongst the worst emperors, to learning and men of letters (1). wickedness, naturally inclined

(1) Laët. Perf. cap. 9. p. 8.

*Constantius
takes Gess-
riacum.*

now Boulogne, which was defended by the troops of Carausius, invested the place, and blocked up the haven with huge beams driven into the ground at the entrance, and heaps of great stones like a rampart. The garrison being by this mole prevented from returning into Britain, and deprived of all hopes of relief, submitted to Constantius, and were incorporated among his troops: but the mole, which had continued firm for several days, was entirely destroyed by the first tide after the surrender of the city. Constantius, notwithstanding the reduction of that important place, did not yet attempt the recovery of Britain, not thinking himself furnished with a sufficient number of ships for so great an undertaking. In the following year, Dioclesian being consul the fifth time, and Maximian the fourth, Carausius was treacherously murdered by Allectus, his bosom-friend and prime minister, who usurped the government, and proclaimed himself emperor^g. Constantius, while his fleet was preparing in the ports on the ocean for the British expedition, cleared Batavia of the Franks, who had seized on that country; and transplanted them, with their wives and children, into other parts of the empire that were destitute of inhabitants, obliging them to till the ground, to pay tribute, and supply, when required, a certain number of troops^h (Q).

*Constantius
drives the
Franks out
of Batavia.*

^g Entrop. p. 586.
106, 107.

^h Panegy. 1. 3. 7, 8. p. 3. 47. 93. 104.

(Q) Eumenius, the panegyrist, tells us, that Constantius performed many exploits before he attempted the reduction of Britain; that he exterminated several barbarous nations; extended the limits of the empire, restored many provinces; pillaged and laid waste Germany from the Rhine to the Danube; and took the king of a very fierce and warlike nation prisoner. He restored to its ancient splendour the city of Augustodunum, now Autun, which had been almost ruined by Tetricus, for having revolted from him, and invited the emperor Claudius into Gaul.

The temples, baths, and other public edifices, nay even most of the houses belonging to private persons were, at an immense charge, rebuilt by Constantius, who moreover embellished the city with magnificent aqueducts, supplied it with plenty of water, transplanted thither the most conspicuous families in the other provinces, prevailed upon the famous orator Eumenius, who was himself a native of the place, to take upon him the charge of educating and instructing their youth, and in short did all that lay in his power to raise Autun above all the other cities of Gaul (1).

(1) Panegy. 6. 8, 9. p. 85. 112. 114.

Two strong castles were built by Galerius on the Danube, in the country of the Sarmatians; one opposite Acincum, or Aquincum, now Strigonium, or Gran, in Lower Hungary; the other facing Bononia, which stood between the Draw and Save, and is at present known by the name of Bonmoſtor. From the date of ſeveral laws, published this and the preceding year, it appears, that Diocleſian ſpent them both in Illyricum and Thrace, which provinces belonged to Galerius, whom perhaps he was come to aſſiſt againſt the Barbarians on the other ſide of the Danube: in the ſame manner we ſhall ſee Maximian enter Gaul to defend that province againſt the incuſions of the Barbarians, while Conſtantius was employed in Britain. The Carpi, after having long maintained themſelves in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of the Roman emperors, were at length entirely reduced by Galerius, and by Diocleſian tranſplanted into the territories of the empire, chiefly into Pannonia¹. Diocleſian being conſul the ſixth time, and Conſtantius the ſecond, in the year 296, the latter, after three years preparations, undertook at length the reduction of Britain.

*Conſtantius
invades
Britain.*

Having equipped two fleets on different parts of the coaſt of Gaul, he gave the command of one to Aſclepiodotus, his prætorian præfect, and ſailed in perſon with the other from Geſſoriacum, now Boulogne. Allectus likewiſe divided his navy, ſtationing one ſquadron at the iſle of Wight, to obſerve the motions of Aſclepiodotus, whiſt he himſelf with the other remained upon the coaſt of Kent, ready to oppoſe Conſtantius. Both the fleets of Conſtantius ſeemed to have ſailed about the ſame time for the coaſt of Britain. That under Aſclepiodotus paſſing by the ſquadron of Allectus off the Iſle of Wight in a thick fog which prevented their being deſcried, landed without oppoſition, and their commander ordered the ſhips to be burnt, that the troops might have no reſource but their valour. Allectus was no ſooner apprized of his landing than he haſtened to the place where the danger ſeemed moſt preſſing; ſo that Conſtantius landed without oppoſition, and was received as a deliverer by the Britons, who had been grievouſly oppreſſed. Mean while Allectus diſtrusting the Roman troops under his command, marched with the auxiliaries only againſt Aſclepiodotus, and hazarding a battle was entirely defeated. He himſelf was overtaken in his flight, and having quitted the imperial ornaments that he might eſcape notice, was ſlain before his rank was diſcovered. A body of Franks, however, reached London unbroke, in hopes of being able

*Allectus
defeated
and ſlain.*

¹ Paneg. 8. p. 105. 107. Journ. rer. Goth. cap. 16. p. 634. Aur. Vict. p. 525. Eutrop. p. 586. Ammian. lib. xxviii. p. 357.

*Tranquility
of the pro-
vince re-
stored.*

*Part of
Gaul peo-
pled by the
Franks.*

*Achilleus
overcome,
and Egypt
reduced by
Dioclesian.*

*Yr. of Fl.
2645.
A. D. 297.
U. C. 1045.*

*The Moors
subdued by
Maximian.*

to pillage the city, and retire with their booty by sea: but they were anticipated by some of the ships of Constantius, which had been driven into the Thames by stress of weather. The troops on board of these ships not only protected the city; but falling upon the Barbarians, routed them with great slaughter. Thus were the troubles of Britain appeased, and the province reduced to obedience after a rebellion of ten years. Constantius, who was a mild and merciful prince, made the noblest use of this victory: he studied to relieve the people after the long oppression they had undergone; he ordered restitution to be made to those who had been unjustly deprived of their estates; law, order, and security were re-established; and even the guilty experienced the generosity of the conqueror. He published a general amnesty, and peace was restored through every part of the island.

Constantius, having settled affairs in Britain, returned to Gaul; and, transplanting great numbers of Franks into that province, peopled the countries of Amiens, Beauvois, Troies, and Langres, which were almost destitute of inhabitants, obliging the new-comers to cultivate the lands, to pay the usual tributes, and supply the Roman armies with a certain number of troops^k. The same year Dioclesian recovered Egypt from Achilleus, who had caused himself to be proclaimed emperor, and held that province for the space of near six years^l. Dioclesian marched against him in person, overcame him without much difficulty, and punished him with death (R).

The succeeding consuls were Maximianus the fifth time, and Galerius the second. The former, quitting Gaul upon the return of Constantius from Britain, crossed over into Africa, routed the armies of the rebellious Moors, besieged their castles and strong-holds, drove them from their mountains and rocks, which they had hitherto deemed impregnable; and, having obliged them to lay down their arms, and surrender at discretion, transplanted them into other

^k Vales. Rer. Franc. lib. i. p. 15.

^l Birag. p. 430.

(R) Constantine, the son of Constantius, attended Dioclesian in this war; for Eusebius tells us, that he saw him as he passed with the emperor through Palestine (1). The cities of Coptos and Busris in Thebais,

having sided in this war with Achilleus, were utterly ruined by Dioclesian (2). Eumenius tells us, that the victories gained by Dioclesian in Egypt struck terror into the Indians and Ethiopians (3).

(1) Euseb. Vit. Constant. lib. i. cap. 19. p. 417.
Chronograph. p. 4, 6.

(3) Paneg. 8. p. 105.

(2) Theoph.

countries ^m. The same year Narses, king of Persia, envying the glory of Sapor, who had defeated the Roman armies, and taken the emperor himself prisoner, entered Armenia at the head of a powerful army; and, having quickly reduced that kingdom, advanced into Mesopotamia. Dioclesian, intimidated by the misfortune that had befallen the unhappy Valerian, instead of advancing against him in person, withdrew into Egypt, committing the whole management of that dangerous war to Galerius, whom he ordered to leave Illyricum immediately, and march into Mesopotamia, to oppose the attempts of the Persian monarch. Galerius flew to Mesopotamia, and meeting the Persians between Callinicum and Carrhæ, engaged their numerous army with a small body of troops. The battle lasted some hours; but in the end the Romans, overpowered with numbers, were forced to give ground, and save themselves by flight. Galerius hurried to Dioclesian, to give him an account of the disaster, and consult about the most proper measures to prevent the evil consequences that might attend it. The emperor, who at his arrival was taking the air in the fields, received him with the greatest contempt, and suffered him, attired as he was with the purple, to walk one, or, as others write, several miles by his chariot ⁿ. This affront, instead of disheartening Galerius, inspired him with an eager desire of wiping off the disgrace of his late defeat. Having therefore, with much difficulty, obtained Dioclesian's consent to raise another army, he assembled all the troops in Illyricum and Mœsia; raised new levies; and in a short time entered Armenia with a considerable army. All authors agree, that Galerius, in this war, performed all that could be expected from a brave soldier and experienced commander: he even went in person, attended only by two horsemen, to reconnoitre the enemy, assuming the character of a deputy sent by the Roman emperor to the Persian monarch.

*Galerius
defeated by
Narses
king of
Persia.*

Having thus viewed the enemy's camp and works, he attacked them so vigorously, and conducted the whole action with such prudence and address, that only with twenty-five thousand men he forced their intrenchments, though defended by an innumerable multitude, cut above twenty thousand of them in pieces, took an immense booty, and an incredible number of prisoners, among whom were the king's wives, sisters, and children, together with a great

*Narses utterly
defeated in a
second battle
by Galerius.*

^m Paneg. 8. p. 105—108. ⁿ Aur. Vict. p. 525. Jul. Orat. i. p. 31. Ammian. lib. xiv. p. 27.

The Persians sue for peace;

many persons of the first rank *. Galerius treated the princesses with great respect, and would not suffer the least affront to be offered to them; a circumstance which seemed so surprising to the Persians, that they owned themselves as much inferior to the Romans in chastity as in valour. Eutropius relates, that Licinius, afterwards emperor, signalized himself on this occasion. Narses, who was present at this battle, and, according to Zonaras, wounded in the beginning of the engagement, fled with the rest, and took shelter in the most remote deserts of his kingdom; whence he sent Apharban, one of his chief favourites, to conclude a peace with the Romans upon any terms. Apharban, in the most submissive manner, entreated the conqueror not to destroy the Persian empire, but to use his success with moderation, which, he said, would gain him greater reputation and fame than the victory itself. The conditions of the peace he left entirely to him; and only begged, in his master's name, that, mindful of the generosity which in all ages had been peculiar to the Romans, he would add to the obligations which he already owed him for treating his wives and children with such humanity, that of restoring them to their former condition. Galerius replied, that it ill became the Persians to expect moderation in others, after they had in such an infamous manner abused their victory, in treating their illustrious captive Valerian like the meanest of their slaves, nay, worse than their beasts of burden. "However, as it is beneath a Roman (added he), to retaliate such indignities, and we are taught to spare those who submit, and humble such as oppose us, let your master know, that he may perhaps soon have the pleasure of seeing the persons who are so dear to him †."

Galerius, having dismissed the Persian ambassador, visited Dioclesian, who received him at Nisibis in Mesopotamia with all possible marks of honour and esteem; and they held several conferences on the subject of a pacification. We are told, that they might have easily reduced Persia to a Roman province, but that Dioclesian did not approve of it, for reasons which no historian has specified ‡. Sicorius Probus, one of Galerius's secretaries, was therefore dispatched to Narses, who received him with great demonstrations of kindness and esteem, and soon after admitted him to an audience on the banks of the Asprudis in Media, in the presence only of Apharban and two others. The

* Eutrop. p. 586. Festus, p. 553. Lact. Persec. cap. 9, p. 8. Ammian. lib. xxiii. p. 245. Zonar. p. 244. † Petr. Patric. Legat. p. 26. ‡ Aur. Vict. p. 525.

terms proposed by Probus were, that Narfes should cede to the Romans the five following provinces, Intelene, Sophene, Arzacene, Carduene, and Zabdicene; that the Tigris should be the boundary between the two empires; that Nisibis should be a common emporium to both nations; that the limits of Armenia should be extended to the castle of Zintha, on the confines of Media; and, lastly, that the king of Iberia should receive his crown from the hands of the Roman emperor. Narfes excepted against the article relating to Nisibis, but complied with the rest. A peace was concluded, and the Persian king's wives and children were delivered to that monarch^r. This peace proved very advantageous to the Romans, and was kept inviolate forty years.

which is granted them, upon their yielding five provinces to the Romans.

For these conquests Galerius assumed the pompous titles of Perficus, Armeniacus, Medicus, and Adiabenicus; and became so elated with his victory, that Dioclesian began to take umbrage at his haughty behaviour, imagining, that he would not be any longer satisfied with the bare title of Cæsar^s. In the following year, Anicius Faustus being consul the second time with Severus Gallus, Dioclesian built several forts and castles on the frontiers of the empire towards Persia; and surrounded with high walls, and strong towers, the castle of Cercusium in Mesopotamia, at the confluence of the Aboras and the Euphrates^t. The next consuls were, Dioclesian the seventh time, and Maximian the sixth. This year the Marcomanni and Bastarnæ suffered a terrible defeat, and great numbers of their captives were transplanted into the Roman territories^u. From several laws it appears, that Dioclesian was this year, in the months of January, February, April, and November, at Sirmium, and on the fifth of June at Philippopolis in Thrace. The following year, when Constantius and Galerius were consuls the third time, is quite barren of events.

Galerius elated with his victory.

The next consuls were, Titianus the second time, and Nepotianus, whom Onuphrius supposes to be the father of Flavius Popilius Nepotianus, who usurped the empire fifty years after^w. At this period Constantius gained a remarkable victory over the Alemanni, who, attacking him by surprize, when he had but a small body of troops with him, forced him to retire, and shelter himself behind the walls of Langres. But his army arriving a few hours after he had entered the city, he sallied out at the head of a detach-

Yr. of Fl.
2649.
A. D. 301.
U. C. 1049.

Constantius gains a signal victory over the Alemanni.

^r Petr. Patric. Legat. p. 29.
Perf. cap. 9. p. 9.
Ammian. lib. xxix. p. 359.
p. 586.

^s Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 17. Last.
^t Paneg. p. 121. Grut. p. 166, 167.
^u Aur. Victor, p. 525. Eutrop.

^w Onuph. p. 261.

A great dearth in most provinces of the empire.

The tenth general persecution.

ment, joined his other forces, and, falling upon the enemy, cut sixty thousand of them in pieces ^x (S). Dioclesian was, on the fourth of July, at Antioch in Syria. When Constantius and Galerius were consuls the fourth time, a great scarcity prevailed in most provinces of the empire ^y. Dioclesian, to obviate that evil, fixed the prices of provision; but the rates being too low, the traders, instead of exposing to sale, concealed their commodities: by which means the dearth was converted into a famine, which raged till the merchants were allowed to sell their commodities at their own prices (T). Dioclesian passed this year partly in Syria, and partly at Nicomedia in Bithynia, with Galerius ^z. The next winter he and Galerius spent at Nicomedia in Bithynia, in consultations, not about the means of extending the empire, and securing it against the incursions of the Barbarians, but concerning the most effectual methods of utterly extirpating the Christian religion, to which Galerius had imbibed, from his infancy, an irreconcilable hatred. He found means to inspire Dioclesian with the same animosity, which produced a general persecution (U).

About

^x Zonar. p. 244. Panegyr. 7. p. 93.
p. 362. ^z Cod. p. 240. 243.

^y Laët. Pers. cap. 7.

(S) Eumenius mentions another victory gained this year by Constantius in the plains of Vindonissa, now Vindisch, in the canton of Bern, near the confluence of the Aar and the Rufs (1). The same writer records, that a numerous army, consisting of different German nations, having rendezvoused in an island in the Rhine, while that river was frozen over, were by a sudden thaw shut up there, and obliged to surrender at discretion to the Romans, who blocked them up with their fleet.

(T) Procopius writes, that Dioclesian ordered two millions of bushels of corn to be yearly distributed among the inhabit-

ants of that populous metropolis (2).

(U) This persecution began on the twenty-third of February of this year 303, the nineteenth of Dioclesian's reign, and raged ten whole years with the most unrelenting cruelty, the Christians being every where, without distinction of sex, age, or condition, dragged to execution, and tortured with the most exquisite torments rage, cruelty, and hatred, could invent. A few days after the issuing of the first edicts against the Christians, a fire broke out in the palace at Nicomedia, where Dioclesian and Galerius resided, and reduced part of it to ashes (3). Eusebius writes, that he

(1) Panegyr. 7. p. 92. Baudr. p. 31. (2) Procop. Arcan. Hist. cap. 26. p. 77. (3) Laët. Pers. cap. 24. p. 12.

could

About this time Eugenius assumed the title of emperor in Syria. He commanded five hundred men in Seleucia, who, being employed in the day-time in cleansing the harbour of that city, and in the night in baking their own bread, resolved to revolt, and proclaim their leader emperor. Eugenius at first refused the dignity offered him; but was at length constrained, through fear, to accept it; for they threatened him with instant death, if he did not second their designs. Being arrayed with a purple robe taken from the statue of one of the gods, he led his men to Antioch; which city he reached the same day in the close of the evening, and entered without opposition, as there was no garrison in the place, and the inhabitants were entirely ignorant of his intentions: but when he began to act as emperor, the whole city rose, and, falling upon the rebels, with such arms as chance presented, killed them all to a man before midnight. Thus the empire of Eugenius began and ended the same day^a. Dioclesian ought rather to have rewarded than punished the Antiochians; but on this occasion he acted with the most cruel ingratitude, without paying any regard to the usual forms of law, he commanded the chief magistrates of Antioch and Seleucia to be publicly executed, under pretence of their being privy to the conspiracy^b.

Eugenius proclaimed emperor by a few soldiers;

who are all cut in pieces.

The cruelty of Dioclesian to the Antiochians.

Towards the close of the year, Dioclesian and Maximian, with their two Cæsars, Constantius and Galerius, returned to Rome, and enjoyed the honour of a triumph, which the senate had long since decreed, and which their many victories and conquests fully merited. As Dioclesian, both

Dioclesian triumphs, and leaves Rome.

^a Liban. orat. xiv. p. 399. & orat. xv. p. 410, 411.

^b Idem. ibid.

could never know how that accident happened (4). Constantine, who was on the spot, ascribes it to lightning (5); and Lactantius assures us, that Galerius caused fire to be privately set to the palace, that he might accuse the Christians, and by that calumny incense Dioclesian still more against them. The emperor was greatly alarmed by a second fire, which broke out in the palace fifteen days after the first, but was extinguished

before it had done any great mischief. However, it had the effect which was intended by the author, Galerius: for Dioclesian, ascribing it to the Christians, resolved to punish them with the utmost severity; and Galerius, the more to exasperate him against them, withdrew from Nicomedia the same day, pretending that he was afraid of being burnt alive by those incendiaries (6).

(4) Idem. ibid. (5) Const. Orat. ad Sanct. Cætum. (6) Euseb. de Martyr. Palæst. cap. 2. p. 320.

His illness.

in his triumph, and the sports that followed, shewed greater œconomy than was pleasing to the populace, they took thence occasion to rally him with great indecency; a freedom which he resented, by leaving the city soon after his triumph, and reached Ravenna on the nineteenth of December. As the season was then both rainy and cold, he contracted a lingering distemper, which in a short time so weakened him, that he could neither walk nor stand^c. In the beginning of the spring he quitted Ravenna, and passing through Venetia and Illyricum in a litter, arrived at Nicomedia in the beginning of autumn. As his distemper encreased daily, on the thirteenth of December he swooned, and was believed to have paid the last debt of mortality. However, he recovered his sight and voice; but his head remained so affected, that thenceforth he was frequently seized with fits, which deprived him of the use of his reason. As he was not in a condition to appear abroad till the first of March of the following year, many persons believed he was dead; but that his death was kept concealed till the arrival of Galerius, lest the soldiers should, in the mean time, according to custom, proclaim a new emperor^d. To dissipate this report, he shewed himself to the people of Nicomedia on the first of March; but there appeared such a change in his countenance, that many doubted whether it was the same person. Soon after, Galerius arrived, who had already threatened Maximian with a civil war, if he did not resign the empire. He now came into Nicomedia, to oblige Dioclesian likewise to give up the sovereignty, since he was no longer able to discharge the functions of the imperial dignity.

*Galerius
obliges him
to renounce
the empire.*

As Dioclesian did not yield to the reasons he alleged, but only offered to share the empire with him and Constantius, Galerius told him plainly, that, if he did not resign willingly, he would force him to abdicate. Dioclesian, intimidated by these menaces, and apprised, that Galerius, who had, for some time, been encreasing his army with new levies, was in a condition to make good his threats, yielded at length. It was agreed, that Dioclesian and Maximian should renounce the sovereignty; that Constantius and Galerius should, at the same time, be vested with it; and that, to preserve the form of government introduced by Dioclesian, two new Cæsars should be appointed. Dioclesian immediately dispatched an express to Maximian, then at Milan, acquainting him with what had passed at Nicomedia. He

^c Laët. *Persec.* cap. 17. p. 15. Ammian, lib. xvi. p. 131. ^d Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 13.

was no less unwilling than his colleague, to part with the sovereignty; but nevertheless, to avoid a civil war, in which he was convinced Galerius would prevail, he adopted the same measures* (W). As two new Cæsars were to be chosen, Dioclesian proposed Maxentius, the son of Maximian, and son-in-law of Galerius, and Constantine, the son of Constantius; but Galerius, rejecting them, prevailed upon Dioclesian to nominate two others, Severus, whom he had already sent to receive the purple from Maximian, and Daia, or Daza, his sister's son, to whom he had lately given the name of Maximin. They were both greatly attached to Galerius, but neither of them was qualified for such a high station.

Maximin and Severus declared Cæsars.

On the first of May Dioclesian resigned the empire in the presence of his court, and the army, divesting himself of the purple, and delivering it to Maximin, whom at the same time he declared Cæsar, together with Severus. Dioclesian, before he resigned the purple, made an harangue to the soldiers, telling them, that, his infirmities obliging him to retire, he yielded the empire to Constantius and Galerius, who were more able, and better qualified, than he, to discharge so difficult a trust. When the ceremony was over, Dioclesian passed through Nicomedia with a small retinue, and, retiring to Dalmatia, his native country, chose the city of Salona for the place of his residence†. The same day Maximian, quitting the purple at Milan, assigned it to Severus, declared Constantius and Galerius emperors, and then retired to Lucania, where we shall soon see him raising disturbances, with a design to resume the dignity which he had been forced to renounce.

Yr. of Fl.
2653.
A. D. 305.
U. C. 1053.

Dioclesian and Maximian resign the empire.

* Lact. Persec. cap. 17 p. 15. & cap. 18. p. 16. † Ibid. cap. 18. p. 16, 17. Vict. Epit. p. 543.

(W) Such is the account which Lactantius gives us of the resignation of Maximian and Dioclesian; but this author is apt to put the worst constructions upon every article of Dioclesian's conduct. Constantine, who was then at Nicomedia, and lodged in the same palace with Dioclesian, assures us, in a speech which he pronounced in public, that the emperor, thinking himself no longer able to govern, on ac-

count of the fits to which he was subject, resigned of his own accord; and the panegyrist, who wrote at that time, mention his resignation as a shining instance of greatness, generosity, and an utter contempt of all human grandeur; and assert, that both he and Maximian had agreed long before, and even bound themselves by a solemn oath in the Capitol, to resign the sovereignty (1).

(1) Constant. Orat. cap. 25.

*Dioclesian
leads a re-
tired life.*

Dioclesian passed the remainder of his life at a country-seat in the neighbourhood of Salona, on the spot where the city of Spalato was afterwards built. The ruins of his palace are still visible, and take up two thirds of the town. It was, according to Constantius Porphyrogenitus, a most stately and magnificent building, and contained four temples, one of which is still entire, and the cathedral of Spalato. Dioclesian diverted himself, during his retirement, with cultivating a garden, often repeating, "Now I live; now I see the beauty of the sun." Some time after, when Maximian and others pressed him to resume the empire, he returned this answer; "I wish you would but come to Salona, that I might shew you the colworts which I have planted with my own hands; I am sure you would never more mention the empire to me ^s (X)." He died, according to Aurelius Victor^h, soon after the marriage of Licinius, which was celebrated in the March of the year 313, after having lived about eighty years, and reigned twenty and some months. He was deified with the usual solemnitiesⁱ, probably by Licinius, or Maximin II. for Constantine, at the time of his death, professed the Christian religion. Libanius writes, that Dioclesian shewed himself in many, but not in all things, an excellent prince^k; and the emperor Julian commends him for having done many things that proved very useful to the public^l. He enacted a great many excellent laws, and was so far from countenancing informers, that he commanded them to be executed when they could not support their charge. He would not receive the accusation of Thaumastus against his benefactor Symmachus, in whose house he had been brought up; and condemned another to banishment for informing against his brother^m. He encouraged and preferred persons of merit and virtue, discountenanced vice, managed the public mo-

*He shewed
himself in
many
things an
excellent
prince.*

^s Eutrop. p. 587.

Euseb. lib. ix. cap. 10. p. 364

ⁱ Jul. Orat. i. p. 12.

& leg. 12. p. 810.

^h Aur. Vict. p. 542.

ⁱ Eutrop. p. 586.

^k Liban. Orat. xiv. p. 399.

^l Cod. Just. lib. ix. tit. 1. leg. 17. p. 111.

(X) He was long honoured in his retreat by the princes that reigned after him, who revered him as their common father, since to him they were indebted for their dignity. In his time they consecrated the thermæ, or hot-baths, which he had begun at Rome, and consulted

him in all affairs of importance, paying great deference to his counsels. Lactantius, and other Christian writers, have represented him as cowardly, cruel, and rapacious: the Pagan historians have celebrated him as a great, magnificent, and good prince.

ney with great frugality, encouraged the worship of the gods, and was, till seduced by Galerius, rather a friend than an enemy to the Christians, of whom he had, till the year 303, great numbers both in his court and armyⁿ.

He was greatly addicted to building, and embellished several cities of the empire, especially Rome, Carthage, Milan, and Nicomedia, with many stately edifices (Y). We cannot help observing, before we close this chapter, that though no reign was more remarkable either for length, or variety of great events, than Dioclesian's, yet no prince's reign is less known; a circumstance which would appear more surprising, did we not know that Christianity became the emperor's religion in the next reign; and that in all probability the Christians suppressed all histories and memoirs relating to Dioclesian, whom they hated as their most cruel enemy and persecutor^o (Z).

His public buildings.

CHAP.

ⁿ Aur. Vict. p. 525 Laët. Perf. cap. 10. p. 9.
in Spart. p. 201.

^o Causab. not.

(Y) From the ruins of his thermæ, or public hot baths, which are still visited and admired by all travellers, we may judge of the grandeur and magnificence of that surprising fabric. Besides the bathing-places, in which three thousand persons could conveniently bathe at a time, there were many other rooms and apartments; for the books which were deposited in Trajan's library were conveyed thither (1). The emperor Constantius II. when he came to Rome in 358, admired nothing so much as Dioclesian's bath, which seemed rather a province, says Ammianus, than a building (2).

(Z) Claudius Eusthenius, secretary to Dioclesian, wrote the history of the four princes Dioclesian, Maximian, Constantius, and Galerius (3); and

this is all we know of him. The Augustine writers, Spartian, Lampridius, Vulcatius, Capitolinus, Pollio, and Vopiscus, all lived in the reign of Dioclesian, though some of them flourished under his successors. Ælius Spartianus wrote first the lives of all the emperors, from Julius Cæsar to Adrian, and afterwards resolved to add the lives of all the other emperors and Cæsars, and to inscribe the whole to Dioclesian, of whose family he seems to have been a branch (4). These six writers, Spartian, Lampridius, Vulcatius, Capitolinus, Pollio, and Vopiscus, are known to the learned by the name of *Historiæ Augustæ Scriptores*, though they are in reality rather biographers than historians, and take more care to inform us of the good and bad qualities of the

(1) Euseb. Chron. p. 244. Prob. Vit. p. 233. Vict. epit. p. 525.
(2) Ammian. lib. xvi. p. 71. (3) Car. Vit. p. 254. (4) Ver. Vit. p. 13. 16.

C H A P. LX.

The Roman History, from the Resignation of Dioclesian, to the Removal of the Imperial Seat to Constantinople, by Constantine the Great.

Yr. of Fl. 2653. **U**PON the resignation of Dioclesian and Maximian, the
 A. D. 305. two Cæsars, Constantius and Galerius, were univer-
 U.C. 1053. sally acknowledged emperors. Of the latter we have spoken
 already, and shall here give a succinct account of the birth,
 education,

emperors, of their birth, education, stature, mien, and even their diet and the cloaths they wore, than to describe their wars, the laws they enacted, and the great revolutions that happened during their respective reigns. Vopiscus, in the opinion of the learned, far excels the rest, both as to his method and style; but nevertheless has many imperfections, and is not to be compared with any of the ancient Latin historians. The other five betray great want of judgment in their choice, and of method in digesting their materials. Of these six writers Capitolinus is the most confused and injudicious; whence some have suspected, that the author of this collection had mixed and blended together the relations of Capitolinus, Spartian, and some others (5). Their style is vulgar and unpolished, their expressions uncouth, and sometimes hardly intelligible. Vopiscus observes, that Lamprius and Capitolinus attended

more to truth than elegance in their narrations (6). Pollio owns his style to have nothing of the dignity of the ancients (7). But of the many historians, some say fifty and upwards, who have written on the same subject, only the above mentioned six have reached us. Tatius, or Statius Cyrellus, was contemporary with these writers, and translated the lives of several emperors out of Greek into Latin. Constantine persuaded him to abridge them, and to join several lives together in one volume (8). His work has been long since lost. Sotericus, a poet and historian, flourished in the reign of Dioclesian, on whom he wrote a panegyric. He was a native of Oasis in Libya, and much esteemed by the learned men of his age. He left several works, and, among the rest, the life of Apollonius Tyaneus (9); but only a small fragment of what he wrote has been conveyed to us by the scholiast of Lycophron (1).

(5) Vide Caufab. in Spart. p. 13.

(7) Trig. Tyran. p. 184.

cap. 7. p. 193.

ii. cap. 16. p. 246.

(6) Prob. Vit. p. 234.

(8) Max. Vit. p. 138. Voss Hist. Lat.

(9) Suid. p. 784.

(1) Voss. Hist. Græc. lib.

education, preferments, and qualities of Constantius, the father of the great Constantine, to whom the Christian religion

Constantius and Galerius acknowledged emperors.

But, of all the writers who flourished under Dioclesian, the most famous was the philosopher Porphyrius, born in the city of Tyre (2). He was disciple to Longinus, under whom he studied at Athens the philosophy of Plato, and made such progress in learning, that he became the honour and ornament of that school (3). Tho' he was one of the most dangerous and inveterate enemies the Christian religion ever had, yet this has not prevented the Christian writers from doing him justice, and bestowing upon him the praises he deserved. Eusebius ranks him among the most illustrious men and eminent philosophers that flourished at any time (4). Cyrillus of Alexandria extols his knowledge; and St. Austin styles him an extraordinary genius, and the most learned among philosophers (5). He was thoroughly versed in every branch of literature, excelled all men of his age in the knowledge of polite learning, arithmetic, geometry, and music (6); but shone chiefly in philosophy, his favourite science and study. Authors observe, that whereas other philosophers studied to conceal their sentiments with an affected obscurity, Porphyrius expressed himself in a manner adapted to the meanest capacities (7). He taught philosophy at Rome,

both by declamation and in writing. He was very communicative to those who desired to be informed and instructed, and kind to his disciples, whom he was ready on all occasions to assist to the utmost of his power. He composed an infinite number of books on different subjects, of which the reader will find a catalogue in the latter part of the dissertation which Holstenius published on the life and writings of that philosopher (8). None of his works have rendered him so famous as that which he published against the Christians, to whom he bore an irreconcilable hatred, and whose religion he endeavoured to discredit with the blackest calumnies. He read the Scriptures with great attention, not to seek the truth, but to find arms to impugn it, says Theodoret (9). He pretended to have discovered in the sacred writings a great many contradictions, which were, it seems, the subject of his first book; for the whole work was divided into fifteen (1). He found the prophecies of Daniel so clearly and evidently fulfilled, that he employed great part of his twelfth book in endeavouring to prove that the prophecies ascribed to Daniel had been published under his name by one who lived in the time of Antiochus, and wrote when the

(2) Plot. Vit. p. 6.

(3) Euseb. Prepar. Evan. lib. x. cap. 3.

p. 464. Eunap. cap. 2. p. 16.

(4) Euseb. ibid. Porphy. Vit.

cap. 1. p. 10, 11.

(5) Aug. Civ. Dei, cap. 32. p. 120.

(6) Eunap. cap. 2. p. 18, 19.

(7) Idem ibid.

(8) Holsten. Vit.

Porph. cap. 6.

(9) Theodoret. de Græc. Affect. lib. vii. p. 588.

(1) Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 19. p. 219. Porphy. Vit. cap. 10. p. 87.

*Extraction
and prefer-
ments of
Constantius.*

ligion is so highly indebted. Constantius, styled in the ancient inscriptions Flavius Valerius Constantius, was the son of Eutropius, one of the chief lords of Dardania in Upper Mœsia, by Claudia, the daughter of Crispus, brother to the emperor Claudius^p; so that he was great-nephew to that prince. He is generally distinguished from other emperors of the same name by the appellation of Chlorus, borrowed perhaps from the paleness of his countenance, for such is the import of the word in the Greek tongue. He was born, according to some writers^q, on the thirty-first of March, of what year we know not, being only informed, that at the time of his death, which happened in 306, he was, or at least seemed to be, very old^r. In his person he was well shaped; and in his aspect there was something extremely gracious and pleasing^s. He was not so well versed in letters as in the military art, which he acquired under two great warriors, Aurelian and Probus^t. An ancient anonymous writer^u relates, that he served some time in the guards, was afterwards made tribune, and at length appointed governor of Dalmatia. He signalized himself in war, and gained an important victory over the Alemanni in Campis Vindonis, that is, in the neighbourhood of Windisch, at present a small village in the canton of Bern. He was made governor of Dalmatia by Carus, who entertained some thoughts of creating him Cæsar, instead of his debauched and wicked son Carinus, whom he designed to depose^w. Dioclesian judging him well qualified for the sovereignty, agreed with Maximian to create him Cæsar, together with Galerius, on the first of March of the year 292, as we have related before. He received the purple from Maximian, who by that ceremony

^p Zonar. Vit. Diocles. p. 243. Ammian. Anonym. p. 471. Spon. p. 193. Claud. Vit. not. Salmaf. p. 331. ^q Bucher. de Cycl. p. 276. ^r Euseb. Vit. Const. lib. i. cap. 18. ^s Paneg. v. p. 116. & 9. p. 192. ^t Aur. Vict. p. 524. Prob. Vit. p. 241. ^u Anonym. Ammiano subjunctus, p. 471. ^w Car. Vit. p. 235.

things supposed to have been foretold had already happened (2). As Porphyrius was a man of great learning, and much esteemed by the Pagans, many were by his writings diverted from embracing the Christian religion, which, however, at length triumphed over this, as it had done over all its other

enemies. The emperor Constantine, after he had embraced the Christian religion, published some severe edicts, either against the person of Porphyrius, if he was still alive, which is not at all likely, or against his memory and his writings, which he caused to be publicly burnt (3).

(2) Hier. in Dan. p. 567.

(3) Socrat. lib. i. cap. 9. p. 32.

adopted him; and hence he is sometimes called by the name of Hercules, which Maximian had assumed. He took precedence of Galerius, though created Cæsar at the same time, on account of his more noble extraction*. Upon his being made Cæsar, Gaul, Spain and Britain fell to his share.

When he attained the empire, he governed the same provinces with such justice, equity, and moderation, as gained him the hearts of his people, who considered him rather as their common father than their sovereign. He is extolled, not only by Eusebius and Lactantius, whose testimony might be suspected, but by all the Pagan writers, as the most equitable, pious, prudent, humane, and generous prince, that ever swayed a sceptre. He was not solicitous, says Eutropius†, about enriching the treasury, but pleased that his people should enjoy the fruit of their labour and industry. He was often heard to say, it was better the wealth of a country should circulate among the people, than be locked up in the coffers of the prince. For fear of oppressing his people he was extremely sparing in his diet, furniture, equipage, and retinue. When he entertained his friends, and the officers of his court, he was obliged to borrow plate for the use of his table. What Eutropius asserts is confirmed by Eusebius, who relates the following remarkable story, passing over in silence, says he, many others no less singular, but generally known: as the moderation and mildness with which Constantius governed, were much applauded, and it was generally said that the treasury was exhausted, being unwilling to tax his people, Dioclesian sent persons to reproach him with his neglect of the public, and the poverty to which he was reduced by his lenity. Constantius heard these reproaches with patience; and having persuaded those who made them in Dioclesian's name, to stay a few days with him, he apprized the most wealthy persons in the provinces that he wanted money, and that they had now an opportunity of shewing whether they truly loved their prince. Upon this notice every one strove who should be foremost in carrying to the treasury their gold, silver, and valuable effects; so that in a short time Constantius, from the poorest, became by far the most wealthy of all the four princes. He then invited the deputies of Dioclesian to visit his treasury, desiring them to make a faithful report to their master of the state in which they should find it. They obeyed; and while

His excellent qualities.

An instance of the affections of the people to him.

* Lactant. Persec. cap. 20. p. 18.

† Eutrop. p. 587.

they stood gazing on the heaps of gold and silver, Constantius told them, that the wealth which they beheld with astonishment, had long since belonged to him; but he had left it in the hands of his people; adding, "That the richest and surest treasure of the prince was the love of his subjects." The deputies were no sooner dismissed, than the generous prince sent for those who had assisted him in this exigency, commended their zeal, and returned to every one what they had so readily brought into his treasury².

*He favours
the Chris-
tians.*

His issue.

When Dioclesian, in the year 303, at the instigation of Galerius, began to persecute the church, he sent his edicts to Maximian and Constantius, injoining them both to see them put in execution in their respective provinces. Maximian obeyed with great eagerness and joy; and Constantius, that he might not seem to oppose his colleagues, suffered some churches to be pulled down; but was so far from encouraging any other violence, that, on the contrary, he preserved the Christians, in his provinces, exempt from all the evils which they suffered in those of the others; in so much that they enjoyed under him profound tranquillity, and entire liberty of conscience³. Though he countenanced and honoured the Christians, yet he himself never embraced the true religion; at least we are no-where told, that he did. By his first wife, Helena, he had but one child, Constantine, surnamed the Great, of whom, as well as of his mother, we shall speak hereafter. He was obliged to divorce her, and marry Flavia Maximiana Theodora, daughter to the wife of Maximian, by a former husband. He had by this last, three sons, Dalmatius, or Dematius, Julius Constantius, and a third, called by some Annibalianus, and by others Constantine; and as many daughters, Constantia, Anastasia, and Eutropia⁴.

*The birth,
education,
and extra-
ordinary
qualities of
his son Con-
stantine.*

Before we proceed to the history of the reign of Constantius, it will be necessary to give the reader a succinct account of the birth, education, and extraordinary qualities, of his son Constantine, whose actions are inseparably interwoven with those of his father. Constantine, styled in the ancient inscriptions, C. Flavius Valerius Aurelius Claudius Constantinus⁵, was born on the twenty-seventh of February, about the year 274; for, at his death, which happened on

² Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 13, 17, p. 309, 317. & Vit. Constant. lib. i. cap. 13. p. 414. ³ Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 13, 18. p. 309, 317. & Constant. lib. i. cap. 13. p. 413. Optat. Mil. lib. i. p. 44. Laet. cap. 15. p. 13. ⁴ Aur. Vict. p. 524. Eutrop. p. 586. Ammian. p. 2. Byzan. Famil. p. 44. Goltz. p. 125. ⁵ Goltz. p. 126, 127.

the twenty-second of May, in 337, he was about sixty-four^d (A).

Constantius had Constantine by the celebrated Helena, so much extolled, and not undeservedly, by all the Christian, especially the ecclesiastic writers (B).

When

^d Buch. Cycl. p. 276. Byzant. Fam. p. 214. Laët. p. 411, 412. Anonym. p. 471.

(A) Julius Firmicus, who, according to the best-grounded opinion, wrote in the reign of Constantine, and Cedrenus, tell us, in express terms, that Constantine was born in the city of Naïssus in Dardania, called also Naïsus and Naffus, and now known by the name of Nissa. It is certain, that the father and ancestors of Constantine were natives of Dardania; that Constantine himself frequently resided at Naïssus, as appears from the many laws which he enacted there; and that he ever shewed himself partial to that city, enriching it with many privileges, and embellishing it with a great number of stately edifices; whence it is styled by Stephanus, "The birth-place and work of the emperor Constantine (1)."

(B) Most modern authors, whether natives of this island, or foreigners, suppose her to have been the daughter of Coellus, a British king, and to have married Constantius, who was charmed with her beauty, when he first came into Britain, in the reign of Aurelian. But this opinion is no better grounded than the other, importing that Constantine was born in Britain.

Nicephorus tells us, that Helena was the daughter of an inn-keeper of Drepanum near Nicomedia in Bithynia, who prostituted her to Constantius, and that Constantine was the fruit of this commerce.

Nicephorus was not the only writer who questioned the legitimacy of Constantine, and the chastity of his mother Helena: for Zosimus writes, that she was not Constantius's lawful wife (2). The chronicle of Alexandria styles her son Constantine, in plain terms, a bastard child (3). St. Ambrose gives us room to think, that this was a current report or tradition in his time; and that he himself did not disbelieve it (4). The same thing is asserted in the Greek text of Eusebius's chronicle, published by Scaliger; and in that of St. Jerom, who has been followed by several eminent writers of a later date, namely, by Prosper, Cassiodorus, Aldhelmus bishop of the West Saxons, and the Venerable Bede, who, speaking of Helena, style her the concubine of Constantius. On the other hand, Eutropius (5), and both the Victors (6), tell us, that Constantius and Galerius

(1) Steph. in Naïso. Jul. Fir. Mathes. lib. i. cap. ult. Cedren. Hist. p. 221. (2) Zof. lib. ii. p. 672. (3) Chron. Al. p. 650.

(4) Amb. Div. 3. p. 123.

(5) Eutrop. p. 586.

(6) Aur.

Vict. p. 524. Vict. Epit. p. 542.

Constantine's excellent qualities.

When Constantius was created Cæsar, and sent into Gaul, Dioclesian kept Constantine as a hostage, caused him to be educated in the court with great care, and raised him, long before the year 303, to the rank of tribune^e. He soon appeared capable of any degree of fortune, however elevated. The beauty of his countenance, blended with a certain air of majesty; the tallness of his person, extremely well shaped and regular; his life without blame or reproach; his generosity, good-nature, affability, and obliging behaviour, towards persons of all ranks, gained him the affections both of the people and soldiery to such a degree, that no one knew him, who did not wish to see him one day emperor, and was not ready to contribute to his preferment^f.

His courage and valour.

He signalized himself in war, and served with great reputation under Dioclesian and Galerius, against the Germans, Goths, Sarmatians, and Persians. He often fought with the enemy hand to hand^g, and gave such proofs of his valour as raised some jealousy in the other princes. All authors, Pagans as well as Christians, agree in extolling, with the highest encomiums, his sobriety, continence, and the abhorrence he shewed from his early youth to unlawful

His singular continence.

^e Euseb. Vit. Const. lib. i. cap. 12. p. 415. Iact. Pers. cap. 18. p. 17. ^f Panegy. 5. p. 125. ^g Theoph. p. 6.

were obliged, when created Cæsar, to divorce their former wives. Constantius therefore had a lawful wife before he married Theodora; and we are no where told, that he had any besides her and Helena. The anonymous author of Constantine's life, published by Valerius, writes in express terms, "that Constantius divorced Helena to espouse Theodora (7);" and Eutropius says, "that Constantine was the fruit of an obscure, but lawful marriage (8). At Naples is still extant an inscription, in which Helena is styled the wife of Constantius (9). In two others, to be seen in Gruter, she is distinguished

with the title of Augusta, which was never given to a concubine. No writer before the seventh century mentions either Helena's country or parentage: those who flourished after that time commonly suppose her to have been a native of this island, and the daughter of a king, whom they call Coelus or Coellus. This opinion, grounded, as we conjecture, upon tradition, or perhaps the authority of some historian, whose works have not reached our times, obtained pretty early here, and produced the many churches and monuments, which were erected throughout Britain to her honour.

(7) Anonym. p. 471. p. 1086.

(8) Eutrop. p. 587.

(9) Gruter,

pleasures. He married to his first wife Minervina, whose parentage and condition the ancients pass over in silence; and had by her Crispus, who must have been born about the year 300; for, twenty years after, he signalized himself in the wars against the Franks and Licinius. Dioclesian, before he resigned the empire, had thoughts of appointing Constantine, and Maxentius, the son of Maximian, Cæsars. But their election was opposed by Galerius, who at length prevailed upon the emperor to adopt Severus and Maximinus, who he knew would be entirely ruled by him, and implicitly obey his orders (C). Matters being thus settled, the empire was divided between Constantius and Galerius.

Severus and Maximinus declared Cæsars.

(C) The former was a native of Illyricum, descended of an obscure family, abandoned to all manner of vice, and in every respect unequal to so important a charge. The latter was born in the same country, and no less meanly than the other; for though he was nephew to Galerius, being his sister's son, yet in his youth he had followed the servile calling of a shepherd; and he proved, after his preferment, no less vicious than his colleague. He was yet a youth, and half a Barbarian, unknown to the emperors, and entirely unacquainted with state-affairs, when Galerius, who had taken him a little before from his flocks, recommended him to Dioclesian for the dignity of Cæsar. The emperor, terrified by the menaces of Galerius, consented, much against his inclination, to the promotion both of Severus and Maximinus; and on the day appointed for his resignation, after having declared in a great assembly, that he yielded the empire to Constantius and Galerius, who were more capable than he was of bearing so great a weight,

added, not without betraying some concern and reluctance, "I am likewise to name two new Cæsars, and these are Severus and Maximinus." The whole assembly was greatly surprised to hear these two names, and began to enquire whether Constantine had changed his? Their surprize was doubled, when they heard Galerius command Constantine to descend from the throne on which he sat with Dioclesian; and saw unexpectedly a young Barbarian, who stood behind it, step forth and receive the purple at the hands of the emperor. The numerous multitude was struck with amazement. Every one asked, who Maximin was? whence he came? for what demerit Constantine had been excluded from an honour, to which he had so just a claim? but no one dared to oppose his promotion. This transaction happened at Nicomedia; and on the same day, that is, on the first of May of the year 305, Maximian resigned the empire at Milan to Constantius, and declared Severus Cæsar (1).

(1) Laët, Persl. cap. 18. p. 17. Aur. Vict. p. 525. Euseb. lib. ix. cap. 9.

*The empire
divided be-
tween Con-
stantius
and Gale-
rius.*

To the share of the former fell Gaul, Italy, Africa, Spain, and Britain; the latter had Illyricum, Pannonia, Thrace, Macedon, Greece, Asia Minor, Egypt, Judæa, Syria, and all the eastern provinces. Constantius resigned to Severus, Italy and Africa, as Galerius ceded, Syria and Egypt, to his nephew Maximin^h. As Severus was indebted to Galerius alone for his promotion, that prince expected he should obey him even against Constantius himselfⁱ. However, it is certain, that notwithstanding the implacable hatred which Galerius bore to the Christians, the persecution ceased both in Italy and the other western provinces, soon after Constantius was declared emperor^k.

*Galerius
seeks the
destruction
of Constantine.*

In the mean time, Constantine continued at Nicomedia, in the heart of the provinces belonging to Galerius, who would not, though earnestly entreated by his father Constantius, during a dangerous malady, with which he was seized, suffer him to depart; but pretending a great affection, kept him by way of hostage. As the extraordinary qualities of that prince gave the emperor great unbrage, he only waited for some opportunity of destroying him; but not daring, through fear of the soldiery, by whom Constantine was greatly beloved, to make any open attempt, he had recourse to treachery, and exposed him, under various specious pretences, to many dangers.

*Constantine
escapes
from Gale-
rius to his
father.*

In the following year, Constantius and Galerius being both consuls the sixth time, the latter, finding he could no longer detain Constantine without openly breaking with his colleague, suffered him at length to depart, and signed a warrant for the officers of the post to supply him with the necessary horses and chariots. This order he delivered in the evening; but at the same time commanded the prince not to make use of it till next morning, when he designed to give him his final instructions^l. In the mean time, he dispatched an express to Severus positively enjoining him to stop Constantine, and prevent his arrival in the provinces governed by his father. That the express might reach Italy before Constantine, he did not rise that day, contrary to his usual custom, till noon, when he sent for Constantine: but he had escaped the night before, as soon as Galerius had withdrawn; and travelling with all possible speed, for several stages, hamstrung or killed the horses which he did not make use of, that no one might pursue nor stop him while he crossed the provinces of Galerius, and Italy, where Severus ruled. This precaution saved him; for next morn-

^h Eutrop. p. 587. Aur. Vict. p. 525. Zos. lib. ii. p. 672. ⁱ Lact. Pers. cap. 18—20. p. 17—19. ^k Euseb. de Martyr. Palæstin. ^l Lact. cap. 24. p. 22. Euseb. Const. Vit. lib. i. cap. 20.

ing, Galerius, being informed of his departure, broke into a violent rage, and ordered several messengers to pursue him with the utmost expedition; but he was told, that Constantine had disabled all the post-horses ^m. Mean while this young prince proceeding to Gaul, found his father at Gessoriacum ready to embark for Britain, in order to make war upon the Caledonians and Picts, which last are now for the first time mentioned as inhabitants of Scotland. Constantine attended him in this expedition, against the Barbarians, who were defeated and subdued.

Constantius died at York on the twenty-fifth of July 306. surrounded by his children, and his body was interred with the utmost pomp and magnificence by his son Constantine ⁿ. After his death, he was ranked among the gods, as appears from several ancient coins, particularly one of his brother-in-law Maxentius ^o. Constantius bequeathed the empire to his son Constantine ^p, who declared he would not accept it without the consent of the other princes, whom he immediately acquainted with the death and last will of his father: but the soldiers, by whom he was greatly revered, impatient of delays, proclaimed him emperor the same day on which his father died, and, the first time he appeared in public, saluted him with the title of Augustus. He afterwards sent his image to the other emperors, adorned, according to custom, with the marks of the imperial dignity. Galerius was long in suspense whether he should receive it; and transported with fury, he was upon the point of condemning both the image, and the messenger who brought it, to the flames; but his friends representing, that such an affront would give rise to a civil war, in which the soldiery would in all likelihood abandon him, and join with Constantine, he was prevailed upon to send him the purple, that he might at least seem to hold his authority of him. However, he bestowed on him only the title of Cæsar, and created Severus emperor, whose provinces, namely, Italy and Africa, he governed with as absolute a dominion as his own, oppressing them with endless taxes, and practising unheard-of cruelties upon those who were not in a condition to comply with his unjust demands.

This oppression occasioned great disturbances in all the cities of Italy, but especially in Rome; which Maxentius

The death of Constantius.

He bequeaths the empire to Constantine.

Yr. of Fl.
2654.
A. D. 306.
U. C. 1054.

Who is saluted Augustus by the soldiery.

Galerius grants him only the title of Cæsar.

Maxentius causes himself to be proclaimed emperor.

^m Ammian. Anonym. p. 471. Laët. p. 21. Zof. lib. ii. p. 672. Aur. Vict. p. 525. ⁿ Euseb. Chron. Goltz, p. 124. Eutrop. p. 587. ^o Birag. p. 440. ^p Euseb. Vit. Const. lib. i. cap. 21. p. 418. Julian. Orat. 1. p. 13. Laët. Persl. cap. 24. p. 21. Panegy. 5. p. 127. & 9 p. 194.

encouraging, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor by the dissatisfied soldiery and people. Maxentius was, or at least passed for, the son of Maximian; for some writers tell us, that he was a supposititious child; and that his mother, before her death, owned she had imposed upon her husband, to gain his affection. However that be, he was destitute of every commendable quality, proud, arrogant, cruel, deformed in his person, abandoned to vice, and universally abhorred, not only by his father's friends, but by his father himself, and still more by Galerius, whose daughter he had married. He had loudly complained of Galerius, for excluding him in the year 305, from the dignity of Cæsar; but when he heard that Constantine had been elevated to that high station, and saw his image publicly exposed in Rome, transported with rage, he resolved at all events to do himself justice. Accordingly, having with large promises gained over the few prætorian guards that were then in Rome, he was declared emperor on the twenty-eighth of October of this year 306, and was acknowledged by the Roman people, who hoped, by his means, to deliver themselves from the insupportable tyranny of Galerius. The news of his revolt no sooner reached the East, where Galerius then was, than he dispatched a messenger to Severus, enjoining him to send all his forces to Rome, to surprise and suppress at once this new usurper. On the other hand, Maxentius had recourse to his father Maximian, who, either with a view to resume the empire, which he had unwillingly quitted, or to support his son, hastened to Rome, and wrote to Dioclesian, exhorting him to abandon his solitude, and remount the throne. Dioclesian charmed with the sweets and tranquility of a private and retired life, returned him the answer which we have already related. But Maximian, instead of following his example, suffered himself to be declared emperor a second time by the senate and people of Rome; and receiving the purple at the hands of his son, was universally acknowledged his colleague in the empire.

Maximian resumes the empire.

The Franks break into Gaul, but are overcome by Constantine.

While these things passed at Rome, Constantine was busied in visiting the provinces under his care, and defending them against the Barbarians. His father Constantius had no sooner left Gaul, to oppose the Picts in Britain, than the Franks, forgetful of their oaths, had invaded Gaul, and committed dreadful ravages. Against them therefore Constantine marched at the head of a powerful army, overcame

⁹ Viñt. Epit. p. 543. Last. Pers. cap. 18. p. 16, 17. Zof. lib. ii. p. 672. Eutrop. p. 587. Euseb. Vit. Const. p. 498. Panegy. 5. p. 131.

them

them in a pitched battle; and having taken two of their kings prisoners, Afcari and Guifus, or Regaifus, expofed them to be devoured by wild beafts in the magnificent fhews which he afterwards exhibited *. Eutropius writes, that he treated in like manner the kings of the Alemanni, who, it feems, were in confederacy with the Franks, and fell into his hands in this war †. After this victory he paffed the Rhine, and entering the country of the Bructerians, when leaft expected, made a dreadful havock of that people, and took a great many prifoners, whom he likewife condemned to be devoured by wild beafts. He repaired all the forts on the Rhine, placed numerous garrifons in them, and maintained a powerful fleet upon the coaft; by which means he ftruck fuch terror into the Franks and other German nations, that none of them dared to approach that river (D).

His feverity towards the captives.

For the following year Severus and Maximinus were created confuls by Galerius, and acknowledged in all the provinces of the empire, except thofe that obeyed Maxentius, where Maximian caufed himfelf to be declared conful the ninth time. Conftantine was likewife conful this year, having, as we conjecture, been fubftituted in the room of Severus, who was killed before the year expired. Severus, in compliance with the orders he had received from Galerius, left Milan, and marched towards Rome, to expel the ufurper Maxentius. He commanded a powerful army, but confifting of troops which two years before had ferved under Maximian, the father of Maxentius, they were eafily feducd by the latter, with Anullinus, who commanded them in quality of captain of the guards. Hence Severus no fooner approached Rome, with a defign to befiege it, than they abandoned him, and joined his rival. Severus, with a fmall body of troops that remained faithful to

Severus marches againft Maxentius.

* Paneg. 9. p. 190, 197. 5. 127. 7. 163.

† Eutrop. p. 587.

(D) Notwithstanding thefe and many other instances of cruelty that difgraced the reign of Conftantine, Lactantius (1) and Eufebius (2) affure us, that he governed his fubjects with extraordinary mildnefs and moderation; that he fhewed himfelf kind, affable, benevolent, and good-natured to all; and that he made it his chief ftudy to render

thofe happy who lived under his adminiftration. The reader will remember that Conftantine was the great patron of the Chriftian religion which thefe writers profefled; therefore, we ought to read them with caution, when they fligmatize Diocleſian and extol Conftantine.

(1) Laët. Perf. cap. 24. p. 23, cap. 25. p. 410.

(2) Eufeb. Vit. Conft. lib. i. him,

He is abandoned by his men, besieged in Ravenna, and taken.

him, retired with precipitation, bending his route towards Milan; but being closely pursued by Maximian, at the head of some troops which he had raised in Campania, and was leading to Rome, he was obliged to take refuge in Ravenna, which Maximian immediately invested. The place was well fortified, and supplied with great store of provisions; so that it might have easily held out till relieved by Galerius: but Severus, distrusting his own men, and relying upon the mighty promises and solemn oaths of Maximian, surrendered the place, and the purple with which he had been invested about a year and nine months before ^t. Maximian, unmindful of his oaths, carried Severus captive to Rome; and after having kept him some time confined in a place on the Appian Way, about thirty miles from the city, called *Tres Tabernæ*, or the *Three Inns*, he caused him to be put to death. The only favour he could obtain was that of dying by having his veins opened. His body was interred in the tomb of Gallienus, about eight or nine miles from Rome.

His death.

Constantine marries Fausta, the daughter of Maximian, and is by him declared emperor.

Maximian, convinced that Galerius would not suffer the death of Severus to pass unrevenge, resolved to strengthen himself with the alliance of Constantine, who, having conquered the Franks, enjoyed at that time profound peace and tranquility. Having therefore fortified Rome with many new works, and put it in a condition of sustaining a long siege, he left Italy to confer with Constantine in Gaul, where he persuaded him to marry his daughter Fausta, and at the same time changed the title of *Cæsar* ^u into that of *Augustus* ^x. Constantine is generally thought to have been declared emperor on the thirty-first of March of this year 307 (E).

^t Aur. Vict. p. 525. Zof. lib. ii. p. 673. Eutrop. p. 587. Anonym. p. 471. Hier. Chron. Laët. Perf. cap. 26. p. 24. ^u Goltz. p. 126. Birag. p. 459. Byzant. Fam. p. 15. ^x Panegyri. 5 p. 127.

(E) Fausta, whom he married, is styled in the ancient inscriptions Flavia Maximiana Fausta. The emperor Julian commends her modesty and blameless conduct. By Fausta he had, besides Constantius, who is the best known of all his children, Constantine, his eldest son, Constans, his youngest, and two daughters, Constantina and Constantia, or rather Constantina, who was married first to Annibalianus, and afterwards to Gallus Cæsar, her cousin-germans; and Helena, the wife of the emperor Julian (1).

(1) Vide Anonym. p. 3. & Byz. Fam. p. 46, 47.

While

While Maximian was in Gaul with Constantine, Galerius entered Italy with a powerful army; but not sufficient, as he found by experience, to besiege Rome: for, as he had never seen the great capital of the empire, he estimated its strength from Antioch, and some other cities of the East. He threatened to lay it in ruins, to put all the inhabitants to the sword, and utterly extirpate the senate; but when he approached that immense metropolis, and viewed its fortifications, despairing to be able to carry it by assault, and not having a sufficient number of troops to invest it, he retired to Interamna, now Terni, and thence sent Licinius and Probus to exhort Maxentius, in his name, to demand the empire of his father-in-law, and not seize it by force of arms ^y. But Maxentius, having found means to corrupt some of Galerius's legions, was so far from hearkening to the deputies, that he would have marched out against Galerius, if he, distrusting his troops, and dreading the fate of Severus, had not retired into his own dominions. In his retreat he laid waste the country far and wide, to prevent the enemy from pursuing him, and allowed his soldiers to commit unheard-of disorders and cruelties. Maximian, who was still in Gaul, being informed of the precipitate retreat of Galerius, endeavoured to persuade Constantine to pursue him; but finding that prince not inclined to engage in so dangerous a war, he repassed the Alps, and returned to Rome. There he reigned some time jointly with his son, but was not treated with the same respect which the public paid to Maxentius. He was so piqued at his own want of consequence, that, divesting himself of all paternal affection, he resolved to deprive Maxentius of the empire, not doubting but the troops that had abandoned Severus, as they had formerly belonged to him, would favour his attempt. Having therefore endeavoured to estrange them from his son, he assembled both the people and soldiery; and, after a long descant upon the evils and misfortunes of the times, he turned unexpectedly to his son, who sat on the tribunal with him, reproached him as the sole author of the present calamities, and, after many bitter and virulent invectives, stripped him of his purple robes, and tore them in pieces. Maxentius, leaping from the throne, implored the protection of the soldiery, who, being moved with his tears, but more with his promises, received him in their arms, loaded Maximian with reproaches, and threatened him with instant death ^z. Zonaras relates, that

Yr. of Fl.
265.
A. D. 307.
U.C. 1055.

*Galerius
approaches
Rome with
a design to
besiege it;*

*but is
obliged to
retire
with pre-
cipitation.*

*Maximian
attempts to
depose his
son;*

^y Laët. Perf. cap. 27, p. 25. Pan. 6, p. 136. Anonym. p. 472.
^z Eutrop. p. 687. Zol. lib. ii. p. 674.

*but is
obliged to
retire to
Gaul.*

Maximian, to appease the soldiery, told them, that he had made use of that artifice to try whether or not they were sincerely attached to his son; but no one believing him, he thought it advisable to leave the city, and accordingly proceeded to Gaul, where he complained to Constantine, that his son had driven him from Rome. But Constantine, not seeming to be much affected with his complaints, about the month of November he repaired to Galerius, the declared enemy of his son, to regulate with him, as he pretended, the public affairs, but in reality to watch an opportunity of dispatching him, and seizing his provinces ^a. On this occasion Maximian, in a private conference with his ancient colleague, made use of every argument to prevail upon him to resume the empire, and deliver the people of Rome from so many tyrants ^b. Victor the younger writes, that Galerius himself pressed Dioclesian to re-ascend the throne ^c. Be that as it may, Dioclesian found such delights in a retired life, that he would attend to no proposals of that nature. Lactantius assures us, that the design of Maximian was to reinstate Dioclesian and himself in the empire, and destroy the rest one after another, his own son not excepted. Some writers, and Eutropius among the rest, seem to have believed, that Maximian only pretended to be at variance with his son, in order to deceive the other princes, and compass their ruin; but, on the contrary, he was obliged to authorize with his presence the promotion of Licinius, whom Galerius created emperor in the room of Severus, on the eleventh of November of this year 307.

*Licinius
created
emperor.*

*His ex-
traction
and cha-
racter.*

Licinius was a native of New Dacia, which lay on the Roman side of the Danube, and was, ever since the reign of Aurelian, accounted one of the provinces of Illyricum. He pretended to derive his pedigree from the emperor Philip, but was in reality sprung from a mean and ignoble family ^d. His education was suitable to his birth; for he was brought up without the least knowledge of letters; nay, he was not ashamed to declare himself an open enemy to learning, calling the sciences the pest and bane of the state. He was naturally of a cruel, violent, and haughty temper, and addicted, even in his old age, to the most infamous debaucheries ^e. His insatiable avarice prompted him, when raised to the empire, to fill his coffers by the most unjust, tyrannical, and iniquitous methods. However, he was a brave and experienced officer, kept the soldiers to their duty, punished the least transgressions with the utmost se-

^a Lact. Pers. cap. 29, p. 26. Eutrop. p. 687.
^b 673. ^c Vict. Epit. p. 542. ^d Anonym. p. 473.

^e Zos. lib. ii.
^f Euseb. lib. ix. cap. 8, p. 397.

verity, and revived in the army the discipline of the ancient Romans. In the year 323 he was, according to Victor the younger, about sixty ^f. However, in 313 he married Constantia, the sister of Constantine, and had children by her^g. Galerius and he had lived in great intimacy ever since they first entered into the army; and the emperor, reposing an entire confidence in him, had, in all his expeditions, after he had attained to the dignity of Cæsar, suffered himself to be wholly governed by his counsels. The memorable victory which Galerius gained over the Persians, was in great measure owing to the valour and conduct of Licinius. Galerius seems at first to have given him only the provinces of Pannonia and Rhætia; but at the same time he promised to put him in possession of those that were held by Maxentius, as soon as he had deposed that usurper ^h. Thus was the empire ruled at once by six princes, Maximian, Galerius, Licinius, Maximin, Constantine, and Maxentius.

The empire governed at once by six princes.

While these disturbances and changes happened in the West, Maximin enjoyed a profound peace and tranquillity in the East, which he governed with the title only of Cæsar. But when he understood, that Licinius had been declared emperor, he pressed Galerius to raise him to the same rank. The emperor could not be prevailed upon to grant him his request, but to content him contrived a new title, appointing, that he and Constantine should, for the future, be styled Filii Augustorum, sons of emperors; which appellation is still to be seen on some of his and Constantine's coins ⁱ. Maximin pretended to be satisfied with this new mark of distinction, but in the mean time caused himself to be proclaimed emperor by his army; and in the letter which he wrote on that occasion to Galerius, assured him that the troops had, without his consent or co-operation, saluted him Augustus. This incident gave Galerius great uneasiness; but nevertheless, as he did not think it prudent to quarrel with his nephew about the title he had usurped, he confirmed it, and at the same time granted it to Constantine, who was thus, through the ambition of another man, acknowledged emperor through the provinces of the empire.

Yr. of Fl.
2656.
A. D. 308.
U. C. 1056.

Maximin causes himself to be proclaimed emperor. Constantine acknowledged emperor by Galerius.

This year Maximian, thinking himself neglected by Galerius, left Illyricum, and privately withdrew to Constantine in Gaul, with a design to embrace the first opportunity that offered to dispatch him, and cause himself to be acknowledged in his room. The better to deceive, he quitted

^f Eutrop. p. 587. Vict. Epit. p. 543. ^g Last. Pers. cap. 20, p. 19. ^h Zof. lib. ii. p. 674. ⁱ Birag. p. 446. Last. p. 23. Euseb. p. 310.

the purple the second time, declaring that, in imitation of Dioclesian, he would lead a retired life, and no longer concern himself with public affairs. Constantine received him with the greatest marks of honour and esteem, assigned him an apartment in his own palace, and commanded all his subjects to pay the same obedience to the orders of his father-in-law, as to his own. But the restless and turbulent spirit of Maximian did not suffer him long to enjoy so happy a situation. Constantine was then busied in building a bridge over the Rhine; which great undertaking struck the neighbouring nations with such terror, that they sent ambassadors to sue for peace, offering to deliver up some of their chiefs as hostages and pledges of their sincerity. However, some Franks still continued in arms; and against these Maximian advised Constantine to march with a small body of forces, and leave the rest at Arelatum, now Arles.

*Maximian
attempts
to destroy
Constantine.*

His design was to make himself master of Constantine's forces, and seize his provinces, if any misfortune should befall him, as there was room to believe there might, he being attended only by a small army. Constantine, not suspecting the least treachery, followed the advice of his father-in-law, who marched part of the way with him, and then returned to Arles, where the emperor had left the flower of his troops. When he thought him engaged in the enemy's country, he suddenly resumed the purple the third time, made himself master of the palace, seized on the treasures, distributed great part of them among the soldiers who were present, and wrote to those who were absent letters filled with most bitter invectives against Constantine, inviting them with prodigious promises, to follow the example of the troops at Arles^k. Constantine was no sooner informed of these transactions, than he led back his army by land from the Rhine to Chalons, where he embarked his forces on the Soane; and landing them unexpectedly at Arles, surprised Maximian, before he was in a condition to oppose him. The soldiers, who had declared for Maximian, awed by the presence of their lawful commander, returned to their duty, a small number excepted, who being seduced by the presents and promises of the usurper, fled with him to Marseilles. Constantine pursued them close, and arriving before the place, would have carried it by assault, had not his scaling-ladders unfortunately proved too short. This defect obliged him to retreat; but in the mean time some of the inhabitants having opened

^k Laët. p. 26. Paneg. 9. p. 199, 200. Zos. lib. ii. p. 673. Vales. rer. Franc. p. 21.

one of the gates to Constantine's soldiers, they entered the city, seized on the usurper, and carried him to Constantine; who after having reproached him with his treachery and ambition, and obliged him to quit the purple, not only granted his life, but suffered him to continue in the same palace.

During these events, the troops in Africa revolting from Maxentius, declared Alexander, who commanded them in quality of lieutenant, emperor, and with the usual ceremonies invested him with the purple at Carthage. He was descended of an ignoble and mean family in Phrygia, or, as Aurelius Victor asserts, in Pannonia. All authors represent him in every respect unequal to so great a charge, advanced in years, and destitute of vigour, prudence, and courage. Besides, his troops consisted chiefly of new levies, unacquainted with military discipline, and in general without arms. However, as he had Maxentius for his rival, he maintained his usurped authority for the space of three years at least, some of his Greek coins, which have reached us, being dated the fourth year of his reign ¹.

*Alexander
usurps the
empire in
Africa.*

The two following years are remarkable for nothing but the Panegyric on Constantine, which Eumenius pronounced in a city situated on a great river that falls into the Rhine, above Cologne, supposed to be Treves, which stands upon the Moselle ^m.

Maximian, no longer able to lead a private and retired life, resolved to attempt the recovery of his former power; but being apprehensive that all his efforts would prove unsuccessful, while Constantine lived, he determined, in the first place, to murder him; and, in order to compass this wicked purpose, had recourse to his daughter Fausta, the wife of Constantine, using his utmost endeavours, and all manner of caresses and intreaties, to prevail upon her to betray her husband, and leave the door of the bed-chamber open. She promised to comply with his request, but immediately revealed it to Constantine, who, unwilling to condemn his father-in-law without some undeniable proof of his guilt, placed one night an eunuch in his bed, and left the door of the chamber open. Maximian did not neglect the opportunity, and entering the room about midnight, killed the eunuch, crying out, as he retired, "Constantine is dead; I am emperor." But Constantine appearing that instant, attended by a guard, arrested him, and shewed him the body of the eunuch. As he had been

*He is discovered
and seized.*

¹ Goltz, p. 125.
p. 263.

^m Buch. Cycl. p. 238, Onuph. in Fast.

chiefly encouraged to this excess of wickedness by the mild treatment which he had hitherto met with, and still promised himself, from Constantine, that prince thought himself obliged, in his own defence, to put an end to the life and crimes of such an ambitious, implacable, and treacherous enemy. The only favour he granted him was the choice of his death, and he chose the most infamous and disgraceful, which was that of hanging ⁿ. Such was the unhappy, but deserved end of Maximian, after he had reigned, with great glory, at least twenty years, and lived, according to Victor the younger, about sixty. Constantine caused all his statues to be pulled down, his images defaced, and his inscriptions erased, not sparing even such as were common to him with Dioclesian.

Galerius is seized with a dreadful distemper.

Galerius about this period was seized with a most dreadful distemper, an incurable ulcer in his privy parts; which the Christian writers ascribe to the divine vengeance, for his having persecuted the church. This year Constantine waged war with the Alemans, the Bructerians, Cherusicans, Chamovians, and several other German nations, who, after having attacked the Romans in separate bodies, joined all their forces, and formed a very numerous and powerful army ^o. Constantine, not depending upon the relation of others, ventured in disguise into the midst of their army, pretending to be a deputy sent to them by the emperor. As he found they were afraid to risk an engagement, and designed to separate, a step which might have protracted the war, he assured them, that the emperor was not then with his army; a circumstance which they no sooner understood, than they dismissed the pretended envoy, and, without loss of time, marched with all their forces against the enemy. Constantine received them at the head of his army, routed them at the first onset, and made a dreadful slaughter in the pursuit.

Galerius puts a stop to the persecution.

As the distemper of Galerius grew daily more violent, he began at length to ascribe it to the just vengeance of heaven, for his cruelties to the innocent Christians, and immediately published an edict, ordering a stop to be put to the persecution. This edict was enacted in the name of three emperors, Galerius, Constantine, and Licinius. Maxentius was looked upon by Galerius as an enemy, and had never been acknowledged by him; and as for Maximin, he either would not agree with the rest to terminate the persecution, or his name has been, through a mistake of

ⁿ Last. Pers. cap. 30. p. 27. Eutrop. p. 587. Zof. lib. ii. p. 674. Vict. Epit. p. 542.

^o Paneg. 7. p. 163—165.

the transcribers, omitted in the edict, as that of Licinius has been left out in most editions of Eusebius, and even in the Latin translation by Rufinus. The edict, dated the twentieth year of the reign of Galerius, was published at Nicomedia on the thirtieth of April, and the following month his death was known in that city; for he died, according to the most probable opinion, at Sardica, the metropolis of New Dacia, now known by the name of Sofia, or, as the inhabitants style it, Triadizza ^p. Galerius had reigned nineteen years, two months, and some days. Before he expired, he earnestly recommended to Licinius his wife Valeria, the daughter of Dioclesian, and Candidianus his natural son. He was buried in the same city where he was born, and afterwards deified with the usual ceremonies ^q.

Yr. of Fl.
2659.
A. D. 311.
U. C. 1039.
His death.

Maximin was no sooner informed of the death of Galerius, than he hastened from the East, where he then was, and entering Bithynia, made himself master of all the countries beyond the Propontis. On the other hand, Licinius having assembled his forces, marched to oppose him; and the two armies encamped opposite each other, one on the coast of Asia, and the other in Europe. However, they came at length to an agreement; and in a private interview, held in the streights of Chalcedon, they entered into an offensive and defensive alliance, which was confirmed with the most solemn oaths ^r. Maximin remained master of Bithynia, and Licinius of Thrace, the streights of Chalcedon being the common boundary between the two empires. Valeria, the widow of Galerius, though earnestly recommended by him at the point of death to Licinius, chose to withdraw into the dominions of Maximin, with her mother Prisca, the wife of Dioclesian, Candidianus, the natural son of Galerius, and Severianus, the son of Severus. Maximin treated Valeria for some time, with the utmost respect, honouring her with the title of mother; he also conceived a violent passion for her, and even offered to repudiate his own wife, and marry her. Valeria, surprised at this unexpected proposal, answered him with great freedom, that the state and habit she was in, the time of her mourning for the death of her husband not being yet expired, did not allow her to think of marriage; that to her it seemed very strange he should put away a wife who had not given him the least occasion of complaint; that such

Licinius and Maximin divide his provinces.

^p Lact. Perf. cap. 35. p. 31. Eusebius, lib. viii. cap. 17. p.
^q Vict. Epit. p. 543. Birag. p. 444. ^r Euseb. lib. ix. cap. 15.
Lact. cap. 45. p. 39.

*Valeria
enormously
abused by
Maximin.*

conduct gave her room to expect the like treatment; and, in short, that it was both unbecoming and unprecedented, in a person of her rank, to entertain the least thought of a second marriage. Maximin was provoked to such a degree by this noble and generous answer, that changing his love into hatred and rage, he immediately banished both her and her mother, seized on all her effects, and confined her domestics. He, upon false accusations, put her eunuchs to the rack, sentenced to death several illustrious ladies who attended her, and among the rest two wives of senators. They were publicly executed at Nicæa, upon the deposition of a Jew, who had accused them of adultery. The people loudly complained of such cruel injustice, and, transported with rage, would have torn in pieces Eratineus, the governor of that province, while he sat on his tribunal to condemn them, had he not been surrounded by a numerous body of soldiers, who with difficulty protected him against the insults of the incensed populace. The Jew, their accuser, being afterwards condemned to be crucified, acknowledged on the cross their innocence, and his own guilt, in suffering himself to be suborned to accuse them^a. Valeria, though confined in the deserts of Syria, found means to acquaint her father Dioclesian with the miserable state she was in, who, moved with tenderness and compassion, deputed several persons, and amongst the rest a kinsman of his own, an officer of great distinction in the army, to intreat Maximin, by all the obligations he owed him, to release his beloved daughter from her confinement, and allow him the satisfaction of enjoying her company in his old age. But the tyrant was deaf to all intreaties; and his unkindness is said to have hastened the death of the old emperor.

Constantine's generosity to the city of Autun.

Constantine, in the mean time, was busily employed in visiting the provinces under his government. He arrived this year, the sixth of his reign, at Autun; and finding the inhabitants oppressed with taxes, not only forgave them what they owed to the treasury since his accession to the empire, but remitted above a fourth part of all imposts. In acknowledgement of this favour, the city of Autun, considering the emperor as their founder, took the name of Flavia, which was the name of his family; and upon his return to the place of his residence, they sent Eumenius to return him thanks for his extraordinary kindness; which the orator did in a speech that is still extant^b. During these transactions Maxentius, who reigned at Rome, under-

^a Last. Pers. cap. 39, 40. p. 35, 36.

^b Paneg. 8. p. 188, &c.

took the reduction of Africa, which had revolted, and declared Alexander emperor. Against him Maxentius dispatched Rufus, or Rufius Volusianus, probably the consul of this year, and one Zenus, a celebrated commander, who, in the first battle that was fought, routed Alexander's troops, took him prisoner, and caused him to be immediately strangled *.

Thus ended the war in Africa; but not the calamities of that unhappy province: for Maxentius ordered the Africans, who were considerable either for their birth or wealth, to be inhumanly put to death, and seized their estates, pretending they had favoured the usurper; and he commanded Carthage, at that time one of the most beautiful and flourishing cities in the world, to be laid in ashes. Thus was the province of Africa utterly ruined. The inhabitants were reduced to beggary, and obliged, through fear of the tyrant, to abandon their native country, and take shelter in the provinces of the other princes. Maxentius triumphed at Rome for the defeat of Alexander, or rather for the destruction of Carthage, and the ruin of Africa. But Rome and Italy were no less grievously afflicted by the lewd, inhuman, and avaricious tyrant, than Carthage and Africa. Maxentius allowed his soldiers the same unrestrained liberty, or rather licentiousness, in which he indulged himself, abandoning to them the honour, the lives, and the fortunes of the most innocent persons. By these means, Rome was in a short time reduced to a most deplorable condition; the senators were stripped of their estates, and either banished upon false accusations, or publicly executed; and the people so loaded with taxes, that they were not able to purchase the common necessities, and great numbers of them died daily for want. He was greatly addicted to the study of magic, which urged him to many unaccountable cruelties, as he hoped to learn future events from the entrails of women, and innocent children †. A fire accidentally breaking out in the temple of Fortune, and the people flocking from all parts to extinguish it, a soldier uttered some words of raillery against the unfortunate goddess; which one of the populace hearing, killed the soldier on the spot. His comrades, to revenge his death, fell sword in hand upon the people, and a dreadful tumult ensued, in which an incredible number of persons lost their lives ‡.

Maxentius reduces and ruins the province of Africa.

Rome and Italy grievously afflicted by him.

The cruelty of Maxentius.

* Aur. Vict. p. 526. Zof. lib. ii. p. 675. † Panegy. 6. p. 136.

‡ Euseb. p. 310.

*He resolves
to make
war upon
Constantine.*

Maxentius, elated with his success against Alexander, tyrant of Africa, began to entertain thoughts of destroying the other princes; for he was often heard to say, that he alone was emperor, and that the others were only his lieutenants, employed to defend and guard the confines of the empire against the incursions of the Barbarians. He resolved to begin with Constantine, under the plausible pretence of revenging the death of his father Maximian^y. He had then under his command a hundred and seventy thousand foot, and eighteen thousand horse, most of whom had served under his father, and consequently were enured to military toils and dangers. He had amassed, by his extortions, great sums to defray the charges of a war, and provided great magazines of provision, having for that purpose drained Africa, and the adjacent islands. He no sooner began to assemble his troops, than Constantine wrote to him, and, by laying before him the dreadful evils and calamities attending a civil war, endeavoured to divert him from his purpose. But Maxentius, who wanted only a pretence for stripping Constantine of his dominions, without listening to his remonstrances, caused his statues to be pulled down, and his images to be defaced, pretending that he was determined at all events to revenge the death of his father.

*Constantine begins
his march
to Italy.*

Constantine, leaving a strong body of troops to guard the banks of the Rhine, and prevent the Barbarians from breaking into Gaul during his absence, proceeded on his march to Italy, at the head of an army, consisting of ninety thousand foot, and eight thousand horse. Of these only twenty-five thousand were Romans, and the rest auxiliaries^z (F). He endeavoured to gain over Licinius, by promising him his sister Constantia in marriage; a circumstance which gave such jealousy to Maximin, that he sent deputies to court the friendship of Maxentius, and entered into an alliance with him; which however was kept secret; for Constantine was not apprised of it till he became master of Rome, and saw the statue of Maximin placed close to

^y Zos. lib. ii. p. 675. Aur. Vict. p. 526.

^z Zos.

lib. ii. p. 676.

(F) A panegyrist, in an oration pronounced before him, says, that he engaged in this war with a smaller number of troops than Alexander had with him, when he went to attack the king of Persia (1); that is, not quite forty thousand men.

(1) Pan. 6. p. 137.



that of Maxentius ^a. Constantine had inherited from his father some love and esteem for the Christians; for the first use he made of his authority was to restrain the persecution in the provinces where he commanded. However, he had not yet shewn any inclination to embrace a religion which he both honoured and esteemed; but in the war with Maxentius, apprehending the absolute necessity of extraordinary assistance from heaven, he began seriously to consider what deity he should implore as his guardian and protector. He revolved in his mind the fallacious answers given by the oracles to other princes, and the success that had attended his father Constantius in all his wars, who despised the many gods worshipped by the Romans, and acknowledged only one Supreme Being.

He deliberates with himself what God he should implore.

To this God, therefore, he addressed himself with great humility and fervor, beseeching Him to make himself known to him, and to assist him in his present expedition. If we may credit Eusebius, heaven granted his prayer in a manner altogether miraculous. As he was marching at the head of his troops in the open fields, there suddenly appeared to him, and the whole army, a little after mid-day, a pillar of light above the sun, in the form of a cross, with this inscription, "In this conquer." The emperor was in great distress about the meaning of this wonderful vision, till the following night; when our Saviour appearing, with the same sign that had been seen in the heavens, commanded him to cause such another to be framed, and to make use of it in conquering his enemies. Next morning Constantine imparted to his friends what he had seen; and sending for the ablest artificers and workmen, ordered them to frame a cross of gold, and precious stones, according to his directions (G). Being, after the miraculous vision

A miraculous apparition.

^a Laët. Perf. cap. 43. p. 37.

(G) This cross is minutely described by Eusebius, who saw it (2). In a crown of gold at the top of the cross was a figure, consisting of the two first letters of the name of Christ, according to the Greek orthography (3). This figure, on some medals, is formed thus , in others thus , and the standard thus marked, called

labarum. When the troops in any part of the army began to give ground, the emperor caused the standard with the cross to be conveyed thither; and his faith, says Eusebius (4), was rewarded with victory, which began on that side where the greatest danger was apprehended. Constantine had the above mentioned vision before he

(1) Euseb. Vit. Const. lib. i. cap. 27—31. p. 421—423. (3) Baron. ad Ann. cap. 31—423. (4) Euseb. Vit. Const. lib. ii. p. 447.

Constantine is instructed in the Christian religion, and embraces it.

His example is followed by the imperial family.

Constantine passes the Alps, and makes himself master of several cities.

sion, immutably determined to adore that God alone who had appeared to him, he sent for several bishops, in order to be instructed in the mysteries of their religion, and in several particulars of the late apparition. He received them with the utmost respect, and believed what they told him of the divinity, incarnation, cross, and death of our Saviour, reading, with great attention, the holy Scriptures, and consulting in his doubts the bishops, whom, for that purpose, he kept constantly about his person ^b.

The conversion of Constantine produced a great alteration in the church. The whole imperial family followed, it seems, his example; we are well assured that his mother Helen did: for though Theodoret writes, that she inspired her son from his infancy with sentiments of piety ^c; yet Eusebius says, in express terms, that she knew not the true God, till she was induced by her son to embrace the truth, and adhere to it. The zeal with which Constantia shewed for the doctrine of Arius, inclines us to believe, that she professed the Christian religion.

Constantine crossed the Alps without opposition, till he arrived at Segesium, now Susa; which being fortified both by nature and art, and defended by a numerous garrison, refused to submit. The emperor, having ordered a general assault, and at the same time the gates to be set on fire, carried the place by storm; but would not allow it to be plundered, nor suffer the inhabitants to be injured in their lives or fortunes ^d; though Zosimus writes, that he laid in ruins all the cities that presumed to oppose him ^e. From Segesium he marched to Augusta Taurinorum, now Turin, in the neighbourhood of which place he was opposed by a numerous army of the enemy, whose cavalry, armed cap-à-pé, fell upon him with a fury hardly to be expressed; but Constantine ordering his ranks to open and receive them,

^b Euseb. Vit. Const. lib. i. cap. 32. p. 423, 424.

lib. i. cap. 17. p. 563.

^c Zos. lib. ii. p. 676.

^d Euseb. Vit. Const. lib. i. cap. 37. p. 426.

passed the Alps to make war upon Maxentius, and consequently in Gaul; but as to the precise place, we are quite at a loss. Balufius complains of the irreligious temerity of Jacobus Osebius, who in his *Thesaurus Numism. Antiquor.* is pleased to style the whole account of

this miraculous apparition a pious fiction. To imagine a writer of Eusebius's character guilty of such folly, impudence and presumption, is, in our opinion, carrying scepticism and incredulity to too great a height.

they

they were surrounded on all sides, and, unwieldy as they were, pulled off their horses, and killed, without the loss of a single man on Constantine's side. The rest of the army was easily routed, and pursued with great slaughter to the gates of Turin; which the citizens shut against them, but opened to Constantine, whom they received with the greatest demonstrations of joy. All the cities between the Po and the Alps followed their example, sending deputies with plenty of provisions to the conqueror, and assisting him to the utmost of their power against Maxentius, whose cruelties and tyranny they detested[†]. From Turin he marched to Milan, which he entered without opposition. Having passed a few days in this place, he pursued his march to Brescia, where he was encountered by a numerous body of horse, who being routed at the first onset, retired in great confusion to Verona, the place appointed for the general rendezvous of all the troops of Maxentius. They were very numerous, and commanded by Ruricius Pompeianus, an experienced officer, captain of the guards to Maxentius, who, not daring to venture a battle, shut himself up in Verona, with part of his troops.

Constantine, having passed the Adige a great distance above that city, invested it with his whole army. Pompeianus made a vigorous rally; but being repulsed with great loss, he escaped in the night, and soon after returned with a numerous army, which he had assembled with incredible expedition. Constantine, receiving intelligence of his approach, left part of his troops to pursue the siege, and marched with the rest to give him battle. An engagement ensued, which lasted almost the whole night; but at length the troops of Pompeianus were utterly defeated, and the general himself was killed. The city of Verona, after a vigorous resistance, surrendered at discretion, and Constantine, contrary to their expectation, granted them their lives; but that his own troops might not be employed in guarding them, as they were very numerous, he caused chains to be made of their swords, and confined them in two prisons. During the siege of Verona, Constantine detached part of his troops to attack Aquileia, Mutina, and several other cities, which readily submitted. Thus he became master of all the places between the Alps and Rome, the deliverance of which city from the tyranny of Maxentius he considered of the utmost consequence.

He therefore bent his march thither, and approached the city with all his forces. His approach roused Maxen-

*Verona b.
sieged.*

*Maxen-
tius's army
defeated.*

*Verona
taken,*

*and several
other
cities.*

*Constantine
approaches
Rome.*

[†] Panegy. 6, 7. p. 138. 166, & seq.

tius, who had abandoned himself to ease, and wallowed in all manner of debaucheries, stifling the unwelcome tidings that were daily brought to him of the defeat of his troops and the progress of Constantine. He caused a bridge of boats to be laid over the Tiber, a little above the Milvian bridge, now Ponte Molle, so contrived that it could be easily loosened; and he charged the engineer to disjoin it when Constantine should be upon it in his passage. But the emperor encamped in a spacious plain, opposite the Milvian bridge, hoping to draw Maxentius out of Rome, and tempt him to venture a general engagement, being well apprised, that if he kept within the city, which was plentifully supplied with provisions, the besieging him there would prove a dangerous undertaking, and protract the war to a great length. Maxentius, however, ordering his troops to encamp between the Milvian bridge and the city, in order to prevent Constantine from approaching the walls, did not stir out of his palace, till he was frightened from it by an inauspicious omen, which obliged him to repair with his wife and son to the house of one of his friends ^g. On the twenty-eighth of October, Maxentius, who then ended the sixth year of his reign, exhibited, notwithstanding the danger that threatened him, magnificent shews in the circus; and having caused the Sibylline books to be consulted, had this answer, that the great enemy of Rome was doomed to perish that very day. This expression he interpreted to mean Constantine; therefore, quitting the city without delay, he crossed the bridge, lately thrown over the Tiber, and chose for the field of battle a place called Saxa Rubra, or the Red Rocks, about nine miles from Rome, drawing up his numerous army between the enemy and the river.

Constantine, overjoyed to find that Maxentius had marched out of the city, immediately advanced against him; and having encouraged his men with certain hopes of victory, ordered the signal for battle to be given. At the first onset the Romans and Italians in the army of Maxentius, out of hatred to the tyrant, fled with precipitation, but the others, chiefly the prætorian guards, the ministers of his tyranny, stood their ground, and fought with great resolution; so that the victory remained doubtful, till Maxentius's cavalry being broken, the tyrant abandoned the field to save himself across his bridge of boats, and return to the city ^h. All authors agree that, falling into the Tiber with his horse

Yr. of Fl.

2660.

A. D. 312.

U.C. 1060.

^g Paneg. 7. p. 145.

^h Zof. lib. ii. p. 676. Anonym. p. 473. Panegy. 6, 7. p. 145, 170. Laët. p. 38.

and armour, he was drowned with many of his men, and some of his chief officers. His body being found next day in the mud, Constantine ordered his head to be struck off; in order to exhibit it to the Roman people, who had not yet testified any joy for his death, apprehending it might be only a false report, spread on purpose to discover their inclination and real sentimentsⁱ. The same day, which was the 29th of October, Constantine, causing the head of Maxentius to be carried on a pole before his army, made his public entry into the city, attended by the senate in a body, and by infinite crouds of people, who flocked from all parts to behold, and welcome with loud shouts of joy, their new prince and deliverer.

Maxentius defeated and drowned in the Tiber. Constantine enters Rome.

The people demanded, with great importunity, the death of some of the tyrant's chief ministers, but could not prevail upon the emperor to comply with their demands, and gratify their revengeful temper. All the troops of Maxentius were immediately disarmed; but Constantine restored them, soon after, to their former condition, and employed them against the Barbarians on the banks of the Rhine and the Danube.

The prætorian guards he either disbanded or reduced to the rank of common soldiers, causing their camp, which had been begun by Sejanus, in the reign of Tiberius, to be utterly demolished^k. Upon the death of Maxentius, incredible numbers of informers started up to accuse such as had adhered to that tyrant. But Constantine stifled their accusations by a law, in which he declared all informers, and such as attempted to disturb the peace and tranquility of private persons with unjust suits, guilty of death^l. He restored the senate to its former lustre and authority, filling it with persons of the greatest merit, chosen out of all the provinces under his dominion. He recalled those who had been banished by Maxentius; set at liberty all he had confined, and, by a general edict, remitted, without distinction, whatever punishment had been inflicted upon them by Maxentius^m.

The prætorian guards disbanded.

He enacts a severe law against informers.

The senate decreed him the first place among the emperors, though claimed by Maximin, and a triumphal arch, which is still standing, and was raised, as we read in the inscription, in honour of Constantine, for having by divine instinct, and with extraordinary courage, delivered the republic from the tyrant and his whole faction. In the same inscription, Constantine is styled the deliverer of Rome,

Honours conferred upon him by the senate.

ⁱ Zos. p. 677.

^k Zos. lib. ii. p. 677. Aur. Vict. p. 526. Cod. Theod. iii. p. 430, 431.

^m Panegy. 6. p. 137. & 7. p. 175.

*Pays great
respect to
the cross.*

*Causes a
stop to be
put to the
persecution.*

*The indica-
tion.*

*Maximin
persecutes
the Chris-
tians.*

and the author of the public tranquillity. As he ascribed the late victory, and all his other successes, not to his own conduct or strength, but to God alone, soon after his entry into Rome he caused a statue to be erected to himself, holding a cross in the right hand, with an inscription, importing, that under the influence of that victorious and salutary sign, he had delivered the city from the tyrannical yoke under which it groaned, and restored the senate and people of Rome to their ancient liberty and splendor. About the month of November of this year 312, an edict was issued in his name, and in the name of Licinius, putting an end to the violent persecution which had been begun by Dioclesian, and had raged with incredible fury in most provinces of the empire for the space of ten years. This edict was sent by the two emperors to Maximin, the most implacable enemy the Christians ever had, accompanied by a letter from Constantine, acquainting them with the miraculous assistance he had received from heaven, and the victory he had gained over the tyrant Maxentius. As Maximin yet pretended to live in friendship and amity with Constantine and Licinius (for the letter was signed by both princes), notwithstanding his hatred to the Christians, he published in their favour the decree which is related at length by Eusebiusⁿ, and seems to have been enacted this year.

The indictions, that is, a cycle or revolution of fifteen years, employed in reckoning time, are supposed to have begun about the end of the present year 312. The origin of this cycle, and the etymology of its name, had occasioned great disputes among modern writers (H).

During the war between Constantine and Maxentius in the West, Maximin, who had enjoyed a profound tranquillity in the East ever since his agreement with Licinius, again began the persecution, which the edict of Galerius, in favour of the Christians, had obliged him to interrupt

ⁿ Euseb. lib. ix. cap. 9. p. 360.

(H) The reader will find in Du Cange a list of the authors who have written on this subject (1). Constantine having reduced the time, which the Romans were obliged to serve, to fifteen years, says Baronius, he was consequently obliged every fifteen years to impose, or *indicare*, according to the Latin expression, an extraordinary tax for the paying those who were discharged; and hence came this new cycle, which, from the Latin word *indicare*, was styled *indiction* (2).

(1) Vide Chron. Paschale, seu Alexandrin, ex edit. Cangiana, Paris, ann. 1688.

(2) Baron, ann. 312.

for some time. In a rescript, addressed to the inhabitants of Tyre, he had boasted of the happiness of his reign, which, he said, had never been interrupted or disturbed by wars, storms, dearth of provisions, contagions, or earthquakes. This exemption from the evils that afflicted other parts of the empire, he ascribed to the great care he took in promoting the worship of the gods, and persecuting, with fire and sword, their enemies the Christians. But the very next winter proving uncommonly dry, the drought produced a famine, and the famine occasioned a dreadful plague, attended with nauseous sores, which breaking out in the face, and especially about the eyes, deprived an infinite number of men, women, and children of sight. To the famine and plague that ravaged the dominions of Maximin with a fury hardly to be expressed, was added a destructive war: for the tyrant, attempting to oblige the Armenians, who had embraced the Christian religion, to offer victims to his false deities, forced them to take arms in their own defence, and, from ancient friends and allies, to become enemies of the Roman people and empire. This must be understood of Armenia Major; for the people of Armenia Minor were not allies, but subjects of the empire. This is the first instance we find in history of a religious war, or a war undertaken for the sake of religion. As to the issue of it, we are only told, that Maximin and his army suffered much, our historian being wholly employed in describing the inexpressible miseries that attended the plague and the famine in all the provinces subject to Maximin, and the charitable conduct of the Christians towards their greatest enemies during the time of their distress.

His dominions afflicted with many dreadful calamities.

The next consuls were Constantine and Licinius, both for the third time. The former did not, it seems, remain at Rome above two months, as appears from a law which he published at Milan, dated the tenth of March^a. He was met in that city by Licinius, who married his sister Constantia, betrothed to him before his war with Maxentius^b. They both wrote to Dioclesian, inviting him to assist at that solemnity; but he begging to be excused on account of his age, they highly resented his refusal, and sent him a second letter, filled with menaces, which hastened his death; for he died in the month of July of this year 313. The two emperors, in this interview, enacted an edict in favour of the Christians, which is related at length

Constantine marries his sister Constantia to Licinius.

^a Euseb. lib. ix. cap. 7. p. 353, 354, 355. ^b Idem ibid. p. 353—357. ^c Cod. Theod. tom. v. p. 114. ^d Lact. Pers. cap. 45. p. 38. Vict. epit. p. 545. Zof. lib. ii. p. 677. Anonym. p. 473.

*Overcomes
the Franks.*

by Eusebius ^s. Constantine was soon obliged to leave Milan, and hasten into Gaul to oppose the Franks, who breaking the treaty which they had made a few years before, were assembling their forces with a design to invade the Roman dominions. The emperor arrived while they were preparing to pass the Rhine; but finding they withdrew as he approached, he retired with his army, leaving a body of troops concealed among the woods at a small distance from the river. The Franks no sooner heard of his departure, than they repassed the Rhine; when the Romans, rising unexpectedly out of their ambuscade, attacked them before they could draw up their forces, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to repass the river in the utmost confusion. Constantine, not allowing them time to recover themselves from their consternation, entered their country, laid waste their lands, burnt their habitations, and having taken an incredible number of captives, exposed them all to be devoured by the wild beasts in the shews which he exhibited on account of his victory ^t (1). For this victory he assumed the title of Franciscus. Constantine was ^u, in the months of November and December of this year, at Treves; during which time the panegyric of the anonymous writer is thought to have been pronounced ^w, in which the orator extols the victory which he had lately gained over Maxentius; and in the conclusion of his speech addresses himself to the great and only true God; but at the same time plainly shews, that he had not yet wholly renounced the superstitious ceremonies of the Gentiles. He observes, that certain Barbarians, who inhabited a distant country, had submitted to Constantine; but as to this particular there is a profound silence among historians.

*He bestows
great pri-
vileges on
the clergy,
and the
church.*

In the course of this year Constantine granted great privileges to catholic churches in Africa, which province had submitted upon the news of the death of Maxentius. In a rescript addressed to Anulinus, whom he had appointed proconsul of Africa, he commands him to exempt the clergy belonging to the catholic church, of which Cæcilianus, bishop of Carthage,

^s Euseb. lib. x. cap. 5. p. 388.
p. 23. 25.

^u Cod. Theod. Chronol. p. 7.

^t Valef. Rer. Franc. lib. i.
^w Panegyrc. 6.

(1. This severity towards a perfidious and faithless enemy, whom no ties could bind, is commended by his panegyrist; but whether it answers the character of a mild, generous, and beneficent prince, which all the

writers of those times give him, is what we leave our readers to judge. Cruelty, even towards an enemy, however treacherous, was not, at least, countenanced by the religion which he professed.

was the head, from all civil employments, that they might not be diverted from the sacred functions of their office. ~~Nothing~~ says he in that rescript, speaking of the clergy, will more contribute to the welfare of the state, than their applying themselves wholly to the worship of God *. This ordinance was notified by Anulinus to Cæcilianus, as appears from his answer to Constantine, dated the fifteenth of April of the year 313. As this exemption was granted only to the catholic clergy, the heretics, probably the Donatists, attempted to disturb them in the enjoyment of it; a circumstance which obliged Constantine to confirm the privileges he had granted them by a new edict, dated the twenty-first of October of this year.

When Constantine left Milan to oppose the Franks, who threatened to invade Gaul, Licinius returned to Illyricum, where he was soon after attacked by Maximin, who, taking umbrage at his marrying the sister of Constantine, and jealous of the good understanding that subsisted between those two princes, resolved to destroy them, and to begin with Licinius, whose ruin he hoped to compass, while the other was employed in Gaul against the Franks and Germans. With this view, he hastily assembled his forces; and, leaving Syria, marched in the depth of winter into Bithynia; and from thence passing into Thrace, besieged Byzantium, which, after having held out eleven days, was obliged to surrender. He attacked Heraclea next, which made a vigorous defence, but was in the end taken by storm. In the mean time, Licinius, having collected a body of forces, took the field, not with a design to venture an engagement (for he had with him only thirty thousand men, whereas Maximin's army was twice that number), but to stop the progress of his conquests. However, the two armies meeting between Heraclea and Adrianopolis, Licinius, if we may give credit to Lactantius †, was encouraged in a dream to give the enemy battle, and assured of victory, provided he implored the assistance of the true God by a prayer which was suggested to him in his sleep. Licinius remembered it when he awaked, dictated it to his secretary, and caused many copies of it to be distributed among his soldiers, whom he took care to acquaint with his vision; which inspired them with fresh courage, and an eager desire of engaging the enemy, over whom they promised themselves certain victory, since Heaven had declared in their favour. This prayer is related at length by Lactantius. Licinius designed to give battle on the first of May,

War between Licinius and Maximin.

Licinius's dream or vision.

* Euseb. lib. xx. cap. 6. p. 392. † Lact. Pers. cap. 46. p. 39.

the day on which Maximin ended the eighth year of his reign. But Maximin having drawn up his army in order of battle, on the last day of April, Licinius could no longer decline the engagement.

He gains a complete victory over Maximin.

When the two armies were in presence of one another, the officers and soldiers of Licinius, quitting their shields and helmets, with their hands lifted up to heaven, repeated three times the above mentioned prayer. Afterwards the two princes had an interview; but Maximin rejecting all terms, they parted, and ordered the signal for battle to be given. Zosimus writes, that Licinius's men at first gave ground, and retired; but soon after returned to the charge, and obtained a victory². But Lactantius and Eusebius³ tell us, that the army of Maximin was put to flight at the very first onset, and pursued with great slaughter by the conqueror. Most of his troops, especially the legions, were killed, and the rest, his guards not excepted, abandoning him, submitted to Licinius. Maximin himself, quitting his purple robes, fled in the disguise of a slave; and crossing the Bosporus, reached Nicomedia on the first of May about sun-set, having in the space of twenty-four hours travelled an hundred and sixty miles. He did not halt at Nicomedia; but taking with him his wife and children, continued his flight into Cappadocia, where he resumed the purple, being joined by some troops that were marching from Syria to his assistance.

Licinius becomes master of all Bithynia.

Licinius entering Bithynia a few days after the battle, was received in every place with the greatest demonstrations of joy, especially at Nicomedia, where he caused solemn thanks to be returned to the Almighty for the success with which he had blessed his arms; and then ordered the edict, which had been enacted by him and Constantine at Milan, in favour of the Christians, to be published. Then he left Nicomedia, and pursuing Maximin, arrived at the streights of mount Taurus, where he had resolved to make a stand; but his courage failing him at the approach of the victorious army, he retired with precipitation to Tarsus, proposing to pass from thence into Egypt, and raise a new army in that country. But distrusting his troops, and apprehending they designed to deliver him up to Licinius, he resolved, since he found no means of making his escape, to destroy himself with poison; which however had not the desired effect, but brought upon him a dreadful distemper, the unaccountable symptoms of which are described at

The unaccountable distemper of Maximin.

² Zos. lib. ii. p. 677.

³ Euseb. lib. ix. cap. 10. p. 363.

length by Eusebius and Lactantius^b, who ascribe it to divine vengeance. At length it put an end to his life at Tarsus in Cilicia, about the middle of August, after he had reigned nine years with the title of Cæsar, and five years and six months with that of Augustus^c. He left several children, whom he had created Cæsars, as appears from several ancient coins^d; but their names are not recorded by historians.

Yr. of Fl.
266.
A. D. 313.
U C. 1061.

His death.

By his death, Licinius became master of all the eastern provinces; so that the whole empire was divided between him and Constantine. Maximin was declared by the edicts of the two surviving princes a public enemy. His statues were pulled down, his images defaced, his name was rased out of all public inscriptions, and such monuments as had been erected to his honour, were levelled with the ground. His children and relations were sentenced to death, and publicly executed; his wife was thrown into the Orontes at Antioch, and drowned; all his ministers and favourites were involved in his ruin, and among the rest Culcianus, who had put a great number of Christians to death in Egypt; Firmilianus, who had signalized his hatred against them in Palestine; and Peuceces, whom the tyrant had favoured above the rest, and created three times consul. Licinius caused likewise a celebrated magician, named Theotechnes, and all his associates, to be publicly executed at Antioch, after having obliged them to discover the impostures, with which they had led astray the ignorant populace, and excited against the Christians^e. Candidianus, the son of Galerius, being introduced to Licinius at Nicomedia, was received with great demonstrations of kindness, and treated for some time in a manner suitable to his rank; but when he thought himself safe, he was, by order of Licinius, murdered with Severianus, the son of Severus. Valeria, the daughter of Dioclesian, and widow of Galerius, who had adopted Candidianus, was no sooner informed of his death, than she withdrew from Antioch with her mother Prisca, and wandered about in disguise, and undiscovered, for the space of fifteen months; but being at last discovered at Thessalonica, she was seized, and by Licinius's order publicly executed with her mother, and both their bodies thrown into the sea^f. Thus were the families of Dioclesian, Galerius, and Maximin, entirely cut off and exterminated.

All his friends, relations, and favourites, put to death by Licinius.

The death of Valeria and Prisca.

^b Euseb. lib. ix. cap. 10. p. 361.

^c Chron. Alex. p. 456.

^d Norris de Licin. cap. 2. p. 48.

^e Euseb. lib. ix. cap. 11.

p. 366, 367. & de Pall. cap. 18. p. 342.

^f Euseb. cap. 50. 51.

p. 44, 45.

War between Constantine and Licinius.

The next consuls were Rufius Volusianus the second time, and Annianus. Constantine passed the first months of this year at Treves, as appears from ~~the~~ ^{the} dates of several laws^g. By one, which was published at Rome on the twenty-fourth of April, he declared all those free who had been condemned to slavery by Maxentius, commanding, under the severest penalties, those who held them in captivity to restore them forthwith to their ancient liberty. From Treves the emperor passed to Arles, where he ordered a general council of all the bishops of the West to meet, in order to suppress the Donatists, who had raised great disturbances in the church^h. He was obliged to leave Gaul before the bishops met, a war breaking out between him and Licinius, of which historians give us but a confused account, some charging Licinius as the author of it, and others blaming Constantine. The anonymous writer, whom we have often quoted, condemns Licinius. According to him, Constantine had married his sister Anastasia to Bassianus, whom he designed to create Cæsar, and appoint governor of Italy; but unwilling to take this step without the approbation of Licinius, he dispatched Constantius, to acquaint him with his design and obtain his consent. But having discovered, at the same time, that Licinius attempted to stir up Bassianus against him by means of Senecio, the brother of Bassianus, he upbraided Licinius with treachery, and insisted upon his delivering up Senecio, who had taken refuge in his court.

Licinius defeated in Pannonia;

Licinius was so far from complying with his request, that he caused his statues to be pulled down in Æmona, a city of Upper Pannonia. Constantine, thus provoked, having speedily assembled a body of twenty thousand men, marched into Illyricum, hoping to surprise Licinius. But he found him already in the field, with an army far more numerous than his own. However, he advanced into Pannonia; and the two armies meeting in the neighbourhood of Cibakæ, an engagement ensued, in which Licinius was defeated, with the loss of twenty thousand of his best troops. It appears from Zosimus, who relates the most minute particulars of this battle, that it was fought on the eighth of October 314ⁱ. Licinius fled to Sirmium, and from thence, with his wife, his children, and treasures, into Dacia, where he raised Valens, one of his officers, to the dignity of Cæsar. From Dacia he passed into Thrace,

^g Cod. Theodof. Chronol. p. 8, 9. ^h Concil. tom. i. p. 1431.
ⁱ Anonym. p. 473. Zof. lib. i. p. 678. Eutrop. p. 588. Euseb. p. 210. Viêt. Epit. p. 543.

and assembled a second army, more numerous and powerful than the former. In the mean time, Constantine made himself master of Cibalæ and Sirmium; and having caused the bridge over the Save to be repaired, which Licinius had ordered to be broken down, he pursued the enemy into Thrace. Upon his arrival at Philippopolis, he met a deputation from Licinius, with proposals for an accommodation; but Constantine insisting upon his deposing Valens, and Licinius obstinately refusing to comply with that article, a second battle was fought in the plains of Mardia in Thrace, which continued from morning to night, when both armies retired, according to Zosimus, without any considerable advantage on either side. Aurelius Victor, and the anonymous author of Constantine's life, write, that Constantine would have gained a complete victory, had not night intervening, saved Licinius's army from utter destruction.

and in Thrace.

Next day Licinius sent Mestrianus, who is styled Comes or Count to Constantine, to negotiate a peace, which was concluded upon the following terms: 1. That Valens should be forthwith deposed, and reduced to his former condition. 2. That Syria, Egypt, Libya, Asia, Thrace, Mæsia, and the lesser Scythia, should remain in the possession of Licinius; but that Illyricum, Dardania, Macedon, Greece, and Mæsia, should be yielded to Constantine. Mæsia is named in both divisions, there being then two provinces of that name, one, known at present by the name of Servia, belonging to Illyricum, and the other, now Bulgaria, to Thrace. Peace being concluded, the two emperors entered the following year, 315, on their fourth consulship. Constantine, as appears from the dates of several laws, passed the greatest part of this year in Illyricum and Greece, which had been ceded to him by the late treaty. From Illyricum he went to Aquileia, and from thence to Rome, where he was, on the twenty-fifth of August, and the thirteenth of September, as appears from a law addressed to Probinus, or rather Probianus, proconsul of Africa, and from an edict to the people of Rome^k. On the eighteenth of October, he was at Naissus in Dacia; for the law bears that date, which he published there, forbidding, under pain of being burnt alive, the Jews, and their patriarchs, to molest such as should abandon their sect to embrace the true religion, and inflicting severe punishments on those who should embrace the Jewish faith. Constantine passed almost the whole year ensuing in Gaul; for on the eleventh of January he was at

The articles of their agreement.

^k Theod. Chronol. p. 10.

Fausta delivered of a son at Arles.

Treves, on the fourteenth of May at Vienne in Dauphiny, and on the thirteenth of August at Arles, where his wife Fausta was delivered of a son, whom some take to be Constantine his eldest son, and others to be his youngest son Constans. In the month of October of this year, the emperor, being at Milan, heard the complaints of the Donatists against Cæcilianus bishop of Carthage¹; and on the fourth of December at Sardica, where he enacted a law, commanding persons even of the greatest distinction, when guilty of rapes, extortions, or other enormous crimes, to be tried by the governors of the provinces, and executed, without being allowed to appeal to the governor of Rome, or the emperor. This severity was judged necessary to check the insolence of the nobility, who oppressed the people in a most tyrannical manner, especially in the remote provinces.

Yr. of Fl.
2665.
A. D. 317.
U. C. 1065.

Crispus, Constantine, and young Licinius, created Cæsars.

Constantius born.

In the following year Constantine and Licinius agreed to create three Cæsars, namely, Crispus and Constantine, the sons of the emperor Constantine, and Licinius or Licinianus, the son of Licinius by Constantia, the sister of Constantine. This promotion was made, according to the best chronologers, on the first of March, and was afterwards notified to the armies, and published in all the cities of the empire^m. The son of Licinius is styled on the ancient coins Valerius Licinianus Licinius, and also Licinius the Younger, and was but an infant twenty months old, when raised to the dignity of Cæsarⁿ. Crispus, Constantine's son by his first wife, was born, according to some, in the year 300, according to others in 296, so that he was at this time in the seventeenth or twenty-first year of his age^o. Constantine had committed the care of his education to the celebrated Lactantius, a person equally capable of instructing him in the sciences, and inspiring him with sentiments of piety. Eusebius styles him "an excellent prince, a prince beloved of Heaven, a son in no respect inferior to his father^p." He is called in the ancient inscriptions Flavius Valerius Julius Crispus^q. This year was born, according to the common opinion, on the seventh, or as others maintain, on the thirteenth of August in Illyricum, and according to some in the city of Sirmium, Constantius, Constantine's second son, by Fausta, the sister of Maxentius^r. Constantine spent the following year, when Licinius was consul

¹ Cod. Theod. Chronol. p. 13. ^m Anonym. p. 474. Zof. lib. ii. p. 679. Hier. Chron. Liban. Orat. iii. p. 111. ⁿ Viët. Epit. p. 543. ^o Zof. p. 679. Panegy. 7. p. 177. ^p Euseb. lib. x. cap. 9. p. 398. ^q Goltz. p. 129. ^r Cod. Theodof. Chronol. p. 13. Du Cange Byzant. Famil. p. 47.

the fifth time with Crispus, partly in Illyricum, and partly in the neighbourhood of Rome, and revived the ancient Roman law against parricides, which had been abrogated by Pompey the Great, comprehending under the name of parricide the murder, not only of a father and mother, but likewise of a son.

Constantine passed this and the three following years in Illyricum; and by several laws, addressed to the governors of Rome, and to the Roman people, endeavoured to reform many abuses which had long prevailed in the metropolis of the empire. By one of these laws, published at Rome on the first of February, he allows the Pagans to consult the aruspices, that is, those who pretended to foretell events from the entrails of victims; but forbids the aruspices, as well as the other Pagan priests, to enter the houses of private persons, though their friends or relations, upon pain of being burnt alive: such as received them were by this law to forfeit their estates, and be banished for life; the informers were not to be punished in this, as in other cases, but amply rewarded for their zeal. The intention of this law was to prevent all private sacrifices and consultations. By another law, dated the seventeenth of December, he commands those, who shall consult the aruspices, or other diviners, to send their answers to his secretary.

Laws against the aruspices.

Next year, he abrogated the Papien, and all other laws against celibacy; but suffered those who had children to enjoy the privileges granted by those laws^a. He annulled another law, empowering the creditors to seize on the estates and effects of their debtors; and at the same time declared, that such as had forfeited their estates, might redeem them by paying the sums they owed. By an edict dated the first of February, he forbids the officers of the revenue to punish with rods, or confine to the public prisons, those who neglected to pay the common taxes; but orders them to be secured in places where every person might see and visit them. This law must have been unknown to Zosimus, who tells us, that scourges, and all sorts of torments, were used by the officers of Constantine in exacting what was due to the treasury^c. Two other laws were enacted by Constantine this year, one forbidding married men to keep concubines, and the other commanding all judges to dispatch the causes of criminals, and the goalers to treat them, however guilty, with humanity, to keep them in open and wholesome places, and not to confine them, at least in the

Constantine revokes the Papien and other laws against celibacy.

Laws in favour of prisoners;

^a Sozom. lib. i. cap. 9. p. 413. Euseb. Vit. Con. lib. iv. cap. 26. Cod. Theod. p. 643, 644.

^c Zos. lib. ii. p. 691.

day-time, to dungeons: he declares such as shall by ill usage extort money from their prisoners, guilty of death; and threatens with his indignation the ~~magistrates~~ *magistrates* who shall wink at such disorders. This year Crispus gained a victory over the Franks, the particulars of which are not mentioned in history: Nazarius in his panegyric only tells us, that he vanquished the Franks, granted them a peace, and then returned to his father^u.

*and for
keeping
holy Sun-
days.*

*Constantine
defeats the
Sarmatians;*

In the following year, when Crispus and Constantine, the emperor's two sons, were consuls, Constantine published an edict on the seventh of March, forbidding all manner of work on Sundays^w. The following year, 322, Petronius Probianus and Anicius Julianus being consuls, Constantine gained a great victory over the Sarmatians^x. Optatianus writes, that they were defeated in several engagements with the Carpi and the Getæ. These battles were fought, according to that writer, at Campona, Marga, and Bononia, all three cities of Illyricum on the Danube, the first in Pannonia or Valeria, near the present city of Buda, and the other two in Upper Mœsia. Raufimodes king of the Sarmatians had, as we read in Zosimus, besieged a city, which he does not name; but Constantine, marching to the relief of the place, put the enemy to flight, and having obliged those who had made their escape to repass the Danube, pursued them cross that river, defeated them a second time with great slaughter, their king being among the slain, and returned with an incredible number of captives. Eusebius does not speak of this victory in particular; but tells us in general terms, that Heaven rewarded the emperor's zeal for the propagation of the gospel with many victories over the different tribes of Barbarians^y. The Sarmatian games, which were yearly celebrated about the latter end of November, probably took their rise from this victory.

*and the
Goths.*

Constantine, after his victory over the Barbarians, marched with his army to Thessalonica; but while he was busied there, in making a port, the Goths, notwithstanding their late defeat, entered Thrace and Mœsia, committing everywhere dreadful ravages. The emperor marched against them with incredible expedition; and having gained a complete victory over them, pursued them with great slaughter into the dominions of Licinius; a step which that prince highly resenting, complained of it as an open breach of the treaties

^u Panegyric. 7. p. 177.

^w Euseb. Vit. Const. lib. iv. cap. 18.

p. 574.

^x Cod. Theodos. Chronol. p. 22. Zos. lib. ii. p. 680.

^y Euseb. Vit. Const. p. 431.

subsisting between them. Constantine endeavoured to appease him; but as Licinius, dissatisfied with the late partition of the empire, waited only a plausible pretence to break with Constantine, after several embassies and unsuccessful negotiations, both princes began to prepare for war. Constantine dispatched expresses into all the provinces, ordering his troops to join him in Illyricum without delay^z. He was still at Sirmium on the twenty-fifth of May, and a few days after at Thessalonica, whence he marched into Thrace, and found Licinius encamped on the banks of the Hebrus, in the neighbourhood of Adrianople. The two armies continued some days encamped opposite each other, being parted by the river. Constantine intended to throw a bridge over the Hebrus; but in the mean time having discovered a ford at some distance, he passed it with twelve horsemen, who being followed by a few more, kept the enemy in play, till the whole army crossed the river. Both princes drew up their forces in order of battle, and prepared for the ensuing engagement, which was likely to prove decisive. Eusebius writes, that Licinius, the author of the war, gave the signal for the onset; and that Constantine, having first with a fervent prayer, invoked the Almighty, and given for the parole God our Saviour, ordered the cross, in which he confided more than in the number and bravery of his soldiers, to be displayed at the head of his army. His confidence, says the same writer, was not ill-grounded; for victory attended the royal banner where-ever it appeared^y. Constantine's troops behaved with incredible bravery, animated by the example of their leader, who, though he exposed himself to the greatest danger, escaped only with a slight wound in the thigh. Thirty-three thousand of the enemy were killed upon the spot; and the rest, though advantageously posted upon a rising ground, obliged to secure themselves by a precipitate and disorderly flight. Licinius escaped in the night, with the forces he could rally, to Byzantium; and next morning those that had remained in the neighbourhood of Adrianople, submitted to Constantine, who, transported with joy for so signal a victory, granted a discharge to many of his veterans^c. This memorable battle was fought on the third of July of the year 323.

As Licinius had fled to Byzantium, Constantine pursued him thither without loss of time, ordering his fleet, commanded by his son Crispus, to proceed to the same place. Crispus immediately put to sea, and sailing along the coasts

War between Constantine and Licinius.

Yr. of Fl. 2671.
A. D. 323.
U. C. 1071.

Licinius entirely defeated at Adrianople.

^z Anonym. p. 474. ^y Cod. Theod. p. 23. ^b Euseb. Vit. Const. lib. ii. cap. 3. & 6. p. 445, 447. ^c Zos. lib. ii. p. 681.

of Macedon and Thrace, entered the streights of Gallipoli, where the enemy's fleet, consisting of two hundred vessels, under the command of Abantus, or, ~~as~~ others call him, Amandus, waited for him. As the place was very narrow, Crispus resolved to engage him only with eighty of his best ships. Victory was long doubtful, both fleets fighting with great obstinacy and resolution; but in the end the enemy being incumbered by a number of their ships running foul of one another, were totally defeated, with the loss of five thousand men, and one hundred and thirty ships. Amandus, the enemy's admiral, with the utmost difficulty escaped ashore^d. Zosimus, who describes all the particulars of this battle, tells us, that even the winds fought for Constantine, in order to render the victory of the son by sea no less glorious than that of the father had been by land. Crispus himself hastened to his father with the joyful tidings of the defeat of the enemy's fleet, and was received with the most tender expressions of paternal affection and esteem. Constantine had already laid siege to Byzantium, after having gained some farther advantages over the enemy; but before his fleet arrived, Licinius had escaped by sea, and taking with him the flower of his troops, and his treasures, passed the streights, and taken refuge in Chalcedon, with a design to raise a new army in Asia.

*And his
fleet by
Crispus,
in the
streights of
Gallipoli.*

*Licinius
creates M.
Martinianus
Cæsar.*

In that city he preferred to the dignity of Cæsar M. Martinianus, the chief officer of his household, and dispatched him with a considerable force to Lampascus, to make head against Constantine, should he attempt to enter the Hellespont^e. Constantine, leaving Byzantium, embarked his troops, and crossed over into Asia, landed in the neighbourhood of Chalcedon; and finding Licinius encamped on a rising ground near that city with a numerous army, which he had levied with incredible expedition, he began to prepare for a second engagement: but in the mean time deputies arriving from Licinius, with proposals for an accommodation, Constantine complied with the terms they offered, which were, says Eusebius^f, no less advantageous to Licinius, than to the whole empire. This agreement was short-lived; for Constantine being soon after informed, that Licinius was assembling forces from all parts, and had even invited the Barbarians to join him, advanced to Chalcedon, with a design to invest the place, and oblige Licinius to comply with the terms of their agreement: but as he approached Chryopolis, a port of Chalcedon, he was

*An agree-
ment be-
tween Li-
cinius and
Constan-
tine,
which is
broken by
the former.*

^d Zos. lib. ii. p. 681, 682. Anonym. p. 475.

^e Zos. p. 683.

^f Euseb. Vit. Const. lib. ii. cap. 15. p. 451.

there, to his great surprize, opposed by Licinius at the head of a very numerous army. Constantine drew up his men ; but, unwilling to break the treaty, waited till the signal was given by the enemy ; which was no sooner done than he attacked them with such resolution and intrepidity, that they immediately gave way, and fled in the utmost confusion. In this battle Licinius lost, according to the anonymous writer of Constantine's life, twenty-five thousand men^a ; but, according to Zosimus, above a hundred thousand^b. It was fought on the eighteenth of September ; and a few days after the cities of Byzantium and Chalcedon opened their gates to the conqueror. Licinius fled to Nicomedia, whither Constantine pursued him, and immediately invested the place ; but, on the second day of the siege, his sister Constantia intreating him, in a flood of tears, by the tenderness he had ever shewn for her, to pardon her husband, and grant him at least his life, he was prevailed upon to comply with her request. Next day Licinius, finding no means of making his escape, presented himself before the conqueror, and throwing himself at his feet, resigned the purple, and the other ensigns of sovereignty. Constantine received him with great demonstrations of kindness, entertained him at his table, and afterwards sent him to Thessalonica, assuring him, that he should live unmolested, as long as he should forbear raising new disturbances^c. However, as he was soon after strangled by Constantine's order, who likewise degraded his son Licinius from the dignity of Cæsar, and in the sequel, caused him to be put to death. Licinius had been created emperor on the eleventh of November 307, and consequently had reigned near sixteen years. For this victory Constantine, and after him his son, and several of his successors, assumed the title of Victorious, which we find still prefixed to some of his letters^d. Not long after the defeat of Licinius, he advanced Constans, at that time his third son, and six years old, to the dignity of Cæsar.

*Licinius
utterly de-
feated.*

*He submits
to Constan-
tine.*

*He is by his
order put
to death.*

Constantine, now master of all the eastern provinces, made it his principal study to establish the worship of the true God, and to abolish all remains of idolatry. He published two edicts, whereof both Greek and Latin copies were sent into all the provinces of the empire, signed with the emperor's own hand, and addressed, the one " to the churches of God," the other, " to the people of each province." By these edicts, he reinstates in their former con-

^a Anonym. p. 475.
Vict. Epit. p. 343.

^b Zos. lib. ii. p. 683.

^c Euseb. Vit. Const. p. 452.

^d Ibid. p. 684.

Oprat. p. 284.

Constantine orders whatever had been taken from the churches, &c. to be restored to them.

He enacts several edicts against the worshipping of idols.

Orders the temples to be shut.

dition all who, on account of their religion, had been condemned to exile, to the mines, or any other punishment; orders their goods and estates to be immediately restored to them, or to their heirs; allows such as had been deprived of their military employments to resume them, if they pleased; and the commands of the officers of the revenue, as well as private persons, of what rank or condition soever, to deliver up to the churches, upon the publication of the edict, without waiting the sentence of the magistrates, what houses, tenements, gardens, or orchards, had ever belonged to them; but more especially the places where the holy martyrs had been interred. He threatens with his indignation all who shall not yield immediate obedience to this ordinance, which, he says, comprises those too who may have purchased such lands, houses, &c. of the emperor, or received them as a present or reward for their past services. These, however, he encourages to depend upon his generosity; but requires of them, as well as of the rest, an immediate compliance with his edict. These ordinances were followed by others, forbidding sacrifices to idols, the consecrating of any new idol, and the consulting, either in public or in private, the aruspices, soothsayers, and oracles.

He had no sooner caused these laws to be published, than he enacted another, ordering the churches, which had been destroyed during the persecution, to be rebuilt at his own expence, injoining his receivers in the different provinces to furnish the necessary sums for that purpose; and those whom he appointed to survey such buildings, to take care that they were capable of containing all the inhabitants. He wrote upon the same subject to all the metropolitan bishops, styling them his Beloved Brethren, and among the rest to Eusebius of Cæsarea, who inserts his letter at length¹. Not long after, he published an edict drawn up by himself, and addressed to all the people of the empire; wherein he exhorts them to renounce their ancient superstition, to adore but one God, the Creator of the universe, and to place all their hopes in Jesus Christ. This edict is quoted by Eusebius, who translated it out of the original Latin into Greek. Constantine, not thinking it at present adviseable to pull down the temples of the idols, ordered them to be shut up in all the places where that step might be taken without tumults and bloodshed; to be stripped of their riches and ornaments, and even of their idols; and all the lands, houses, and revenues belonging to them, to be ap-

¹ Euseb. Vit. Const. lib. ii. cap. 44, 45. p. 464, 465.

plied to pious uses. In consequence of this ordinance, the Pythian and Sminthian Apollo, the tripod of Delphos, the Muses of Helicon, the famous Pan, whom all the cities of Greece had consecrated after the Persian war, and whatever antiquity had, for many ages revered and adored, were publicly dragged through the streets, and either dashed in pieces, or made use of as master-pieces of art to adorn the squares, villas, palaces, and public galleries^m. From the several laws enacted this and the following year 324, when the emperor's two sons, Crispus and Constantine, were consuls, it appears, that Constantine continued in the East, residing, in general, at Nicomedia.

Next year, Paulinus and Julianus being consuls, the emperor, to suppress the disturbances and divisions that rent the church, assembled the famous council of Nice, at which he assisted in person, and afterwards condemned to banishment the heresiarch Arius, with Eusebius of Nicomedia, Theognis of Nice, and several others, who could not be prevailed upon to renounce his tenets. On the twenty-fifth of July, the emperor solemnized, with extraordinary pomp and magnificence, the twentieth year of his reign, and on that occasion made a grand entertainment in his palace, to which he invited all the bishops of the council, treated them with the utmost respect, made them several presents, and caused large sums to be distributed among the poor, dispatching at the same time orders to all the governors of provinces to supply the sacred virgins, widows, and ecclesiastics, in each city of their respective districts with a certain quantity of corn yearlyⁿ. Constantine passed this year partly at Nice, partly at Nicomedia, as appears from the dates of several laws. By one published at Nicomedia on the seventeenth of October, and addressed to all the subjects of the empire, he encourages those who had been, or should be oppressed, or any ways injured, by his ministers, counsellors, governors of provinces or cities, to apply to him for redress, assuring them, that they should be well received, and amply rewarded, for undeceiving him, since he wished to employ none but men of integrity. In the beginning of November, he enacted another law, forbidding, throughout the whole empire, the combats of gladiators; and ordering, that criminals, instead of being obliged to fight in the arena, should, for the future, be condemned to work in the mines^o.

Yr. of Fl.
2673.

A. D. 325.
U. C. 1073.

*Assembles a
council at
Nice.*

*He encourages all
his subjects
to recur to
him.*

^m Sozom. p. 449.
tit. 5. p. 397.

ⁿ Euseb. p. 491.

^o Cod. Theodof.

In the following year Constantine entered upon his seventh consulship, taking his third son Constans for his colleague. He passed the winter in Thrace and *Illyricum*. From thence he went to Milan, and from Milan to Rome, where he was on the eighth of July; but he did not stay long in that metropolis^p (K). He left the city, highly dissatisfied with the disrespectful behaviour of the Roman people, by whom he was stigmatized and reviled, and never afterwards returned to that city^q. But the most remarkable event of this year was the death of his eldest son Crispus. The empress Fausta, jealous of the reputation he had acquired, and enraged to see him preferred to her own children, falsely accused him of having solicited her to incest. Some assert, that she charged him with aspiring to the sovereignty. Be that as it may, Constantine, hearkening to the accusation, and acting contrary to all laws of justice and equity, without examining an accusation of such importance, without giving the accused prince an opportunity to clear himself, ordered him to be put to death. Some relate, that he was dispatched with poison; others, that by the emperor's orders his head was struck off. He was, according to the most probable opinion, executed at Pola in Istria, on the first of March, being then in the thirtieth, or, as others allege, only in the twenty-fifth year of his age. He was a prince of extraordinary endowments, had signalized himself in a very eminent manner against the Franks, and in the war with Licinius, and was universally beloved by the people and soldiery, on account of his bravery, his obliging behaviour to persons of all ranks, his generosity, and other princely qualities.

*He puts his
son Crispus
to death;*

*and like-
wise his
nephew
Licinius,
and his
wife Fau-
sta.*

The death of Crispus was followed by that of young Licinius, Constantine's nephew, at that time in the twelfth

^p Cod. Theodof. Chronol. p. 23.
^P 412.

^q Liban. Orat. xv.

(K) Zosimus, a declared enemy to Constantine, relates, that the whole Roman people loaded him with reproaches and curses, for having abandoned the religion of his ancestors, and promoted, with great zeal, the worship of an unknown God; and adds, that the disrespect and

aversion which the Romans testified, induced him to transfer the seat of the empire to Byzantium (1). Libanius tells us, that he bore with great patience the satires and lampoons that were daily published against him during his stay at Rome.

(1) Zof. lib. ii. p. 686.

year of his age^r. St. Jerom styles these executions the effect of wanton cruelty. Fausta did not long survive her son-in-law; for, being this very year convicted of having accused him falsely, and of having prostituted her honour to persons of the meanest rank, Constantine ordered her to be suffocated with the steam of a hot bath^s. With Fausta many persons of distinction, supposed to have been accessory to her crimes, were condemned, and either privately dispatched with poison, or publicly executed^t (L).

His cruelty and injustice punished by heaven.

This horrid cruelty and injustice in Constantine drew down upon his family divine vengeance; for his brothers, his nephews, and his favourite ministers, were, soon after his death, all massacred by Constantius, his second son by Fausta, whom he loved and indulged above the rest. Constantine, his eldest son, was killed by Constans the youngest, Constans by Magnentius, Gallus their cousin by Constantius, and Constantius by Julian, the brother of Gallus. Julian perished in a most miserable manner, and in him ended the numerous family of Constantine, which, every one expected, would have furnished the empire with princes for many ages, the emperor having three brothers, four sons, several sisters and daughters, and nine nephews^u. Constantine appears to have spent the following year 327, when Constantius and Maximus were consuls, in Illyricum and Thrace; for, on the twenty-seventh of February he was at Thessalonica, on the eighteenth of May at Sardica, and at Heraclea on the fifth of August^w. About this time, the empress Helena is said to have found out the sepulchre and cross of our Saviour, a discovery which induced Constantine to build at Jerusalem the famous church of the resurrection. The pious princess died soon after, in the arms of her son, who caused her body to be conveyed with great pomp to Rome, and interred in the burying-place of the emperors^x. To honour her memory, he bestowed the name of Helenopolis on a city of Palestine^y, and that of Helenopontus on a part of the Euxine sea^z; and erected a

The empress Helena dies.

^r Zos. lib. ii. p. 685. Aur. Vict. p. 527. Ammian. lib. xiv. p. 29. Eutrop. p. 588.

^s Vict. Epit. Philottorg. Hist. Eccles. 470.

^t Eutrop. p. 588. ^u Julian. ad Athen. p. 497, 498. ^w Cod. Theod. p. 29.

^x Euseb. Vit. Const. lib. iii. cap. 47. p. 506.

^y Sozom. lib. ii. cap. 1. p. 443. ^z Cod. Just. p. 235.

(L) Eusebius, well apprised that nothing could be alleged to excuse Constantine, therefore takes no notice of those executions, choosing rather to incur

the censure of having transgressed the known laws of history, than to take upon him the justifying of facts, which all the world but too justly condemned.

statue to her honour at Daphne near Antioch. From this statue, the street in which it stood took the name of Augustal.

In the following year, Januarius and Justus being consuls, Constantine was on the first of March at Nicomedia, and on the thirteenth of July at a place in Mœsia called Oiscos and Escos; whence some conjecture, that he was waging war with the Barbarians in those parts: and indeed we read in the chronicle of Alexandria^a, that this year the emperor passed the Danube several times, and that he even constructed a bridge over that river. According to the chronicle of Alexandria, he founded this year the city of Constantinople; but, according to others, on the twenty-sixth of September of the following year 329. Notwithstanding his zeal for the catholic faith, he recalled from banishment the two bishops Eusebius and Theognis, great sticklers for the doctrine of Arius, and suffered them to gain a great ascendant over him. Next year, Constantine took upon him his eighth consulship, having his eldest son, the fourth time consul, for his colleague^b.

The emperor recalls from banishment two Arian bishops.

Yr. of Fl.
267⁸.
A. D. 330.
U. C. 1078.

Constantine undertakes the building of a new city.

He enlarges the city of Byzantium;

The following year, 330, when Gallicanus and Symmachus were consuls, is remarkable for the dedication of the city of Constantinople, the greatest of all Constantine's works. Authors are divided in their opinions, with respect to the motives that prompted the emperor to undertake the building of that city (M). The first place he chose for the situation of it, was between Troas and ancient Ilium, on the coast of Asia: but afterwards changing his mind, upon a vision which he had, or imagined to have had, he resolved to enlarge the ancient city of Byzantium, and make it the second, or, if he could, the first of the empire (N). He began with extending the walls of the ancient city from sea to sea. While some of the workmen were busied in rearing them, others were employed in raising a great num-

^a Chron. Alexand. p. 662. ^b Cod. Theodof. Chronol. p. 30, 31. & lib. xi. tit. 30. leg. 15. p. 236, 237.

(M) Zosimus writes, that he did it out of hatred to the Romans, finding himself scorned and insulted for having embraced and introduced a new religion (1).

(N) This pretended vision is

much dwelt on by the modern Greek and Latin writers (2); and Constantine himself, in one of his laws, declares, that, in the choice of the place, he followed the directions of Heaven (3).

(1) Zof. lib. ii. p. 686.
Descript. lib. i. p. 23, &c.

(2) Vide Du Cange Urb. Constantinop.
(3) Cod. Theod. tit. 5. p. 64.

ber of stately buildings, and, among the rest, a palace equal in magnificence and extent to that of Rome. As he designed to fix his own court there, and was desirous that the succeeding emperors should follow his example, and honour his new city with their ordinary residence, he spared no cost or labour to render it both beautiful and convenient.

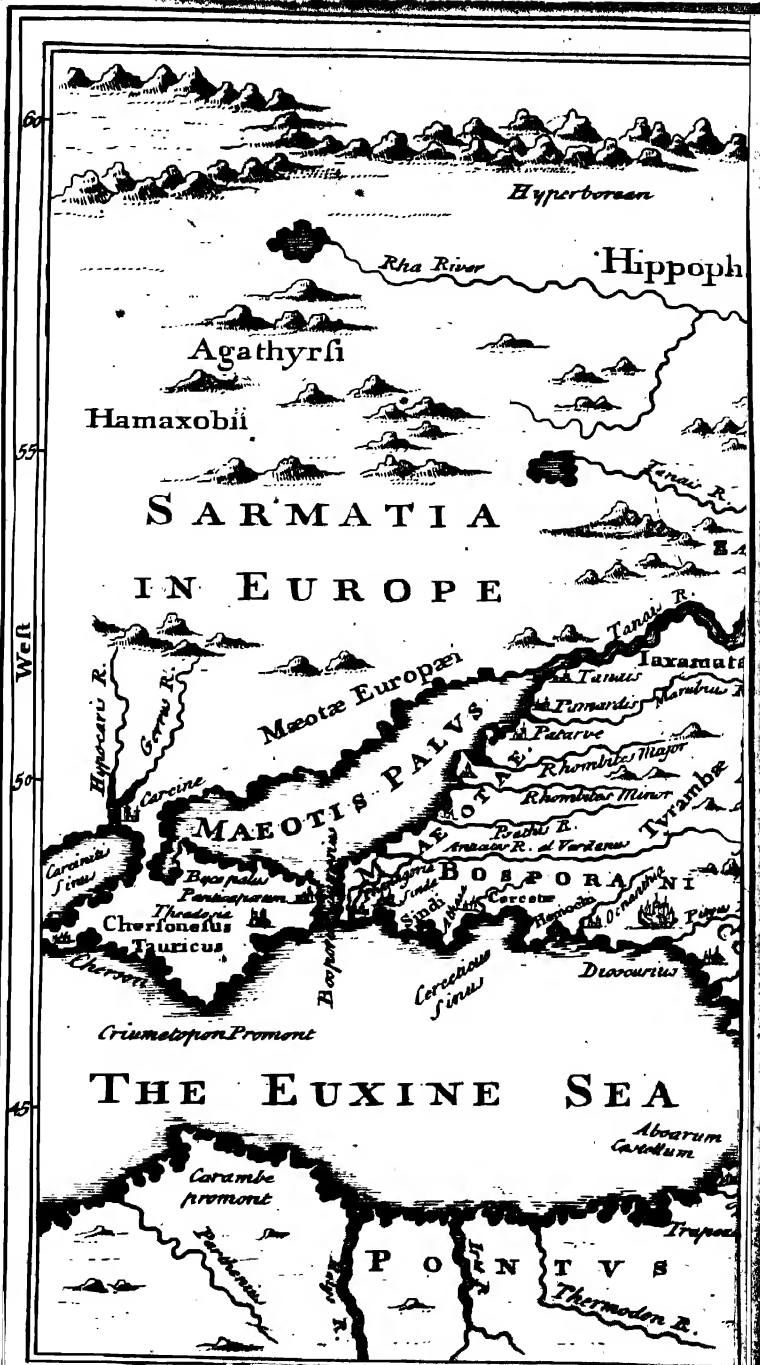
With this view, he built a capitol and amphitheatre, *adorns it with many new buildings;* formed a circus maximus, several forums, porticos, and public baths; and divided the whole city into fourteen regions, securing the inhabitants with many wholesome laws, and granting them great privileges and immunities. By these means Byzantium became in a short time one of the most flourishing and populous cities of the empire, whole families flocking thither from all parts, especially from Pontus, Thrace, and Asia. Constantine published an edict, importing, that such as had lands in those countries should not be able to dispose of them, nor even leave them at their death to their heirs, unless they had a house in his new city. The common people were enticed thither from the different and most distant provinces, and even from Rome itself, by the emperor's donations, and the great quantities of corn, oil, and meat, which were daily distributed among them ^c. But however desirous the emperor was to see his new city filled with people, yet he did not choose it should be inhabited by any but Christians; and therefore ordered all the idols to be pulled down, and their temples to be consecrated to the true God. He built besides an incredible number of churches, and caused crosses to be erected in all the squares and public places.

When most of the buildings were finished, the emperor, *solemnly consecrates it;* on the eleventh of May of the year 330, the twenty-fifth of his reign, caused this city, by a very solemn dedication, to be consecrated, according to Cedrenus, to the Virgin Mary; but, according to Eusebius, to the God of Martyrs ^d (O). It was on this occasion that Constantine styled the new city from his own name Constantinople, or the city of Constantine, and likewise Second, or, as others will have it, New

^c Zof. lib. ii. p. 637. Soz. p. 444. Socrat. lib. ii. cap. 13, p. 90.
^d Euseb. Vit. Const. lib. iii. cap. 58, p. 507.

(O) Some modern Greek days; and that Constantine, writers tell us, that this ceremony was performed by the fathers of the council of Nice; during the whole time, caused an immense quantity of provisions to be daily distributed among the populace (4).

(4) Vide Georg. Cod. in Antiq. Constantinop. p. 25.



Agathyrsi

Hamaxobii

SARMATIA IN EUROPE

Maeotae Europaei

MAEOTIS PALUS

BOSPORANI

THE EUXINE SEA

PONTVS

as he withdrew with his victorious army, began to ravage the provinces of Mœsia and Thrace; but the emperor, returning with incredible expedition, fell upon them unexpectedly, cut great numbers in pieces, and forced the rest to submit to what terms he was pleased to impose ^c.

*and the
Sarmatians.*

In the course of the succeeding year Constantine created Constans, his youngest son, Cæsar, who was born in 320, and is styled in all the ancient inscriptions Flavius Julius Constans ^d. At this period Syria, Cilicia, and Thrace, were grievously afflicted with a pestilence and famine, which swept off incredible numbers of people. Theophanes tells us, that at Antioch wheat was sold at four hundred pieces of silver the bushel ^e. During this calamity, Constantine sent to the bishop of Antioch thirty thousand bushels, and an incredible quantity of corn, oil, and all sorts of provisions, to the other churches, to be divided among the widows, orphans, and ecclesiastics. Towards the close of this year ambassadors arrived at Constantinople from the Blemyes, the Indians, the Ethiopians, and Persians, with rich presents for the emperor, whose friendship they courted, acknowledging him, says Eusebius, for their sovereign, and declaring, that they coveted nothing so much as to live in amity with so great a prince. The Persian ambassadors, in the name of Sapor their king, renewed the ancient treaties between the two empires. Constantine received them with extraordinary marks of honour; and being informed, that the Christians were very numerous in Persia, he wrote a letter in their behalf to Sapor, which is inserted at large by Eusebius and Theodoret. Next year, when Optatus and Anicius Paulinus Junior were consuls, the Goths, under the command of Geberic their king, who had succeeded Araric, made new irruptions into the country of the Sarmatians, whom they defeated in a great battle fought on the banks of the Marifus; in which the Sarmatian king, by name Wisimar, and most of their chiefs, were cut in pieces. The Sarmatians in this extremity armed their slaves, and by their means gained a complete victory over the Goths; but the victorious slaves, sensible of their strength, threw off the yoke; and turning against their masters, for whose defence they had been entrusted with arms, drove them out of the country.

The emperor's generosity.

Ambassadors sent to him from the most distant nations.

Thus expelled from their habitations, they fled for refuge to Constantine, who received them, to the number of three hundred thousand, incorporated in his legions such of

^c Anonym. p. 476.

^d Euseb. Vit. Const. lib. iv. p. 533.

^e Theoph. p. 23.

*He allots
the Sarmatians settle-
ments in
the domi-
nions of
Rome.*

them as were fit for service, and gave settlements to the rest in Thrace, Scythia, Macedon, and Italy ^f. Another party of the fugitive Sarmatians had recourse to certain Barbarians, called by Ammianus, *Victohales*, supposed to be the same people with the *Quadi Ultramontani*. These were re-established in their ancient possessions by the Romans in the year 338, after they had driven out the *Limigantes* ^g. As Constantine, on the twenty-fifth of July, in the year 335, entered the thirtieth year of his reign, a circumstance which had happened to no emperor ever since the time of Augustus, he celebrated that day at Constantinople with extraordinary pomp and magnificence. Not satisfied with having created his three sons, Constantine, Constantius, and Constans, Cæsars, he now raised to the same dignity his nephew Dalmatius, son to his brother of the same name; and appointed Annibalianus, brother to young Dalmatius, king of Pontus ^h.

*Divides
the empire
amongst his
children
and ne-
phews.*

In order to prevent any misunderstanding, jealousy, or quarrels, between his nephews and children, he divided the government of the empire among them in the following manner: to Constantine, the eldest, he assigned Gaul, Spain, and Britain; to Constantius, the second son, all the Orient, comprehending Asia, Syria, and Egypt; and to Constans, the youngest, Illyricum, Italy, and Africa. To his nephew Dalmatius he gave Thrace, and part of Illyricum, that is Macedon and Achaia; and to king Annibalianus, his other nephew, Armenia Minor, and the neighbouring provinces; including Pontus and Cappadocia, with the city of Cæsarea, which he desired might be the capital of his kingdom ⁱ. About this time one Calocerus, a man of great interest and authority in the island of Cyprus, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor, and was acknowledged master of the whole island: but Dalmatius, who was sent with an army against him, defeated the rebel, took him prisoner, and, carrying him to Tarsus in Cilicia, condemned him to be burnt alive in that city ^k. As for Azotus, who was overcome by Constantine, as we read in Suidas and Codinus, it appears from several epigrams in the Anthology, that he, and the Constantine by whom he was overcome, were but drivers of chariots in the circus. Athanasius was accused of having supplied with money a rebel, by name Philumenes ^l; but of him not the least mention is made in his-

Yr. of Fl.
2785.
A. D. 335.
U. C. 1133.

^f Euseb. p. 520. Ammian. p. 478. Jornand. Rer. Goth. p. 641.
^g Cod. Theod. Chronol. p. 34. ^h Eutrop. p. 588. Aur. Viſt. n. 227. Chron. Alex. p. 668. Zof. lib. ii. p. 692. ⁱ Euseb. Orat. in Tricennal. Conſt. p. 609. Viſt. Epit. p. 544. ^k Theoph. p. 23. Aur. Viſt. p. 296. ^l Athan. Apol. ii. p. 779.

tory. Towards the close of the following year, when Nepotianus and Facundus were consuls, Constantine married his second son Constantius to the daughter of Julius Constantius and Galla. Julius Constantius was brother to the emperor, and his wife Galla sister to Rufinus and Cerealis. He had by Galla, Gallus Cæsar, born in Hetruria in the year 325, or 326, another son, who was killed in 337, and one daughter, married this year to Constantius, whose name has not been transmitted to us. On occasion of this marriage, Constantine caused large sums, and great quantities of provisions, to be distributed among the people in all the cities and provinces of the empire ^m. He had long before married his eldest son Constantine; but to whom, we are no where told.

Constantius married to the daughter of Julius Constantius.

In the course of the ensuing year, when Felicianus and Titianus were consuls, the Persians, after having lived in peace with the Romans for the space of forty years, began to commit hostilities in Mesopotamia, because the emperor refused to restore to them the five provinces which they had been obliged to yield to Galerius. Constantine, having drawn together a very numerous and powerful army, and made the other necessary preparations for a vigorous war, began his march, with a design to invade the Persian dominions: but the enemy, terrified at his approach, dispatched ambassadors to him, with proposals of an accommodation; which seeming very reasonable to the emperor, a peace was concluded, and both armies withdrew ⁿ. Constantine, having celebrated this year with extraordinary solemnity the feast of Easter, which fell on the third of April, was soon after taken ill, being then in the sixty-fourth year of his age. He had recourse to the warm baths of Constantinople; but his distemper encreasing, he removed, for change of air, to Helenopolis in Bithynia, and from thence to a castle at a small distance from Nicomedia, called Achyrona, or Aguyrona. Being there apprised, that his end approached, he declared in a speech, which he made to the bishops who attended him, his eager desire of being baptized, adding, that he designed to have received that seal of salvation in the waters of the Jordan; but since God, in his infinite wisdom, had otherwise disposed of him, he acquiesced in his will. When the ceremony was over, he was clad in white, and would not afterwards so much as touch or see his purple robes, passing most of his time with the bishops in pious meditations, and edifying discourses, of the immortality of the soul, and the rewards and punish-

The Persians armed by Constantine's arms.

Constantine taken ill.

Is baptized.

^m Cod. Theod. Chronol. p. 35.

ⁿ Euseb. p. 554, 555.

ments of another life ^o. By his last will he bequeathed some revenues to the city of Rome, and others to that of Constantinople. He likewise confirmed the above mentioned division of the empire among his three sons and two nephews ^p.

Yr. of Fl.
2787.

A. D. 337.
U. C. 1135.

*He dies
universally
lamented.*

*Honours
done him
after his
death.*

Not long before he expired, he privately put his will into the hands of an ecclesiastic, in whom he reposed an entire confidence, not knowing him to be a follower of Arius, and obliged him to promise upon oath not to deliver it to any but Constantius. Constantine, having settled matters in the manner he judged best for the church and state, expired, about noon, on the twenty-second of May, in the year 337, being Whitfunday, after having lived, according to the most probable opinion, sixty-three years, two months, and twenty-five days, and reigned thirty years, nine months, and twenty-seven days. His death was bewailed by persons of all ranks. The soldiers no sooner heard of it, than they tore their cloaths, fell prostrate on the ground, and gave other public testimonies of their deep concern, calling him their deliverer, their beloved leader, their common parent. The people of Constantinople, overwhelmed with sorrow, and drowned in tears, for the loss of their great benefactor, expressed their grief in a manner suitable to so general a calamity ^q. Messengers were immediately dispatched with the dismal tidings to his children; and in the mean time the body of the deceased prince, with the purple and diadem, was put into a golden coffin, and conveyed to Constantinople, attended by all the troops quartered in that neighbourhood, who had assembled upon the first notice of his death. It was exposed to public view in the chief hall of the palace, with an infinite number of tapers burning round it in golden candlesticks. All the great officers, both civil and military, the senate, and other persons of distinction, came to attend the corpse, kneeling before it, as if the emperor had been still alive. Court was kept in the same manner as when he was living, and those who attended his person came at the usual hours, as if he had still wanted their attendance. This empty honour, formerly paid to the deceased emperors, as appears from Herodian, and other writers, seems to have been long before laid aside, and to have been revived in honour of Constantine. His children were daily expected to pay him the last duty; but Constantius alone came, the other two being probably at a great distance; and, soon after his arrival,

^o Socrat. lib. i. cap. 29, p. 75.
Soz. lib. ii. cap. 34, p. 495.

^p Ibid. lib. i. cap. 39, p. 75.
^q Euseb. cap. 65, p. 559.

caused the corpse to be conveyed with the utmost pomp and magnificence to the famous church of the Apostles, which the emperor had built close to the palace, desiring to be interred in it, that he might, after his death, say Eusebius, partake of the prayers offered there by the faithful in honour of the holy apostles. Constantius attended the body to the church; but withdrew with the soldiers, as he had not yet been baptized, when the ministers of the church began the holy ceremonies^r. As soon as they were over, the body was deposited in the porch, where Constantius caused a magnificent mausoleum to be raised.

His obsequies.

With respect to the character of Constantine, there is a great disagreement among authors, some of the heathen writers painting him as a tyrant, and the Christians extolling him as the best prince that ever swayed a sceptre. The emperor Julian speaks of him as a prince ambitious of military glory, and one who had nothing so much at heart as the aggrandizing of himself and his family; and adds, that his bad example armed his children against each other^s. The same Julian^t and Zosimus^u represent him as a voluptuous prince, abandoned to all manner of diversions and pleasures, to banquets, revellings, and public shews; inso-much that he could spare no time from sports and entertainments, to regulate the affairs of the state. On the other hand, Victor^w, Eusebius^x, and Libanius^y tell us, that he was constantly employed in reading, writing, meditating, composing speeches, hearing embassies, giving audience to his ministers and subjects; in short, that he was never idle, but busied either in forming or executing some great design for the good of the empire. Aurelius Victor, Ammianus Marcellinus, and even his panegyrist Eusebius, complain of his employing in the administration of affairs, persons altogether unworthy of the confidence he reposed in them, and suffering them to enrich themselves at the expense of the people committed to their care. The truth is, we are not to expect any candour either in his accusers or panegyrists, because they are both influenced by religious rancour. The first detested him as an enemy to their gods; the last extolled him as the great patron of the Christian religion. He certainly possessed great abilities both for war and legislation: but he was undoubtedly cruel, ambitious, and voluptuous; and his translating the seat of empire from Rome to Constantinople, is generally allowed to have

Authors disagree as to his character.

^r Euseb. cap. 71, p. 562.

^s Julian. Orat. vii. p. 423, 424.

^t Jul. Cæs. p. 23, 42, 52.

^u Zos. lib. ii. p. 687.

^w Vict. Epit.

p. 543. ^x Euseb. p. 539.

^y Liban. Orat. iii. p. 107.

been a step which reflected very little honour on his political capacity.

Several regulations introduced by Constantine.

The præfecti prætorio, and division of the empire into four prefectures.

The several officers under the præfecti prætorio.

We shall now proceed to several regulations in the government, both civil and military, thought to have been first introduced by Constantine. Before his time there were two captains of the guards, known by the name of præfecti prætorio, who had an equal authority over all the troops dispersed in the several provinces of the empire²: but Constantine, jealous of their too great power, lessened it by creating two more, and allotting to each of them a certain number of provinces. By this institution the whole empire was divided into four parts, which were the Orient, Illyricum, Italy, and Gaul, governed by the four præfecti prætorio, each of whom had several dioceses or districts under his jurisdiction. The prefects were the first officers of the empire, and generally looked upon as emperors of an inferior rank. They had several other officers under them, such as proconsuls, vicars, rectors, consulars, correctors, and presidents. In the East were two proconsuls; one in Achaia, and another in Asia, and sometimes, but very seldom, a third in Palestine: in the West there was but one, viz. the proconsul of Africa. The vicars represented the prefects, and were their lieutenants; whence, in the ancient inscriptions, they are styled pro-præfecti, or vice-prefects. There were vicars in the provinces of Asia, Pontus, Thrace, the Orient, Macedon, Africa, Spain, Gaul, and Britain; and two in Italy, namely, the vicar of the city of Rome, and the vicar of Italy. The provinces under the vicar of Rome were called provinciæ suburbicariæ; and those under the vicar of Italy, provinces of Italy. The vicar of Italy resided at Milan, which by that means became the metropolis of all the Italian provinces. Next in dignity to the vicars were the rectors, who governed whole provinces under the prefect, or his vicars, as did likewise the consulars, the correctors, and the presidents: Phœnicia was governed by a consular, who resided sometimes at Tyre, sometimes at Berytus, and sometimes at Damascus: several provinces of Italy had likewise a consular for their governor. We find several laws in the Theodosian code addressed to the prefects, proconsuls, vicars, rectors, consulars, and correctors, but very few to the presidents (A).

² Zof. lib. ii. p. 687.

(A) The prefects under Constantine and his son Constantius had only the title of clarissimi,

which was common to all senators, but were soon after distinguished with that of illustres.

The prefects were originally military ; but after this division of the empire, they became altogether civil officers, the command of the troops being given to two *magistri militiæ*, the institution of which office is likewise ascribed by Zosimus to Constantine ^a. In Dioclesian's time, each province had its peculiar general, styled *dux* or duke ; but Constantine in their room created the two above mentioned *magistri militiæ*, one for the foot, and another for the horse, with a full power of making what regulations in the army they thought proper. Sometimes both commands were vested in one person ; for in a law, dated the seventeenth of June 315, mention is made of one Eusebius, commander in chief both of the horse and foot ; and one Sylvanus, in two laws addressed to him in 349, is styled *magister utriusque militiæ* ^b. But their number was soon increased ; for in the time of Theodosius I. they were five, one for the court, called *præfentalis* ; one for Thrace, one for the Orient, one for Illyricum, and one for Gaul ^c. These *magistri militiæ* were afterwards distinguished by the title of *comites*, or counts, and raised to the rank of the first officers of the empire. The *patricii* or patricians were superior in rank both to the *magistri militiæ*, and the prefects. This was a new dignity instituted by Constantine ; but had no power or authority annexed to it, being only a title of honour. The patricians, though raised above all the other subjects of the empire, were nevertheless obliged to give the precedency to the consuls ^d. Constantine conferred this dignity on Julius Constantius, his brother, and Optatus, his brother-in-law.

The magistri militiæ.

The patricians.

The title of *comes* or count seems likewise to owe its origin to Constantine. Before Constantine's time, those who attended the emperors out of Rome in quality of counsellors, styled themselves *comites* ; but to that word added the name of the prince whom they attended. In Constantine's time, the name of the prince was omitted, and those who accompanied him were styled simply *comites*, *companions*, and in the modern languages counts : one Dionysius is the first to whom we find that title to have been given : afterwards it became a title of honour, and was bestowed upon all officers of any rank, though they neither followed the court, nor accompanied the emperor. These *comites* or counts were divided, according to their employments, into three orders or ranks ; and hence the expressions which we frequently meet with in the writers who flourished un-

The comes or counts.

^a Zof. p. 688.
& Chronol. p. 43.

^b Cod. Theodof. lib. xi. tit. 1. leg. 1. p. 6.
^c Notit. cap. 5, 8, 34, 35.

^d Zof. p. 692.

der Constantine, and his successors, comes domesticus primi ordinis, and secundi ordinis ^e. We find no mention made of the title of nobilissimus, or most noble, before Constantine's time, who gave it to two of his brothers, Julius Constantius and Annibalianus. It was, under the succeeding princes, bestowed upon their sons before they were raised to the dignity of Cæsar. Of the writers who flourished under Constantine, we shall speak in our note (B).

The

^e Vide Du Cange Gloss. p. 1074.

(B) We shall begin with those who have written the history of Constantine. Eusebius of Cæsarea published his life in four books. He relates great part of his wars; and we may depend upon the truth of what he writes, since it is certain that the emperor honoured him with his intimacy and friendship, and informed him of many transactions. Besides the life of Constantine, he wrote two panegyrics on that prince. Several other panegyrics on Constantine, composed in the beginning of his reign, are still extant. Among these are two, the authors of which are not known. Two other panegyrics were composed by Eumenius, professor of eloquence in the city of Autun, esteemed one of the best orators of his time. Praxagoras, by birth an Athenian, wrote, when only nineteen years old, two books on the kings of Athens; and three years after two others, comprising the life of Constantine. At the age of thirty-one, he published the life of Alexander the Great in six books (1). An abridgment of his life of Constantine is to be found in Photius (2). He is supposed to

have flourished under Constantius, and to have been contemporary with the sophist Bemarchus, who was a native of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, wrote several declamations and speeches, and published the life of Constantine in ten books (3). But none of his works have reached our times. Libanius mentions one Bemarchus, a Pagan sophist, but greatly favoured by Constantius (4). Eunapius likewise wrote the history of Constantine, but comprised, without all doubt, in the general history, which he published of all the emperors from the death of Alexander Severus (5). We may well rank Constantine himself among the writers and men of learning who flourished in his age; for many monuments of his application and study have reached our times, and are to be found in Eusebius, who has transmitted them to us. Of these the chief, or at least the most diffusive and extensive, is his oration "ad sanctorum cœtum," or his discourse addressed to the Assembly of Saints. Eusebius assures us, that this speech, as well as his many laws and letters, were all composed by himself. Besides the authors

(1) Phot. cap. 62. p. 64.

(2) Idem. p. 64.

(3) Voss. Hist.

Græc. lib. ii. cap. 17. Suidas, p. 551.

(4) Liban. Vit. p. 15.

(5) Eunap. p. 40 Voss. ibid. cap. 18.

The news of Constantine's death no sooner reached the armies, than all agreed to acknowledge no other emperors but the sons of Constantine, whom they accordingly proclaimed;

The armies acknowledge Constantine's three children;

of the Augustine history, of whom we have spoken already, several other authors flourished under Constantine. St Jerom extols, among the rest, the orator Attius Patera or Paterius, a native of Bayeux, and sprung, according to Ausonius (6), from the ancient Druids. He taught rhetoric at Rome with great applause, about the end of Constantine's reign, and afterwards at Bourdeaux (7), since Ausonius ranks him among the professors of that city. He was the father of the orator Delphidius (8), and Hedibias, to whom St. Jerom wrote his hundred and fiftieth letter, was descended from him. Suidas ascribes several rhetorical pieces to one Onasimus, a native of Cyprus or Sparta, who lived in the time of Constantine, and is styled by Suidas both an historian and sophist (9). At the same time flourished Palladius, a native of Methone in Peloponnesus, who published a treatise on the feasts of the Romans, and some other philological pieces (1). And this is all we know of these two writers, whom Vossius ranks among the Greek historians (2). In the time of Constantine flourished the celebrated Platonic philosopher Iamblichus: he was a native of Chalcis in Lower Syria, sprung from a rich and noble family, and very famous among the Pagans, as appears

from Eunapius, who wrote his life (3). Several works of a philosopher, named Iamblichus, are still extant, and highly esteemed by the best judges, but commonly ascribed to another Iamblichus, who lived at Apamea in Syria, forty or fifty years after the former, and was one of the emperor Julian's chief favourites. A third philosopher, of the same name, lived under the emperor M. Aurelius. Several works have reached our times, under the name of Iamblichus; but which of these three was the true author of them, we will not take upon us to determine. The emperor Julian equals Iamblichus of Chalcis to Plato himself. Gothofredes is of opinion, that Gregorius and Hermogenes, or rather Hermogenianus, the authors of the two different, but like codes, flourished under Constantine, and his children. In compiling their respective works, they followed the order of time; which was afterwards observed in the codes of Theodosius and Justinian. The codes of Gregorius and Hermogenianus are thought to be the most ancient of all; and were both abridged by those, who abridged the Theodosian code (4). Only some fragments of them now remain to be found in different books of jurisprudence. Gregorius is commonly

(6) Socrat. lib. i. cap. 9. p. 30, 32.

(7) Gelas. Cyzicen. Acta

Nic. Concil. p. 217.

(8) Idem, p. 224.

(9) Suid. τ, ν, p. 311.

(1) Idem, π, p. 405.

(2) Voss. Hist. Græc. lib. iv. cap. 18. p. 486.

(3) Eunap. cap. 2. p. 23.

(4) Cod. Theod. Chronol. p. 184.

claimed; and their example was soon followed by the senate of Rome, who took not the least notice of their two cousins,

believed to have been the most ancient of the two. The style of Hermogenianus is very uncouth, and often obscure. Publius Optatianus Porphyrius flourished under Constantine, and is thought to have published the poem, which has reached us, about the middle of the year 326, on occasion of the solemnity of the emperor's twentieth year, and the tenth of the two Cæsars, Crispus and Constantine, his children. Some authors are of opinion, that several of the pieces which pass under the name of Petronius Arbiter, were written by Optatianus. Sopater, the disciple of Iamblichus, flourished under Constantine, and, after the death of that philosopher, became the head of the Platonic sect that followed Plotinus. He was a native of Apamea in Syria, and both spoke and wrote with great elegance and propriety; whence he was styled a sophist, as well as a philosopher (5). After the death of Iamblichus, not deigning to converse with other philosophers, says Eunapius his admirer, he repaired to the court of Constantine, to try whether he could prevent the downfall and utter ruin of the ancient religion of the Romans. While Sopater was with the emperor at Constantinople, there being great scarcity of provisions in that city, because the vessels that brought corn were detained by contrary winds, the people assembled in the theatre broke

one day on a sudden into bitter invectives against Sopater, as a magician, who stopt the favourable winds, and prevented the arrival of the so long expected vessels. Hereupon Constantine abandoned him to the fury of the enraged populace, who, being privately excited by the prefect Ablavius, and other courtiers, jealous of his too great credit with the emperor, tore him in pieces. Julian speaks of one Sopater of Apamea, who lived in his time (6), and consequently must be distinguished from the disciple of Iamblichus. To the other writers, who flourished under Constantine, we may add the two Christian poets Commodianus and Juvencus. The former wrote a kind of poem, in hexameter verse, commonly styled Instructions, but without any regard to quantities. It is divided into several articles, and the initial letters of each article make up its title. In this poem, if we may bestow upon it that name, he impugns the errors of the Pagans, but seems not to have been yet well instructed himself in the truths of the Christian religion (7). Juvencus, frequently mentioned by St. Jerom, flourished under Constantine: he was by birth a Spaniard, sprung from an illustrious family, and not only a Christian, but in holy orders. However, he applied himself to the study of poetry, and wrote a poem, comprising the four gos-

(5) Eunap. p. 23. Soz. lib. i. cap. 5. p. 406. Suid. p. 781.
(6) Julian. epist. xl. liii. p. 185, 186. (7) Comm. p. 23. cap. 33.
Gennad. cap. 15.

cousins, Dalmatius Cæsar, and Annibalianus king of Pontus, the two sons of their uncle Constantius Dalmatius, though Constantine had, in the above-mentioned division of the empire, allotted to each of them a share. However, the three brothers did not, for what reason we are nowhere told, take upon them the title of Augusti till the ninth of September of this year 337; that is, near four months after the decease of their father^b. Soon after, the soldiery, under colour of preventing disturbances in the empire, flew to arms, and cut in pieces Julius Constantius, the deceased emperor's brother, Dalmatius Cæsar, Annibalianus king of Pontus, the patrician Optatus, who had, as is commonly supposed, married Anastasia, the late emperor's sister, five of his nephews, among whom was the eldest son of Julius Constantius, the prefect Ablavius, and most of the great Constantine's ministers, supposing them attached to the interest of his nephews^c. Thus was the numerous family of Constantine at once reduced to his three sons and two nephews, Gallus and Julian, the sons of Julius Constantius; of whom the former owed his life to a malady, from which no one believed he could recover; and the other to his infancy, he being then at most but seven years old^d (C).

*but put
Dalmatius
and Anni-
balianus to
death.*

The three brothers met in Pannonia in the beginning of the ensuing year 338, when Ursus and Polemius were consuls, to divide among them the dominions of the two deceased princes Dalmatius and Annibalianus; but all we

*Their do-
minions di-
vided.*

^b Euseb. Vit. Const. lib. iv. cap. 68. p. 560. ^c Euseb. *ibid.* p. 541. Zos. lib. ii. p. 692. Julian. Epist. ad Atheniens. p. 497, 498. ^d Socrat. lib. iii. cap. 1. p. 164. Ammian. p. 298.

pels in as many books. He keeps close to the text, choosing rather to preserve the truth of the history, than to display his genius.

(C) Gregory of Nazianzus writes, that Julian was privately conveyed away, and concealed by one Marcus of Arethusa, whom he afterwards put to a cruel death (1). All authors agree, that neither young Constantine, nor Constans, had any

concern in the massacre of the imperial family: as for Constantius, Eutropius (2) and Socrates (3) write, that he rather permitted than commanded it. Julian (4), St. Jerom (5), and Zosimus (6), tell us in plain terms, that he was the author of that cruel massacre; and St. Athanasius openly reproaches him as the murderer of his uncles and cousins (7).

(1) Nazian. Orat. iii. p. 90. (2) Eutrop. p. 558. (3) Socrat. p. 115. (4) Julian. ad Athen. p. 497. (5) Hier. Chron. (6) Zos. p. 692. (7) Athan. Solit. p. 856.

know

know of this division is, that Constantine had Thrace^e, and Constans obtained Greece and Macedon. Each of them kept the dominions allotted to him by Constantine in his life-time, that partition being confirmed by his last will; Constantine reigned in Gaul, Spain, and Britain; Constantius possessed Asia, Syria, and Egypt; and Constans ruled Illyricum, Italy, and Africa. Constantine seems to have yielded this very year Thrace to Constantius, and Constans ceded Africa to Constantine. While Constantius was absent in Pannonia, the Persians, finding the frontiers unguarded, entered Mesopotamia, committing every-where dreadful ravages. At the same time the Armenians revolted, expelled their king, who was a friend to the Romans, and joined the Persians; who, being thus strengthened, laid siege to Nisibis; but, after having continued before it sixty-three days, they were obliged to drop that enterprize, and retire. Constantius, in the mean time, taking leave of his brothers, left Pannonia, and returned into the East, where he assembled all his forces, with a design to relieve Nisibis; but finding the Persians had retired, he turned his arms against the Armenians, obliged them to receive again the king whom they had expelled, and drew over to his party the robbers of Arabia, no doubt the Saracens, who, by frequent inroads into the Persian dominions, made a powerful diversion, and greatly annoyed the enemy^f. The war, however, continued during his whole reign: many battles were fought, some gained by the Romans, and some by the Persians: the cities of Mesopotamia were often taken and retaken; and that of Nisibis was three times besieged by the enemy, without their ever being able to reduce it. Ammianus Marcellinus observes, that the Romans gained great advantages, when commanded by the emperor's lieutenants; but were constantly defeated, when headed by the emperor in person^g. In the following year, 339, when Constantius was consul the second time, with his brother Constans, several laws were enacted in the name of the three emperors; and, among the rest, one forbidding, under no less a penalty than that of death, marriages between uncles and nieces, which had been allowed by a decree of the senate, issued in favour of the marriage of Claudius, and the celebrated Agrippina. Notwithstanding this decree, such marriages were ever looked upon by the Romans as incestuous, but frequently practised

The Persians invaded the Roman dominions.

Raise the siege of Nisibis, and retire.

^e Chron. Alex. p. 670.
^g Ammian. lib. xx. p. 177.

^f Liban. p. 122. Julian. Orat. i. p. 37.

by other nations, especially the Phœnicians, to whom the law forbidding them, dated the thirty-first of March of this year, is addressed ^h.

The next consuls were Acyndinus and Proculus. Constantine, dissatisfied with the late partition of the provinces, after having solicited in vain his brother Constans to yield him Italy, or at least part of that country, raised a considerable army, and, under pretence of marching to the assistance of Constantius, who was at war with the Persians, left Gaul, and entering the dominions of Constans, made himself master of several places. Constans, who was then in Dacia, detached part of his forces against him, who, having drawn him into an ambuscade near Aquileia, cut both him and his army in pieces. His body was thrown into the river Ansa, at a small distance from Aquileia; but being afterwards discovered, it was sent to Constantinople, and interred near the tomb of his father ^l. Such was the end of the great Constantine's eldest son. He was born at Arles, as is commonly believed, on the 7th of August, 316, created Cæsar the 1st of March, 317, and saluted Augustus on the 9th of September, 337; so that he did not enjoy the imperial dignity three whole years. His panegyrist paints him as a prince endowed with great accomplishments both of body and mind; and adds, that he studied the Scriptures, and, to the utmost of his power, practised what they required ^k. But his invading his brother's dominions, without the least provocation, can by no means be justified. He received, and treated with great kindness, the celebrated Athanasius, when he was banished by his father into Gaul, which province he then governed. By his death Constans remained sole master of the western provinces, Constantius voluntarily yielding to him the whole share of the deceased prince ^l. Constans, soon after the death of his brother, arrived at Aquileia, where he was on the 9th of April, and on the 25th of June at Milan ^m. All we find of Constantius this year is, that on the 5th of August he was at Bessus in Thrace, and on the 9th of September at Antioch.

Next year, when Marcellinus and Probinus were consuls, many cities in the East were overturned by a dreadful earthquake ⁿ; and the Franks in the West having crossed the Rhine, made an irruption into Gaul, committing everywhere great ravages. Constans marched against them,

Yr. of Fl.
2790.
A. D. 340.
U. C. 1138.

*Constantine
invades
the domi-
nions of
Constans,
and is
killed.*

*The Franks
invade
Gaul;*

^h Cod. Theod. lib. iii. tit. 12. leg. 11. p. 294.
Vist. epit. p. 544. Eutrop. p. 588.

Constantin. junior. mort. p. 7—8—14.

Jul. Orat. ii. p. 175.

^a Socrat. p. 88. Theophan. p. 30.

^l Zonar. p. 11.

^k Monodia seu Orat. in

^l Soz. lib. iii. p. 499.

^m Cod. Theodos. p. 97. Chronol. p. 41.

gave them battle ; but the advantages he gained were not decisive. At this period a law was enacted, in the name of the two emperors, forbidding, under the severest penalties, all manner of idolatrous worship. Firmicus Maternus writes, that Constans ordered several temples to be demolished, together with the celebrated altar of Victory in the senate at Rome^o. Constantia built this year, and fortified, the city of Amida upon the Tigris in Mesopotamia.

*but are
quieted by
Constans.*

In the succeeding year Constans either conquered or appeased the Franks ; and that warlike people submitted to the princes of their own nation, whom he was pleased to appoint over them^p. Thus disengaged he passed over into Britain to oppose the Scots, who made frequent inroads into the Roman dominions ; but the silence of Libanius, with respect to this expedition, is a manifest proof that he performed no great exploits against that nation. Certain it is, he did not remain above four months in that island. As for Constantius, he at this period resided at Antioch or Hierapolis, in Euphratesiana. He was at Boulogne on the 25th of January, in his way to Britain, and returned to Treves on the 30th of June^q. By a law enacted this year, on the 27th of August, and commonly ascribed to him, the ecclesiastics and their domestics are exempted from all new impositions, and an entire immunity from all customs was granted to such of them as were by their poverty obliged to earn a livelihood by trading. When the church acquired sufficient wealth to support her ministers, they were forbidden by the canons to merchandise or follow any trade.

*Neocæsarea
ruined by
an earth-
quake.*

The following year, when Leontius and Sallustius were consuls, is remarkable for a dreadful earthquake, which entirely ruined the city of Neocæsarea in Pontus, no one edifice having withstood the violence of the shock, except the church, and the habitation of the bishop, who was saved, with the clergy, and some other pious persons, while the other inhabitants were all buried in the ruins^r. Theophanes speaks of a battle this year between the Romans and Persians, in which the latter were defeated with great loss^s. In the year ensuing, when Amentius and Albinus were consuls, the city of Duras on the coast of Greece was swallowed up with all its inhabitants in an earthquake, and twelve cities in Campania were overturned. The above mentioned consuls were succeeded by Constantius the fourth time, and Constans the third time, consuls. The latter was at Cesena in Italy on the 23d of May, at Milan on the 21st of June, from whence he passed into Macedon, and

^o Firm. Mat. p. 57.

^p Idat. p. 85. Socrat. lib. ii. cap. 13. p.

90.

^q Cod. Theod. Chronol. p. 44.

^r Greg. Nyss. in Vit.

Greg. Thaum.

^s Theoph. p. 31.

was at Theſſalonica on the 6th of December: from Macedonia he ſeems to have returned to Gaul; for he ſent from thence Athanaſius and Oſius to the council of Sardica, held the following year 347¹. As for Conſtantius, he was, on the 7th and 26th of May, and the 23d of Auguſt, at Conſtantinople. The law dated the 26th of May, and addreſſed to the biſhops, confirms to them and the inferior clergy, to their wives, children, and domeſtics, ſeveral immunities and exemptions. This year Conſtantius cauſed a harbour to be made at Seleucia, at an immenſe charge, for the convenience of the city of Antioch, which ſtood on the Orontes, at a ſmall diſtance from thence. This work coſt him, according to Libanius, and the emperor Julian², incredible ſums, the mouth of the Orontes, where the port was made, being full of rocks and ſands. He likewiſe rebuilt the cities of Seleucia in Syria, and Antaratius in Phœnicia; whence the latter, in the acts of ſome councils, is called from him Conſtantia.

The port of Antioch at Seleucia.

At this period Sapor, king of Perſia, beſieged Niſibis a ſecond time; but was obliged to retire with diſgrace, after having continued before it three months. In the following year the emperor Conſtantius pretended to have gained a conſiderable victory over the Perſians: he was at Ancyra on the 8th of March, and at Hierapolis on the 11th of May. The next conſuls were Flavius Philippus, a great ſtickler for the doctrine of Arius, and Flavius Salla or Sallia, a zealous defender of the faith of the council of Nice. This year Conſtans, filled with indignation againſt the Arians, and aſhamed of the weakneſs of his brother, who ſuffered himſelf to be impoſed upon and deluded by thoſe heretics, threatened to reſtore, by force of arms, the orthodox biſhops, whom he had baniſhed at their inſtigation, unleſs he recalled them of his own accord. Conſtantius was, either by fear, or the reaſons alleged by Conſtans in behalf of the exiled biſhops, prevailed upon to give his conſent to their return³. Conſtans ſent Macarius and Paulus, two officers of diſtinction, into Africa, with large ſums to be diſtributed among the poor of the province. They were likewiſe enjoined⁴ to uſe their utmoſt endeavours in reclaiming the Donatiſts, and reuniting them to the church. Their endeavours were crowned with ſucceſs; for the moſt obſtinate and ſtubborn among theſe ſectaries being driven out of the province, the reſt yielded to reaſon, and were

Niſibis beſieged by the Perſians in ſecond time.

¹ Cod. Theodof. Chron. p. 46. Ath. Apol. i. p. 676. ² Liban. Orat. xiii. p. 386. Julian. Orat. i. p. 74. ³ Theodor. Vit. Patrum, lib. ii. cap. 8. p. 13. ⁴ Concil. tom. ii. p. 713.

received again into the church ; so that the Christians there enjoyed a profound tranquility, till those who had been banished were recalled by the emperor Julian ^γ.

Yr. of Fl.
2798.
A. D. 348.
U. C. 1146.

*The battle
of Singa-
rus.*

*The Ro-
mans force
the Persian
camp,*

*but sustain
a great
loss.*

This year is remarkable for a great battle between the Persians and Romans, fought in the neighbourhood of Singarus, a city of Mesopotamia. The Persians had fortified their camp with a deep ditch and ramparts ; on which, as well as on the neighbouring hills, they had placed an incredible number of archers : their army was very numerous, composed of almost all the nations of the East, Sapor their king being determined to put the whole to the issue of a general engagement, and end, if possible, by a single victory, so tedious and expensive a war. He did not doubt that the Romans would attack him in his camp ; and therefore had fortified it with extraordinary care, placing bodies of archers on all the eminences which commanded the avenues leading to it. Accordingly the Romans, finding they could by no means entice the enemy into the open field, obliged Constantius to lead them up to the ramparts of the camp, which they attacked with a fury hardly to be expressed, and forced, in spite of the showers of arrows that were discharged upon them from the eminences, and the vigorous resistance they met with from those in the camp. Great numbers of the Persians were cut in pieces, and the rest put to flight, or taken prisoners : amongst the latter was the king's son, whom the Romans are said to have put to death, after having caused him to be publicly beaten with rods ^z. Thus the Romans made themselves masters of the enemy's camp, baggage, and treasures : but while they were, without the least apprehension of danger, quenching their drought with the fresh water, of which they found great plenty in the camp, the Persian archers, rallying, fell upon them unexpectedly, and snatched the victory, to use the expression of Libanius ^a, out of their hands. In this attack, which happened in the night-time, great havock was made of the Romans ; but nevertheless the Persians, as soon as day began to appear, withdrew beyond the Tigris, and broke down the bridges which they had laid over that river, that the Romans might not pursue them ^b. The loss was great on both sides ; but the Romans, by remaining masters of the field, claimed the victory ^c.

^γ Philostorg. lib. iii. cap. 12. p. 45. Socrat. lib. ii. cap. 23. p. 107.
^z Eutrop. p. 388. Julian. p. 43. ^a Lib. p. 133. ^b Ibid.
Julian. Orat. i. p. 45. ^c Ammian. p. 122.

In the following year, when Ulpian Limenius and Aconius Catulinus were consuls, the city of Berytus was in great part overturned by an earthquake; which so frightened the inhabitants, that such of them as had not yet embraced the Christian religion, crowded to the churches to be baptized: but the lives of such converts, not instructed in the holy mysteries, and the duties of their profession, did no great honour to the religion they pretended to embrace^d. Constantius, in the beginning of this year, was in Gaul^e: there Athanasius took leave of him, upon his setting out for his see in Egypt. From Gaul he passed into Illyricum, and was on the twenty-seventh of May at Sirmium^f; whence he returned to Gaul before winter. Constantius was on the first of April at Antioch, and some time after at Edessa in Mesopotamia; whence he wrote to Athanasius, pressing him to hasten his return to the East. He was at Constantinople on the third of October. The law enacted this year on the eleventh of April, exempting the ecclesiastics from all civil functions and employments, is commonly ascribed to him.

A dreadful earthquake at Berytus.

The following year 350, when Sergius and Nigrinianus were consuls, is remarkable for many great events. The Persians, notwithstanding the loss they had sustained in 348, returned with a powerful army, an incredible number of elephants, and warlike engines of all kinds; after ravaging Mesopotamia, and taking several fortresses there, they sat down before Nisibis the third time, and left nothing unattempted to reduce that important place. Constantius was then at a great distance, the disturbances which happened this year in the West requiring his presence there. But the city was defended by Lucilianus, father-in-law to Jovian, afterwards emperor, an officer of great courage and experience, and by the holy bishop James, in whose prayers the garrison and inhabitants confided more than in their own valour and arms^g. The Persians battered the walls for several days together, with many engines which they had brought with them for that purpose, and at the same time endeavoured to undermine them; but all their efforts proving ineffectual, Sapor caused the river Mygdonus, flowing through the city, to be turned into a new channel, hoping by that expedient to distress the inhabitants for want of water; but finding them sufficiently supplied with wells and springs within the walls, he caused

Nisibis besieged a third time.

^d Theoph. p. 32. Cedren. p. 299. ^e Athan. Apol. ii. p. 774.
^f Cod. Theod. Chronol. p. 48. ^g Philostorg. lib. iii. cap. 23.

the course of the river to be stopped, and thus laid the whole country round the town under water; insomuch that it seemed an island in the midst of the sea. His design was to overflow the town; but as it stood on a rising-ground, the waters did not reach the top of the walls: he therefore ordered them to be battered with all kinds of warlike engines from ships and boats, of which he assembled an incredible number for that purpose. This attack lasted several days; but proving in the end ineffectual, Sapor caused the river to be stopped above the city by a wall or mole of an extraordinary breadth and height; which being suddenly broken down, the waters rushed with such violence against the wall of the city, that it was overturned, and laid level with the ground, for the space of a hundred cubits.

The vigorous resistance of the garrison and inhabitants.

The enemy, believing themselves now masters of the place, advanced with loud shouts to the attack; but, to their great surprize, met with so vigorous a resistance, the garrison and inhabitants being encouraged and animated by their holy bishop, that the Persians were obliged to retire, after having lost a great many men, horses, and elephants, as the reader will find related at large by the emperor Julian^h. Heaven itself seemed to espouse the cause of the inhabitants of Nisibis; for the Persians, during the attack, were so terrified with dreadful flashes of lightning, winds, and rain, that they were not in a condition either of defending themselves, or offending their enemyⁱ. They are said to have lost in this one attack above ten thousand men. Sapor did all that lay in his power to prevent the inhabitants from repairing the breach, annoying them with incessant showers of arrows, but to no effect; for the very next morning he saw, to his great surprize, a new wall raised, and the garrison ready to receive him. He continued the siege; but was, as often as he attacked the place, repulsed with great loss. Besides, his army was annoyed with swarms of small flies; which, entering the nostrils of the horses, and the trunks of the elephants, rendered them quite ungovernable; insomuch that great numbers of the Persians were trodden under foot, and crushed to pieces. To these evils was added a dreadful famine, and soon after a plague, which made a terrible havock in the Persian camp, and in the end obliged Sapor to raise the siege, after it had lasted near four months, and retire with the loss of twenty thousand men^k. The many evils and calamities which afflicted

The siege raised.

^h Jul. Orat. ii. p. 116.
ⁱ ibid. Theodor. p. 633.

ⁱ Theoph. p. 33.

^k Jul. Theoph.

the Persians during this memorable siege, are ascribed by Theodoret and Sozomen to the prayers of James, bishop of the place. It is certain, however, that Sapor was forced to abandon the enterprize, after having, in the transports of his rage, put some of his chief commanders to death, and all those who had advised him to this war.

We shall now give a succinct account of the disturbances in the West, which encouraged the Persians to invade the Roman dominions, and lay siege to Nisibis. Magnentius, the son of one Magnus, a native of Germany, and commander of some troops appointed to guard the banks of the Rhine, finding Constans universally despised by the army, on account of his indolence and inactivity, resolved to dispatch him, and raise himself to the purple. He imparted his design to Marcellinus, receiver of the revenues in Gaul, to Chrestus, and some other officers, and gained them over to his interest. On the day appointed for the execution of the plot, Marcellinus, under pretence of celebrating his son's birth-day, invited Magnentius, and the chief officers of the army, to an entertainment, which lasted till the night was far advanced, when Magnentius withdrew, and soon after returned in the imperial robes, with all the ensigns of sovereignty. Such of the company as were privy to the design, immediately saluted him with the title of Augustus. The rest, who looked upon it at first as a jest, were easily prevailed upon, as they were heated with wine, to follow the example of the conspirators; so that Magnentius was, by all who were present, acknowledged emperor. This incident happened in the city of Autun, on the eighteenth of January, while Sergius and Nigrinianus were consuls, four years after the council of Sardica, and ten after the death of young Constantine¹. The usurper immediately seized on the imperial palace at Autun, and distributed among the populace what sums he found there; which induced not only the city, but the neighbouring country, to espouse his cause. Their example was followed by a body of cavalry detached from the army in Illyricum, to reinforce that in Gaul. Magnentius, upon his first assuming the title of emperor, dispatched one Gaiso, a commander in the army, with orders to put Constans to death. The unhappy prince, being informed of what had passed, threw off the imperial robes, and fled towards Spain. But Gaiso, informed of the route he had taken, followed him close with a chosen body of troops, and overtaking him at He-

Magnentius revolts.

¹ Zos. p. 662. Zonar. p. 12. Jul. Orat. ii. p. 106, 107. Hieron. Chron.

*Constans
murdered.*

Yr. of Fl.
2800.

A. D. 350.
U. C. 1148.

*His cha-
racter.*

lena, a small village at the foot of the Pyrenees, dispatched him there with many wounds.

Such was the end of Constans, the great Constantine's youngest son, in the thirtieth year of his age, and thirteenth of his reign. He was a zealous defender of the Christian religion, and the orthodox faith, a declared enemy to the Arians, Donatists, and all sectaries. He filled the churches with gifts and offerings, having nothing so much at heart as the propagation of the gospel, the abolishing of idolatry, and the unity of the church^m. So says Athanasius, who never speaks of him but with the greatest respect and veneration, giving him constantly the title of Blessed. The same writer assures us, that he had received the sacrament of baptism, and seems to rank him among the martyrs. On the other hand, the Pagan writers treat his character with great severity. Aurelius Victor writes, that after he had reigned some years with great applause, he abandoned himself to cruelty and avariceⁿ. Libanius charges him with suffering one Eugenius, and his other favourites, to oppress the people^o. Victor the younger complains of his preferring to the most profitable employments such as were able to lay down most money for them, without any regard to merit^p. Eutropius likewise blames his ministers, and adds, that the many vices which began to appear in the prince, joined to the rapaciousness of his ministers, rendered him odious to the soldiery, and insupportable to the people^q. Zosimus, an avowed enemy to all princes who professed the Christian religion, speaks of him as the most cruel and inhuman tyrant that ever wore and disgraced a diadem. He paints him as one addicted to all manner of lewdness, and guilty of such crimes as are most repugnant to nature^r. Aurelius Victor, and Zonaras^s, seem to confirm this charge.

Magnentius, by the death of Constans, became master of all the countries beyond the Alps, and soon after of Italy, Sicily, and Africa. To strengthen his interest, he declared his brother Desiderius, and Decentius, according to some, his other brother, according to others, only his cousin, Cæsars. The latter took also the names of Magnentius and Magnus, and is distinguished on his medals with the uncommon title of Fortissimus, or Most Valiant^t. The news of the death of Constans, and the revolt of

^m Athan. Apol. i. p. 678, 679.

Orat. iii. p. 212.

p. 548.

† Birag. p. 483, 485.

ⁿ Aur. Vict. p. 527.

^p V. l. t. Epit. p. 544.

^r Zof. lib. ii. p. 692.

^o Lib.

^q Eutrop.

^s Julian. Orat. i. p. 47.

Gaul, no sooner reached Illyricum, than Veteranio, general of the foot in Pannonia, assumed the imperial robes, and caused himself to be saluted with the title of Augustus by the legions under his command, at Sirmium, on the first of May, according to Idatius, or on the first of March, as we read in the chronicle of Alexandria. He was a native of Upper Mœsia, and advanced in years when he usurped the sovereignty; but so illiterate, that he then first learned to read (D). Besides Magnentius and Veteranio, a third pretender to the empire started up, in the person of Flavius Popilius Nepotianus, the son of Eutropia, sister to Constantine the Great, who having assembled a company of gladiators, and others of desperate fortunes, assumed the purple on the third of June, and in that attire presented himself before the gates of Rome. The prefect Anicetus, who commanded there for Magnentius, sallied out against him with a body of Romans, who were soon repulsed, and driven back into the city; which Nepotianus took not long after, and filled with blood and slaughter, putting to death among the rest the prefect Anicetus. Magnentius was no sooner informed of what had happened, than he sent Marcellinus, his chief favourite, and prime minister, against this new competitor. Nepotianus received him with great resolution; and a bloody battle ensued between the soldiers of Magnentius and the Romans who had espoused the cause of Nepotianus; but the latter being betrayed by a senator,

Veteranio assumes the title of Augustus.

Nepotianus assumes the title of emperor, and seizes Rome.

(D) Aurelius speaks of him as a man of parts; the emperor Julian writes, that he was no despicable man; and Eutropius commends him on account of his probity and affability; and adds, that as he had served in the army from his infancy, and had been always attended with success, he was universally beloved by the soldiery. It appears, both from the chronicle of Alexandria, and from his medals, that he was a Christian. Philostorgius and Theophanes writes, that he was invested with the purple by Constantia, the eldest sister of Constantius, and widow of Au-

nibalianus, who claimed that right, as having been declared empress by her brother Constantine. The emperor Julian does not speak of him as an usurper; and Zonaras tells us, that in assuming the imperial dignity, he wrote to Constantius, assuring him that he had nothing in view but to oppose the usurper Magnentius; and that he should always look upon himself rather as his lieutenant, than an emperor or sovereign. Philostorgius adds, that Constantius confirmed to him the title of emperor, and sent him the diadem (1).

(1) Philostorg, p. 55.

named

He is slain. named Heraclitus, his men were put to flight, and himself killed, after having enjoyed the sovereignty twenty-eight days ^u. Marcellinus ordered his head to be carried on the point of a lance through the chief streets of the city, put all those to death who had declared for him, and, under pretence of preventing future disturbances, commanded a general massacre of such as were any ways related to Constantine. On this occasion many persons of great distinction were inhumanly murdered, and among the rest Eutropia, the mother of Nepotianus ^w.

Rome tyrannically oppressed by Magnentius.

Soon after this contest Magnentius himself repaired to Rome, to raise the necessary supplies for carrying on the war against Constantius, who was making great preparations to attack him, and revenge the murder of his brother. The tyrant, during his stay at Rome, put many persons of distinction to death, in order to seize their estates; and oppressed the rest in a most tyrannical manner, obliging them, under pain of death, to contribute half of what they were worth towards the expences of the approaching war. Having, by these means raised great sums, he assembled a numerous army, consisting of Romans, Germans, Gauls, Franks, Britons, and Spaniards; but at the same time dreading the uncertain issue of war, he dispatched ambassadors to Constantius, with offers of an accommodation ^x. That prince was then at Antioch, where, upon the first advice of his brother's death, he had caused himself to be acknowledged emperor of the West. To support that title he had assembled all the troops dispersed in the several provinces of the East, and a more powerful fleet, if the emperor Julian is to be credited, than that with which Xerxes formerly invaded Greece. Constantius set out from Antioch about the beginning of the autumn, and passing through Constantinople, arrived at Heraclea, where he was met by deputies from Magnentius and Veteranio, who had agreed to support each other, in case Constantius would not hearken to an accommodation. The terms proposed by their deputies were, that they should assist him with all their forces against the Persians and other Barbarians, and acknowledge him as the first emperor, provided he suffered them to enjoy the same title. The deputies of Magnentius proposed in his name a match between him and Constantia, or rather Constantina, the sister of Constantius, and widow

Constantius marches against him.

^u Zos. lib. ii. p. 693. Eutrop. p. 588. Aur. Vict. p. 527. Ammian. p. 316, 319.

^w Themist. Orat. ii. p. 43. Julian. Orat. iii. p. 106, 107.

^x Ammian. lib. xvi. p. 64. Socrat. lib. i. cap. 32. p. 127.

of Annibalianus, offering at the same time to Constantius the sister of Magnentius¹.

But Constantius, resolved to hearken to no terms, ordered the deputies, both of Magnentius and Veteranio, to be committed to custody, and pursuing his march with incredible expedition, arrived at Sardica, before Veteranio knew of his departure from Heraclea. However, he assembled in haste a body of troops, resolved to put the whole to the issue of a battle; which Constantius wisely declined, offering to conclude a separate treaty with Veteranio, that he might not have two enemies to contend with at once. Veteranio listened to the proposal, and being acknowledged emperor by Constantius, joined him with all his forces. The two princes, after the conjunction of their forces, mounted the tribunal together to harangue their troops. Constantius, who spoke first, reminded the soldiers, in a very elegant and artful speech, of their obligations to his father; of the bounties they had received from him, and of the oaths of allegiance which they had taken to his sons: he concluded with exhorting them not to suffer the inhuman murder of his brother, the son of so great a prince, to pass unrevenged; and declaring, that he only demanded what was in justice due to him, it being agreeable to all the laws of equity, that to a brother should succeed a brother, and not a stranger, much less an open enemy to the whole imperial family². Though this speech was levelled against Magnentius alone, yet the soldiers, applying it to Veteranio, cried out aloud, that they acknowledged no other emperor but Constantius, pulled Veteranio down from the tribunal, and obliged him to quit the purple and diadem. He thereupon threw himself at Constantius's feet, and implored his mercy. The emperor received him with great kindness, embraced him, styled him father, entertained him at his table, and afterwards sent him to Prusia in Bithynia, where he allowed him a maintenance suitable to his quality. This incident happened, according to some, at Sirmium, according to others, at Naissus, on the 25th of December, 350. Veteranio spent the residue of his life in works of piety, in assisting daily at the holy mysteries, and in relieving the distressed, without ever intermeddling in affairs of state; he is even said to have written frequently to Constantius, returning him thanks for having delivered him from the anxiety and cares attending the sovereignty, and by these means procured him the happiness he enjoyed³.

Constantius rejects the terms of an accommodation proposed by Magnentius.

Veteranio deposed by the soldiery

¹ Zonar. p. 14. Themist. Orat. iii. iv. p. 42, 56. Jul. Orat. ii. p. 55.

² Zof. p. 694. Athan. Solit. p. 844.

³ Zonar. p. 14.

Socrat. lib. ii. cap. 28. p. 120. Zof. p. 695.

*Gallus
marries
Constantina
and is
created
Cæsar.*

Constantius, now master of all Illyricum, which was held by Veteranio, and of the army he commanded, consisting of an incredible number of foot, and twenty thousand horse, resolved to march against Magnentius, as soon as the season would allow him to take the field, and attack the tyrant in his own dominions. In the mean time, upon advice that the Persians were preparing to invade the eastern provinces, he married his sister Constantina, the widow of Annibalianus, to Gallus his cousin-german, the son of his uncle Julius Constantius; created him Cæsar on the 15th of March; allotted him for his share not only all the East, but Thrace and Constantinople; and sent him to Antioch to oppose the Persians, in case of an invasion^b. Philostorgius writes, that before the two princes parted, they took a solemn oath, in the presence of Theophilus, and the other bishops then at court, to maintain an inviolable fidelity to each other^c. The Persians contented themselves with making some inroads into the Roman dominions, but were constantly repulsed by Gallus. These inroads and incursions constitute the war mentioned by Philostorgius and Theophanes^d, and said to have been finished with great glory by Gallus Cæsar. About the same time that Gallus was created Cæsar by Constantius, Magnentius, who was then at Milan, gave the same title, according to Zonaras, to his brother Decentius, whom he dispatched into Gaul, to defend that country against the Barbarians who had invaded it; for Constantius had not only instigated the Franks and Saxons to break into that province, by promising to relinquish to them all the places they should reduce, but had sent them large supplies of money and arms for that purpose^e.

*The Franks
and Saxons
invade
Gaul.*

The Barbarians, upon this encouragement, invaded Gaul with a numerous army, overthrew Decentius in a pitched battle, committed every-where dreadful ravages, and reduced the country to the deplorable condition in which Julian found it, as he himself relates in the year 356^f. In the mean time Magnentius, having assembled a formidable army, consisting chiefly of Gauls, Franks, and Saxons, left Italy, and crossing the Alps, advanced into the plains of Pannonia, where Constantius, whose main strength consisted in cavalry, was waiting for him. Magnentius, hearing that his competitor was encamped at a small distance, dispatched a messenger to him, inviting him into the extensive plains of Sciscia on the Save, to decide which of

^b Aur. Viét. p. 427. Ammian. lib. xiv. p. 1, 3.
^c Philostorg. lib. iv. cap. 1. p. 63. ^d Theoph. p. 34.
^e Liban. Orat. xii. p. 269. ^f Jul. Epist. ad Athen. p. 511, 512.

them had the best title to the empire. Constantius accepted the challenge with great joy, and ordered his troops to file off towards Sciscia; but as they marched in disorder they fell into an ambuscade, and were put to flight with great slaughter^g. Magnentius, elated with this success, quickened his march towards Sciscia, without attending to the terms proposed by Philip, in Constantius's name, who dreading the evil consequences of a civil war, offered to yield the præfecture of Gaul, that is, Gaul, Spain, and Britain, and to acknowledge him emperor, upon condition that he relinquished Italy. Philip being dismissed, Magnentius attempted to pass the Save in the neighbourhood of Sciscia; but the garrison falling out, and Constantius, who was at a small distance, hastening with a strong detachment to support them, the usurper's men were put to flight, and great numbers of them cut in pieces. Notwithstanding this defeat, he sent, a few days after, Titianus, a Roman senator, with the character of ambassador, to Constantius, advising him, if he tendered his life, to relinquish the empire, and pass the residue of his days in retirement. To this haughty message, and the bitter invectives uttered by Titianus, against the great Constantine and his children, which Zosimus himself styles outrageous insults, Constantius answered with great temper, that he did not doubt but heaven would espouse his cause, and revenge the blood of his brother on the author of his death^h.

Magnentius rejects all terms of peace.

While the two armies lay at a small distance from each other, Sylvanus, of whom hereafter, abandoning Magnentius, fled over to Constantius, with a considerable body of cavalry under his command. Magnentius, no way intimidated at his defection, attacked Sciscia, and having taken it by assault, and levelled it with the ground, he laid waste the whole country lying on the Save, and then sat down before Sirmium, the metropolis of Illyricum; but not being able to reduce it, he removed from thence, and laid close siege to Murfa; a step which obliged Constantius to quit his camp at Cibale, where his father had formerly defeated Licinius, and hasten to the relief of the place. Magnentius, informed of his approach, placed four thousand Gauls in a neighbouring wood, with orders to fall upon the enemy's rear, when they found both armies engaged. But Constantius receiving timely notice of the ambuscade, seized all the avenues leading to the wood, by which means the party was cut offⁱ. After having taken this precaution,

Sciscia taken by Magnentius, and levelled with the ground.

^g Zos. p. 695.
lib. xv. p. 44.

^h Jul. Orat. i. ii. p. 88. 181.
Zonar. p. 15. Zos. lib. ii. p. 698,

ⁱ Ammian

Constantius approached Murfa, and drew up his army in the adjoining plain, along the Drave or Draw, on which Murfa stood, the river being on his right, and Magnentius's left. Both armies, thus ranged in battle-array, continued in the presence of each other till the close of the day; during which time Magnentius, though he professed the Christian religion, is said to have sacrificed, by the advice of a magician, a virgin, and to have obliged his men to drink of her blood mixed with wine.

Yr. of Fl.
2801.

A. D. 351.
U. C. 1036.

*The battle
of Murfa.*

At length the signal was given, and the two armies advanced against each other with great fury. Magnentius's centre, according to the account of the emperor Julian^k, was, at the first onset, put in disorder by Constantius's left wing and cavalry; a disaster which Magnentius, who had drawn them up unskilfully, as being altogether ignorant of the art of war, no sooner observed, than he abandoned them, and shamefully fled. His men, especially the Gauls and Barbarians, ashamed to follow the example of their leader, though broken, and in the utmost confusion, often rallied in platoons, and, in spite of the utmost efforts of the victorious army, maintained their ground till the night was far advanced, having no resource but in victory, and being animated by their commanders, who were men of great valour and experience. Some, favoured by the darkness of the night, made their escape; but the far greater part were either cut in pieces or pushed into the river, and drowned^l. Such was the issue of the memorable battle of Murfa, fought, according to the emperor Julian, about the end of the autumn; but, according to Idatius, on the 28th of September. Zonaras writes, that Magnentius lost on this occasion twenty-four thousand men, and that the loss of Constantius amounted to thirty thousand; but this account must be exaggerated. However that be, the empire was greatly weakened by this blow, and the battle of Murfa is generally reckoned by the ancients one of the most dreadful calamities that ever happened to Rome^m. Most of the officers on both sides were killed, and among the rest Menelaus, who commanded the Armenian archers under Constantius, and had greatly signalized himself during the engagement. He was slain by Romulus the enemy's general, who being mortally wounded by him, would not retire till he had killed the person who had given him the wound. Marcellinus, the chief author of this war, and all the evils attending it, displayed uncom-

*The battle
of Murfa
fatal to the
empire.*

^k Jul. Orat. i. ii. p. 65, 106.
Epit. Hier. Chron. Eutrop. &c.

^l Idem ibid. p. 67, 110.

^m Vict.

mon courage in the battle; but was never afterwards heard of, nor could his body be found; whence he was believed to have been drowned in the river. As soon as it was day the emperor, beholding from an adjoining eminence the plain covered, and the river choaked up, with dead bodies, could not refrain from tears at so melancholy a sight, more grieved at the slaughter of so many men than rejoiced at the victory, he ordered all the slain to be buried without distinction, and such as were wounded to be attended with care. At the same time he caused a general pardon to be proclaimed for all those who had borne arms against him; those only excepted who had been concerned in the death of his brother Constantⁿ. Magnentius, abandoning Pannonia, fled with the remains of his shattered army into Italy, there to recruit his broken forces, and try the fortune of another battle^o. Constantius did not pursue him, because the winter approached, says Julian; and likewise, because his army was greatly fatigued, weakened, and consequently not in a condition to undertake any new expedition.

An instance of Constantius's good-nature.

Magnentius retires to Italy.

Next year Decentius Cæsar and Paulus were acknowledged consuls at Rome, and Constantius the fifth time, with Gallus Cæsar, at Constantinople. Constantius passed the winter at Sirmium, as appears from the dates of several of his constitutions. By one dated the twenty-sixth of February of this year 352, and addressed to the prefect Rufinus, he granted to eunuchs the liberty of making testaments^p; whence it is evident, that till his time, they had been excluded from that privilege. Constantius was a great favourer of eunuchs, and entirely governed by them and his other domestics^q. Magnentius having, after the battle of Murfa, fortified the passes of the Alps, and left a sufficient number of troops to defend them, remained the whole winter at Aquileia, passing his time, if Julian is to be credited, in feasting and debaucheries, as if no danger threatened him. But Constantius, as soon as the season was proper for action, assembled his troops, and having, without the loss of one man, surprised and taken a castle on the Alps, in which Magnentius had left a strong garrison, advanced in order to force the rest. His sudden approach struck the tyrant with such terror, that he immediately abandoned Aquileia, and ordered the troops that guarded the other passes on the Alps to follow him. In consequence of this preposterous conduct, Constantius entered Italy

Constantius passes the Julian Alps.

^a Jul. Orat. i. ii. p. 69. 107.
Just. lib. vi. tit. 22. leg. 5. p. 544.

^o Zof. lib. ii. p. 700.
^q Vide Baron. ann. 352.

^p Cod.
with-

Magnentius retires into Gaul.

without opposition, made himself master of Aquileia and the neighbouring country. From thence he advanced to Pavia, where Magnentius gained a considerable advantage over him; which, however, did not prevent him from reducing the whole country bordering on the Po, while the foldiers of Magnentius abandoned him in whole troops, and delivered up to the enemy the places they garrisoned. This defection so disheartened the tyrant, that in the end he left Italy, and retired with all his forces into Gaul^r.

Africa, Sicily, and Spain, declare for Constantius.

Constantius was master of Rome and Italy before the third of November, for we find a law bearing date, addressed to the Roman people, wherein the emperor declares void some of the acts of Magnentius^s. Not satisfied with driving him from Italy, he sent a powerful fleet to seize on Africa and Carthage; which immediately submitted, as did soon after Sicily and Spain. At the same time several cities in Gaul revolted from the tyrant, and among the rest Treves, the inhabitants of which important place, shutting their gates against Decentius Cæsar, the tyrant's brother, declared for Constantius, and chose one Pemenes to govern them in his name. Magnentius, apprehending his affairs to be now in a desperate condition, dispatched to Constantius a senator, and after him some bishops, to treat of a peace, offering to resign the sovereignty, upon condition that the emperor would grant him his life, and some honourable employment: but the emperor treated the senator as a spy, and dismissed the bishops without deigning to return them an answer^t. Magnentius, perceiving there was no room left for pardon, recruited his army, and dispatched an assassin into the East to murder Gallus Cæsar, hoping that his death would oblige the emperor to withdraw his forces from Gaul, and march in person to the defence of the eastern provinces, threatened by the Persians. The assassin had already gained some of Gallus's guards; but the plot being discovered before it could be put in execution, they were all seized and executed as traitors.

Constantius marries Eusebia.

Towards the close of this, or the beginning of the following year 353, Constantius married Eusebia, a native of Thessalonica, the daughter of a consular, and of a lady who is greatly commended for her chastity, and the extraordinary care she took in educating her children after the death of her husband^u. She had two brothers, Eusebius and Hypatius, whom we shall see consuls in 359. The emperor sent for her out of Macedon, married her with great so-

^r Jul. Orat. v. p. 153, 154. Ammian. lib. xxxi. p. 457.

Theodos. tit. 5. p. 408.

^t Zonar. p. 15.

p. 205.

^s Cod.

^u Julian. Orat. iii.

lemnity, loved her to the last more than he had loved any of his other wives (for he had several), and to perpetuate the memory of her name, made a new diocese, comprehending Bithynia, and some other provinces, to which he gave the name of Pietas, or *Picty*, the import of the Greek word *Ευσχία* * (1). Constantius was this year, as appears from the dates of his laws, on the twenty-sixth of February, and fifth of March, at Sirmium; on the eighth of April at Sabaria in Pannonia; on the twenty-seventh of the same month, the thirteenth of May, and the twenty-fourth of June, at Sirmium; on the third of November, at Milan; and, on the first of December, again at Sirmium †.

In the succeeding year, when Constantius was consul the sixth time, and Gallus Cæsar the second, the war against Magnentius was carried on with more vigour than ever,

* Ammian. lib. xxi. p. 185. Cang. Byzant. Fam. p. 48. Julian. p. 206. Vict. Epit. x Cod. Just. lib. vi. tit. 22. leg. 5. p. 544.

(D) She is greatly commended by Ammianus (1), Zosimus (2), and above all by Julian, who wrote her panegyric about the year 357 (3), for her beauty, virtue, obliging behaviour, skill in polite learning, and prudence. Baronius speaks of her as a professed enemy to the catholic church, and a zealous favourer of the Arians. Suidas tells us, that Leontius bishop of Tripoli in Lydia, refusing to wait upon the empress, because she had received other bishops with great haughtiness, she sent for him; but he, instead of complying immediately with her message, acquainted her, that he thought himself obliged to avoid appearing before her, unless she promised to receive him with that respect which was due to his character; that is, to descend from her throne, as soon as he appeared; to meet him near the door; to receive his blessing in a humble

posture; and stand till he had taken his place, and given her leave to sit down. Suidas and Philostorgius (4) bestow great encomiums on Leontius, and paint him as a man of extraordinary merit; but to us he seems to have been, at least, destitute of prudence and discretion. The prelates of the church ought not to flatter princes with a mean complaisance; but neither are they allowed, in admonishing them of their faults, to be wanting to that respect which is due to their high station. Eusebia proved barren; whence, either out of jealousy, or for some reasons of state unknown to us, she obliged her sister-in-law Helena, whom Julian had, by her interest, obtained in marriage of Constantius, to take a potion, which made her miscarry as often as she proved with child (5).

(1) Ammian. lib. xxi. p. 185.

(2) Zof. lib. iii. p. 702.

(3) Julian. Orat. iii. p. 190.

(4) Philostorg. lib. vii. cap. 6. p. 504.

Suid. ibid.

(5) Ammian. lib. xvi. p. 72.

*Magnen-
tius defeat-
ed in Gaul.*

and happily ended by a third battle ¹, fought by the emperor's generals in the Cottian Alps, that is, in the Higher Dauphiné, near a castle called Mons Seleucus, or Mons Seleuci, between Die and Gap, not far from the place where the present borough of Aspres stands ². The forces of Magnentius being in this battle likewise routed and broken, the tyrant took shelter in Lions; but the few soldiers who attended him, despairing now of any farther success, resolved to purchase the emperor's favour by delivering up to him his rival, the author of the present calamitous war; and accordingly surrounded the house where he lodged, to prevent his escape. It was probably on this occasion, that Magnentius addressing himself to his men, they, instead of listening to him, cried out with one voice, "Long live Constantius Augustus." The tyrant, well apprised of the intention of his men, and thereupon transported with rage and despair, first slew with his own hand his mother, his brother Desiderius, whom he had created Cæsar, and such of his relations and friends as were with him; and then, fixing his sword in a wall, threw himself upon it, to avoid, by that means, a more shameful death, which he well deserved, and had just reason to apprehend, if he fell alive into the hands of Constantius ³. Such was the deserved end of the tyrant and usurper Magnentius, the first, say some writers, who brought a scandal upon Christianity, of which he made an outward profession, by the murder of his lawful sovereign.

Yr. of Fl.
2803.
A. D. 353.
U. C. 1151.

*He lays vi-
olent hands
on himself.*

All authors agree, that Magnentius died this year 353, about the middle of August, after he had held the supreme power three years, and near seven months, being, at the time of his death, about fifty years old. His head was, by the emperor's orders, cut off, and carried through most of the provinces of the empire ⁴. His brother Decentius Cæsar, who was marching to his assistance, and had already reached Sens, hearing of his death, and finding himself surrounded on all sides by the enemy's forces, chose rather to strangle himself, than to fall alive into the emperor's hands. His death happened on the eighteenth of August ⁵. On some of his medals he is styled Augustus; and both on his, and those of Magnentius, mention is made of a victory gained by the two Augusti, and by Cæsar. This victory is perhaps the advantage they gained over Constantius at Pavia, as we have related above; after which Magnen-

*Decentius
Cæsar
strangles
himself.*

¹ Jul. Orat. ii. p. 137.

ton. p. 22. Baud. p. 493.

² Burdigal. Itin. p. 39. Itin. An-
ton. p. 22. Baud. p. 493.

³ Zonar. p. 16. Zof. lib. ii. p. 701.

⁴ Vict. Epit. p. 544. Ammian. lib. xxii. p. 227.

⁵ Zof. p. 701.

Zonar. p. 16.

tius probably gave Decentius the title of emperor. Zonaras writes, that Desiderius was not killed by Magnentius, but dangerously wounded; and that upon his recovery he yielded himself up to Constantius^d. That author does not tell us what reception he met with; but Julian says in general terms, that Constantius, after the victory, sheathed his sword, and spared those who were suspected of the greatest crimes, the tyrant's favourites and confidants, and such as, taking upon them to discharge his embassies, had abused their prince in a most outrageous manner.

Constantius's clemency extolled by the panegyrist;

But other historians do not speak so favourably of Constantius; Zosimus tells us, that not able to bear his good fortune, he grew proud, haughty, and imperious. Libanius asserts, that those who had served under Magnentius, dreading the severity of Constantius, and not daring to shew themselves, turned public robbers, and infested the high-ways, till they were again taken into the service by Julian^e. Ammianus assures us, that the emperor spared none who had, or were suspected to have rendered the usurper any considerable service; and that many officers, both civil and military, were under that pretence loaded with chains, and dragged to the tribunal of the emperor, who sentenced them to death, or seized their estates, and confined them to desert islands, upon the deposition of their known enemies, or persons altogether unworthy of credit; and frequently upon bare suspicions, when no one appeared against them^f. Many innocent persons, says the same writer, were put to death, or banished: among the latter he names one Gerontius, who had been honoured by Magnentius with the title of comes or count, and was therefore first racked, by Constantius's order, in a most inhuman manner, and then sent into exile.

from whom historians differ;

As the emperor gave ear to informations, informers multiplied without number; but the most mischievous of that infamous tribe was one Paulus, a Spaniard, who had the character of secretary, and was nicknamed Catena; that is, Chain; being remarkable for making accusations arise from one another, and linking them together, as it were, in a chain. He was sent into Britain, to bring from thence the tribunes and other officers, who had sided with Magnentius. He discharged this commission with such cruelty and injustice, that Martinus, a man of known integrity, and at that time vicar of the island, generously interposing in behalf of the innocent, declared, that unless Paulus al-

Paulus Catena, a noted informer, sent into Britain.

^d Zon. p. 16.
lib. xiv. p. 9.

^e Lib. Orat. ii. p. 285, 286.

^f Ammian.

tered his measures, he would withdraw from his government, not being able to see the innocent thus tyrannically oppressed, and confounded with the guilty. This declaration Paulus highly resented, and even threatened to treat him as a traitor, and send him loaded with chains to the emperor. Thus provoked, Martinus drawing his sword, attempted to kill the informer; but he dexterously avoiding the push, received only a slight wound; and the brave Martinus buried his sword in his own breast. Notwithstanding the odium which the death of so deserving a man cast upon the reign of Constantius, all those whom Paulus brought to him were stripped of their estates, and either proscribed, banished, or put to death. The emperor was this year, on the sixth of September, at Lions, as appears from a law bearing that date, which declares all the public acts of the usurper void, and promises indemnity and pardon to all concerned in his revolt, excepting those who were guilty of five crimes, which the laws punished with death ^g. By another law of this year, he granted many valuable privileges and exemptions to the clergy, to their wives, children, and domestics. From Lions the emperor removed to Arles, where he passed the winter, and solemnized with great pomp and rejoicings the end of the thirtieth year of his reign, reckoning from the time he had been created Cæsar; that is, from the eighth of November 323 ^h.

His cruelty.

The Isaurians over-ran several provinces.

Gaul was this year ravaged by the Barbarians beyond the Rhine, and the disbanded troops of Magnentius. At Rome the populace rose on account of the scarcity of provisions, and committed great disorders. In Asia the Isaurian robbers over-ran Lycæonia and Pamphylia, and even laid siege to Seleucia, a great and populous city, and the capital of Isauria. Count Castričius defended the place with three legions, says Ammianus. Gallus Cæsar no sooner received intelligence of the siege of Seleucia, than he dispatched Nibridius, count of the East, to the relief of the place, who obliged the Isaurians to abandon the enterprize, and take refuge in their inaccessible mountains. At the same time the Saracens committed dreadful ravages in Mesopotamia; and the Persians, under the command of Nohadarus, attempted to surprise the city of Batne, in the province of Anthemusia, on the Euphrates, on occasion of a great fair which was annually held there for the vent of Indian and Chinese commodities. But the Eastern provinces were not

^g Cod. Theodof. lib. ix. tit. 38. leg. 2. p. 270. lib. xiv. p. 8, 9. Nor. Dec. cap. 1. p. 78, 79.

^h Ammian.

so much harrassed by the Barbarians as by Gallus himself, who commanded there with the title of Cæsar, and governed like a tyrant and madman. His unexpected advancement at the age of twenty-four, or twenty-five, his great quality (for he was nephew of Constantine, the cousin and brother-in-law of Constantius), some slight advantages obtained over the Jews, Persians, and Isaurians, and the flattering panegyrics of Libanius and others, pronounced before him, inspired him with such pride and arrogance, that he became altogether insupportable, and abandoned himself to every act of violence and oppression. He is even said to have entertained thoughts of revolting from Constantius, and claiming the empire for himself¹. He was naturally inclined to cruelty; and his wife Constantina, instead of softening his savage temper, took pains to encourage him in his ferocity, and to exasperate him against such as did not yield to her the most slavish submission, being elated beyond measure with the reflection, that she was the daughter and sister of an emperor, the widow of a king, and the wife of Cæsar. Ammianus styles her the Megæra, or fury of her sex; and adds, that her cruelty was equal to her ambition².

The extravagant behaviour of Gallus.

Gallus, thus stimulated by his natural cruelty, and the restless and turbulent spirit of his wife, broke out into all acts of violence imaginable. Some were murdered upon bare suspicions; others deprived of their estates, and banished. The prince entertained an incredible number of informers and spies, who, insinuating themselves into all companies, made exaggerated reports of what they heard; and the persons thus accused were hurried to execution, or privately dispatched. Gallus himself, in order to make discoveries, used to walk the streets in the night-time in disguise, and mix with the populace in public houses. His suspicious and cruel temper being once discovered, such as had private enemies laid hold of the prince's foible to gratify their own hatred, nothing being more easy than to destroy the most innocent persons, and procure the confiscation of their estates; for under Gallus it was one and the same thing to be accused or suspected, and condemned. By these means all the cities and provinces were filled with blood and slaughter; and no man, says Ammianus, however free from guilt, was sure to live, or enjoy his estate, a whole day. Thalassus, at that time prefect of the East, was greatly concerned at the conduct of Gallus; and had

His cruelty and suspicious temper.

¹ Socrat. lib. ii. cap. 34. p. 123. Liban. Vit. p. 34.
² Ammian. p. 2, 3.

he been a man of prudence and discretion, might have easily corrected it, and prevented many disorders; but being himself of a haughty and imperious temper, instead of admonishing Gallus of his faults with the respect that was due to his rank, he opposed him with too much heat, and checked him with a great deal of roughness and ill-nature. He even informed the emperor of all his actions, exaggerating every thing to a great degree, not privately, but in public, with a design Gallus should know he had done it; a circumstance which, instead of reclaiming, prompted him to still greater excesses, that he might not seem to yield to his inferior¹.

*Constantius
marches
against the
Alemans.*

The emperor, having passed the winter at Arles, went early in the spring to Valence, with a design to march against Gondomarus and Vadomorus, two brothers, kings of the Alemans, who had made frequent inroads into that part of Gaul which lay next to their territories. The rendezvous of the troops designed for this expedition was at Chalons on the Soane, where they began to mutiny for want of provisions, the heavy rains that had fallen preventing the arrival of the corn that was expected from Aquitaine. Constantius was inclined to send to the mutinous army Rufinus, prefect of Gaul, with a design to expose him to the fury of the incensed soldiery, he being very powerful, and by the mother's side uncle to Gallus, on whose ruin the emperor had already resolved. But Rufinus's friends at court prevailed upon the emperor to change his intention; and Eusebius, Constantius's chamberlain, gained over the most mutinous and refractory by distributing money among them privately. The emperor staid some time at Valence, and there received certain advice of what Gallus had done; that is, as we conjecture, of the murder of Domitian.

*Attempts
in vain to
lay a
bridge over
the Rhine.*

The mutiny being appeased, and the expected convoys arriving, the army marched cheerfully towards Rauracum on the Rhine, a little above the present city of Basle, where the emperor attempted to lay a bridge over that river; but the Germans from the other side of the Rhine discharged such incessant showers of darts and arrows, that the design was laid aside as altogether impracticable. This miscarriage reduced the emperor to great difficulties; but while he was at a loss what course to take, a person well acquainted with the country shewed him a place where the river was fordable. They were however prevented from crossing it, by the unexpected arrival of deputies from the enemy's

¹ Ammian. p. 27.

camp to sue for peace; which the emperor, by the advice of his council, readily granted, that he might be at leisure to consult what measures might be taken with respect to his cousin Gallus Cæsar, of whose extravagant conduct new complaints were daily laid before him. With this view he left Gaul, as soon as the treaty was concluded, and repaired to Milan, where he passed the winter^m. In the beginning of the present year, great disturbances were raised at Antioch, on account of the scarcity of provisions; for Gallus commanding the magistrates to lower the prices, and they representing that this step, instead of mitigating, would increase the evil, he caused some of them to be publicly executed, and others to be dragged to prison. But Honoratus, who was still count of the East, opposed this wild decree, and set the prisoners at libertyⁿ.

*Grants a peace to the Ale-
mans.*

Some time after this transaction, Gallus being to set out for Hierapolis, the people of Antioch besought him to give orders before his departure for conveying corn to their city from other countries; he answered, that if they were not supplied, it was the fault of Theophilus, governor of Syria. This answer the people remembered, and the price of provisions increasing, four or five mean persons threw themselves upon Theophilus in the circus. The populace immediately assembling, not only murdered him, but, transported with rage, dragged his body about the streets; a treatment which he did not deserve, having discharged his employment with great mildness and integrity. They attempted to treat Eubulus, one of the chief men in the city, and his son, in the same manner; but they found means to escape the fury of the multitude; who nevertheless burnt their houses. The death of Theophilus^o, thus abandoned by Gallus to the rage of the multitude, and his protecting one Serenianus, who was universally hated by all good men, and had even aspired to the empire, greatly prejudiced Constantius against him. The emperor, however, wrote several obliging letters to him; but at the same time, under various pretences, drew the flower of his troops into the West. About this time Thalassius, prefect of the East, dying, Constantius named in his room one Domitian; and in giving him his instructions at his departure, told him, among other things, he had been informed that Gallus was desirous of coming to Italy, and paying him a visit; adding, "If you think it proper, you may conduct him to

*Theophilus,
governor of
Syria, a-
bandoned
by Gallus
to the rage
of the po-
pulace.*

^m Cod. Theod. Chron. p. 52.

ⁿ Ammian. lib. xiv. p. 25.

Liban. Vit.

^o Ammian. p. 16. Julian. p. 111. Liban. Orat.

xiv. p. 399.

The imprudent conduct of the prefect Domitian.

my presence ; but let it be done with all the duty and respect owing to his birth and station.

Domitian understood the emperor's meaning ; but being of mean birth, he wanted politeness and address to execute his tacit orders, agreeably to the prince's intention. On his arrival at Antioch, he went directly to the house where the prefects lodged, without paying his respects to Cæsar, though he passed before his palace ; and, under colour of being indisposed, stayed several days at home, informing himself of the conduct of Gallus, and sending to the emperor an exaggerated account of all he heard. At length Gallus sending him word that he should be glad to see him, he went to court ; and coming up to the prince, " You must go (said he abruptly) to Italy ; for such is the emperor's pleasure ; which if you refuse to comply with, I shall stop the necessary appointments for the maintenance of your household." Having thus spoken, he withdrew without uttering another word, or waiting the prince's answer, who called him back, and afterwards often sent for him ; but could never prevail upon him to appear again at court. Gallus, highly provoked, and not without reason, at the conduct of the prefect, ordered him to be put under arrest. Montius, or, as others call him, Magnus, then quæstor, foreseeing the evil consequences that must inevitably attend the execution of this order, thought himself obliged to prevent them ; and with great frankness told Gallus, that he ought to pull down the statues of Constantius, before he thought of arresting or putting to death a prefect^p. Others say, that addressing himself to Gallus, he spoke to this effect, with an air of contempt : " The emperor has not thought fit to trust you with the power of creating a single magistrate, and you talk of putting a prefect to death^q". Gallus, offended at the liberty which the quæstor had taken, complained of it to his guards, who immediately seizing Montius, and fastening cords to his feet, dragged him to the house of Domitian, whom they threw down stairs, and dragged, with Montius, through the chief streets of Antioch, casting, after many insults, both their bodies into the river^r.

He and Montius murdered, and many others.

This bold attempt, in which Constantina is said to have had a great share, was followed by many other cruelties and murders, committed in all the provinces of the East, at the instigation of Gallus and his wife Constantina, whose thirst after blood was as great as that of her husband.

^p Amm. lib. xiv. p. 16, 17. Zonar. p. 16.
lib. iii. p. 61.

^r Socrat. lib. ii. cap. 34. p. 128.

^q Philostorg.

The reader will find in Ammianus Marcellinus a detail of these cruel and inhuman executions. It being discovered, that a purple garment was making privately at Tyre, the two Apollinares, father and son, the former governor of Phœnicia, and the latter son-in-law to the prefect Domitian, were by Gallus's orders arrested, as if they aspired to the sovereignty, and, without any farther inquiry, condemned to banishment. But those who conducted them, at some distance from Antioch, pursuant to their private orders, broke their thighs, and then put them to death. Urlicinus, general of the horse, was obliged to abandon the defence of Nisibis, and hasten to Antioch, to preside at the inquiry which the emperor ordered to be made into this affair; but the other judges being named, and previously well instructed, by Gallus and Constantina, he could not proceed as he would have otherwise done; for Ammianus Marcellinus, who served under him, speaks every-where of him as a man of an unblemished character. As this commission gave him an opportunity of discovering many things till then not known, he acquainted the emperor with the state of affairs in the East, and pressed him to redress the many evils which afflicted those provinces. Besides the informations the emperor received of Gallus's mal-administration and cruelties, he was told, that, not satisfied with the dignity of Cæsar, he aspired to the sovereignty, and entertained evil designs against the emperor.

Gallus accused of aspiring to the sovereignty.

Constantius, giving credit to these accusations, whether true or false, resolved upon the ruin and death of Gallus, though his cousin-german and brother-in-law; but lest that prince should openly revolt, he carefully concealed his intention, and wrote a very friendly and obliging letter, inviting him to Italy, that he might advise with him on certain affairs of great importance. At the same time he wrote to Urlicinus, at that time magister equitum, or general of the horse, in the East, to come with all speed to Milan, in order to deliberate upon the most proper measures that might be taken with respect to the Persians, who were assembling their forces, as was pretended, with a design to invade Syria. This was likewise a pretext which the emperor made use of to remove Urlicinus, lest he should raise disturbances in the East during the absence of Gallus; for the eunuchs and courtiers, dreading the merits and abilities of that worthy man and great warrior, filled the emperor's mind with such fears and jealousies, in order to compass his ruin. One Prosper, a comes or count, was sent to succeed him, but only with the title and character of his deputy, to remove
from

Gallus and Urlicinus invited into Italy;

*and like-
wise Con-
stantina.*

*Constantina dies
on her jour-
ney.*

*Gallus sets
out from
Antioch.*

from him all apprehensions of his being suspected¹. Ursicinus, on the receipt of the emperor's letter, set out immediately, accompanied by Ammianus the historian; and arrived at Milan much sooner than he was expected, to the great joy of the emperor, who now thought of nothing but getting Gallus into his power. For this purpose, besides the above mentioned letter to Gallus, he wrote several others to Constantina, expressing a great desire to see her, and inviting her to court, with the most tender expressions. They were both too sensible of their evil conduct, not to apprehend the worst from the emperor: however, Constantina, who was well acquainted with her brother's temper, hoped by her artful insinuations to disarm his rage; and, without any farther deliberation, set out on her journey, leaving Gallus at Antioch: but she had scarce entered the province of Bithynia, when she was seized with a fever at Cæni Gallicani, of which she died, leaving behind her one daughter, of whom no farther mention is made in history. Her body was carried to Rome, and buried on the Nomentan Way, where the church of the martyr Agnes stood, which she had founded². Her death threw Gallus into the utmost perplexity: as he had now lost his only advocate with the emperor, he despaired of being able to appease him; and therefore began to think of assuming the title of Augustus: but most of his friends deserting him on account of his inconstant temper, and the rest hating him for his cruelty, and dreading the power of Constantius, he was obliged to lay aside all thoughts of openly revolting.

The emperor, with frequent letters, and repeated messages, importuned him to come with all speed to court. Among the rest, he sent one Scudilo to him, a crafty insinuating man, who, by giving him all imaginable assurances on the emperor's part, prevailed upon him to leave Antioch, and begin his journey to Italy. He stopt some time at Constantinople, where, like a man who apprehended no danger, he exhibited public shews, and diverted himself and the people with the circensian sports. His confident behaviour increased the emperor's fears and jealousies, who thereupon ordered all the garrisons to be removed from the cities and towns through which he was to pass, lest he should corrupt them; and at the same time dispatched several officers to him, who, under colour of attending him, were to keep a watchful eye over him. This injunction they obeyed so punctually, that, though the Thebean legions

¹ Ammian. lib. xiv. p. 26.

² Idem, p. 27. Philostorg. p. 62.

encamped in Thrace, upon his arrival at Adrianople, sent deputies to him, assuring him, that they were ready to assist him to the utmost of their power, yet, during the twelve days he staid in that city, the deputies could never have an opportunity of speaking with him. In the mean time, he received fresh letters from the emperor, requiring him to make what haste he could, and public carriages were provided for his equipage; but the officers sent to him by Constantius advising him to leave his court at Adrianople, he set out with a small retinue for Milan, where the emperor then was. Upon his arrival at Petavium in Noricum, he was there met by Barbatio, who entering the same evening the house where he lodged with a company of soldiers, stripped him of all the ensigns of his dignity, and dispatched one Apodemus with his purple shoes to the emperor, assuring him, in the mean time, by repeated oaths, that nothing else was intended by the emperor against him; but nevertheless, putting him into a close litter, he hurried him away to Flanona, now Fianone in Dalmatia, not far from Pola, where Crispus Cæsar, the son of Constantine, had been put to death twenty-eight years before. Thither the emperor sent his two most inveterate enemies, Eusebius the eunuch, and Pentades his secretary, to examine him about the death of the prefect Domitian and others, and to hear what defence he could make. Gallus owned most of the crimes that were laid to his charge; but alleged, that they proceeded chiefly from the instigations and evil counsels of his wife Constantina.

Is arrested at Petavium, and stripped of the ensigns of his dignity,

The emperor, provoked at this plea, which reflected in so high a measure on his sister, and consequently on himself, and instigated by the enemies of Gallus, persuading him, that his safety depended upon the destruction of so dangerous a rival, resolved to put an end to his own fears, and the other's life, and accordingly signed a warrant for his execution. Some authors write, that the emperor, soon after, countermanded the execution; but that Eusebius, and the other enemies of Gallus, pretended that it came too late. However, it is certain that Gallus was beheaded, and atoned with his own blood for that of many innocent persons, which he had shed. Thus fell Gallus Cæsar, in the twenty-ninth year of his age, after having reigned near four years. His death was chiefly owing to his own tyrannical conduct, exaggerated by the malice of Eusebius, Scudilo, and Barbatio, his avowed enemies, who charged him with more crimes than he had really committed. All those who had

and put to death.

¶ Ammian. lib. xxi. p. 178. & lib. xiv. p. 27—29.

been concerned with him in the death of the prefect Domitian, the quæstor Montius, and his other crimes, felt the weight of the emperor's displeasure. Multitudes of people of all ranks were brought from the East in chains to Aquileia, where they were tried by Eusebius, and one Arbora, men destitute of all mercy and compassion, and on that very account charged by Constantius with the commission. These judges, without making any distinction between the guilty and innocent, sentenced some to the rack, and afterwards to banishment, others to servile offices in the army, and great numbers to death, sparing none but such as could redeem themselves with large sums. Luscus, the first magistrate of Antioch, was burnt alive; but Gorgonius, Gallus's great chamberlain, the most guilty of all, escaped by bribing his judges, and the eunuchs of the court. Julian, the brother of Gallus, though not concerned in his crimes, was kept seven months under close confinement, and would have been put to death, had he not been saved by the favour of the empress Eusebia*. By the death of Gallus, the Roman empire became united under one prince, after it had continued divided for near seventy years, that is, from the year 285, or 286, when Dioclesian took Maximian for his colleague; for ever since that time there had been either several emperors, or one Cæsar.

*Africanus,
and several others,
tortured.*

Before the emperor left Milan, Africanus, governor of Pannonia Secunda, was brought prisoner to that city, with several others, who, after being tortured in a most cruel manner, were thrown into prison, because they had at an entertainment expressed themselves with great freedom on matters of state; whence it was concluded, that they were carrying on some plot, and that Africanus aspired to the sovereignty. A tribune, named Marinus, who was present at this entertainment, chose rather to lay violent hands on himself at Aquileia, than to endure the torture*. The emperor soon after left Milan to march against the Germans, who made frequent incursions into the empire towards the Brigantine lake, now the lake of Constance. The emperor himself remained in the plains of the country now belonging to the Grisons, in the neighbourhood of the present city of Coira; and detached Arbetio, with the flower of the army, against the enemy. Arbetio fell into an ambuscade, and lost great numbers of his men; but this loss was soon retrieved by the valour of Arintheus, who became famous under the emperor Valens, and of two other officers, who falling

* Ammian. lib. xiv. p. 18. lib. xv. p. 34. Julian. ad Athen. p. 501.

x Ammian. lib. xv. p. 34—36.

upon the Germans, without waiting the orders of their general, put them to flight, and obliged them to abandon the Roman territories. The emperor, satisfied with this victory, returned to Milan, and there took up his winter-quarters.

The Germans defeated.

The tranquility which Constantius enjoyed at this time was soon interrupted by the apprehension of a pretended plot, which produced a true conspiracy. Sylvanus, the son of Bonitus, a leading man among the Franks, commanded in Gaul, and had performed great exploits against the Barbarians. He owed his preferment to the artifices of rival courtiers, especially of Arbetio, the consul of this year, who, jealous of his extraordinary merit, had proposed him to the emperor as the best qualified person in the empire for driving the Barbarians out of Gaul, and restoring that province, distressed by their frequent inroads, to its former condition. Sylvanus well deserved the character which Arbetio gave him; but the consul's main design in recommending him, and extolling his military talents, was to remove him from the emperor's presence, in order to compass his ruin, a design which he effected in the following manner: one Dynames, keeper of the emperor's mules, leaving Gaul, begged of Sylvanus letters of recommendation to his friends at court; which being granted, the traitor erased all but the subscription; and having inserted directions to the friends of Sylvanus for carrying on a conspiracy, delivered the letters to the prefect Lampridius, who being privy, as was supposed, to this wicked contrivance, shewed them to the emperor. Orders were immediately issued for apprehending such persons as were named in the letters. As there were at that time great numbers of Franks of distinction at court, they all interposed in favour of their countryman; among the rest Malaricus, their chief, knowing that the whole was a mere calumny, offered to go into Gaul, and bring the supposed criminal before the emperor; adding, that if persons, whom Sylvanus mistrusted, should be sent for that purpose, he might be prompted by fear to attempt what he was falsely accused of having already attempted. But Constantius, without attending to the just and reasonable proposal of Malaricus, was persuaded by Arbetio to name Apodemus, a declared enemy to all men of probity, to enquire into this affair. He immediately set out for Gaul; but instead of presenting to Sylvanus, as soon as he arrived, pursuant to his instructions, the emperor's letter, commanding him to repair forthwith to court, he seized on his estate, and caused his friends in Gaul to be

Sylvanus falsely accused of aspiring to the empire.

*Is forced to
assume it
in his own
defence.*

be apprehended, and put to the torture. This violence coming to the ears of Sylvanus, who was then at Cologne, and too well acquainted with the emperor's suspicious temper, and the ascendant his enemies at court had over him, to suffer himself to be arrested, he resolved at first to take shelter among the Franks, his countrymen; but being persuaded by his friends not to trust a people so remarkable for their fickleness and treachery, he determined, for his own preservation, to do what otherwise he would never have thought off; and accordingly assumed the purple, and caused himself to be proclaimed emperor by the troops under his command.

*He is de-
clared in-
nocent.*

While these things passed in Gaul, Dynames, to strengthen his accusation against Sylvanus, forged a letter in the name of that general, and of Malaricus, to a tribune, desiring him to get every thing ready, without explaining himself farther. The tribune, being at a loss about the meaning of it, sent it to Malaricus, who knowing it to be forged, complained aloud of the treachery, and, with the other Franks, demanded vengeance on those who were, by such malicious contrivances, endeavouring to prejudice the emperor against those of their nation. This clamour occasioned an enquiry, and unravelled the whole scene of iniquity. The emperor, convinced of the innocence of Sylvanus, and the malice of his accusers, deposed the prefect Lampridius, and even ordered him, with several other persons of distinction, to be put to the torture; on which some of them owned the whole to be a mere calumny. They were, however, in the end, all absolved, so great was the power of their faction at court; and Dynames was even preferred to the government of Hetruria. As Sylvanus was declared innocent, they were all surprised by the arrival of a messenger from Gaul, dispatched to acquaint the emperor, that Sylvanus had actually assumed the title of emperor. The messenger arrived at Milan about the close of the evening, and the emperor, thunderstruck at the unexpected tidings, summoned a council the same night: the result of which was, that Ursicinus should be sent forthwith into Gaul, the courtiers, who dreaded Ursicinus no less than Sylvanus, hoping by these means to get rid of one whom they hated, and perhaps of both. Ursicinus made haste to reach Cologne, that Sylvanus, supposing his revolt not to be yet known at court, might the more readily comply with the emperor's injunctions; for Ursicinus was charged

*Ursicinus
sent against
him,*

with letters from the emperor to Sylvanus, confirming him in his post of general, injoining him to repair to court, and in the mean time deliver up the command of the army to Ursicinus. Ursicinus, notwithstanding the haste he made, came too late, the news of the revolt's being known at court having reached Cologne before him; a circumstance which obliged him to change his measures, and pretend that he had deserted Constantius, and was come to share with Sylvanus his success or misfortunes, waiting in the mean time a favourable opportunity of dispatching him. This was a dangerous expedient, and altogether unworthy of that greatness of soul which Ammianus so much admires in his hero.

Sylvanus received him with extraordinary demonstrations of kindness, freely opened all his thoughts to him, advised with him about the measures that were to be taken for their mutual security, and reposed in him an entire confidence. This gave Ursicinus an opportunity of gaining over some of his guards with large promises, who early one morning, forcing unexpectedly the gates of the palace, and entering sword in hand, met Sylvanus, while he was attempting to make his escape, and take sanctuary in a neighbouring church, and cut him in pieces, after he had enjoyed the title of emperor only twenty-eight days². Thus fell one of the bravest and most deserving officers of the empire, whom the malice of jealous courtiers, and the credulity of the emperor, had obliged in his own defence to assume the purple. He had served under Magnentius; but deserting him with a numerous body of cavalry under his command before the battle of Mursa, had ever after distinguished himself in the wars of Constantius, who, on account of his eminent services, had raised him to the post of *magister peditum*, or general of the foot. Constantius expressed extraordinary joy at the news of Sylvanus's death; but though he owned he had nothing more to fear, yet he proceeded with great rigour against such as had been concerned in his revolt. Pemenes, who had defended Treves against Decentius, and many other persons of distinction, were condemned and executed. The courtiers were for putting all the friends of Sylvanus to death, without distinction, but were opposed by the emperor, who declared, that friendship ought not to be punished as a crime; he even ordered the effects and estate of the unhappy Sylvanus to be reserved for his son, who was then very young, and

*Sylvanus
slain by the
treachery
of Ursic-
inus.*

² Ammian. lib. xv. p. 38—42. Zonar. p. 17.

had been left by his father as an hostage at court, perceiving, when it was too late, that the malice of his enemies, and not his ambition, had prompted him to revolt ^a.

*The empire
in great
danger.*

The Franks, Alemans, and Saxons no sooner heard the news of his death, than they broke into that province with greater fury than ever, and took and pillaged above forty cities, and among the rest Cologne, which they levelled with the ground ^b. At the same time the Quadi and Sarmatians, entering Pannonia, laid waste all before them ^c; and the Persians over-ran, without opposition, Mesopotamia and Armenia; Prosper, who had succeeded Ursicinus, and the prefect Mausonianus, being more intent upon pillaging than defending the countries committed to their care. Constantius, apprised of the danger that threatened the empire, after various consultations, resolved to raise his cousin Julian, the brother of Gallus, to the dignity of Cæsar. This design was opposed by all the sycophants at court, who, extolling the emperor's prudence, conduct, and courage, told him, that he was capable of sustaining the burden of the empire alone; insinuating, at the same time, that it was not safe for him to raise Julian to that high station. But the empress Eusebia, interposing in favour of Julian, prevailed upon her husband to pursue his intentions.

The emperor, therefore, being returned to Milan before the thirty-first of October from a short progress, ordered Julian to quit his philosophical cloak, and gave him an apartment in the palace. On the sixth of November, having assembled the army, he ascended the tribunal, and placing Julian on his right hand, he acquainted the soldiers with his design of dignifying his cousin with the title and authority of Cæsar, and asked their consent. The army unanimously approved of his resolution: then the emperor clothed him with a purple robe; saluted him with the title of Cæsar, and of most loving brother; appointed him governor of Gaul; and in committing that province to his care, told him, that he placed him over a powerful army, not doubting but, upon a proper occasion, he would signalize his own courage, and be witness of their's. This ceremony and speech were followed by loud acclamations and great encomiums, bestowed by the whole army on the emperor and the new Cæsar. A few days after Constantius gave him his sister Helena in marriage; and this new favour and mark of distinction was likewise owing to Eusebia, who, besides many other things

Yr. of Fl.
2805.

A. D. 355.

U. C. 1053.

*Julian
created
Cæsar.*

^a Julian. Orat. i. & ii. p. 89, 183, 184.
47.

^c Zol. p. 702.

^b Ammian. lib. xv. p.

of great value, presented the young prince, on this occasion, with a large and well-chosen library^d. At the same time his whole household was changed, on pretence of doing him honour; but the emperor's real design was to remove all in whom he had any confidence: guards were placed at his apartment, not to defend, but to watch him; all his letters were opened before they came to his hands, inasmuch, that he advised his best friends to forbear visiting him, lest they should expose themselves or him to danger. Before he visited Gaul, the emperor gave him instructions under his own hand, regulating his whole conduct, even the expences of his table, as if he had been a child, says Ammianus^e; sent to school. He greatly restrained and curtailed his authority, enjoining the generals who served under him, to watch his actions with no less care than those of the enemy, and investing Marcellus with the command of the army, who was sent to succeed Ursicinus, though the latter was ordered to continue in Gaul, till the war was concluded, with the title of general, but without any command, the emperor being still, in some degree, prejudiced against him. Julian was strictly enjoined not to give any largesses to the army; and authors observe, that Constantius himself, contrary to custom, gave none upon his promotion. Julian left Milan on the first of December, the emperor himself accompanying him as far as Pavia, from whence he pursued his journey to the Alps, attended only by three hundred and sixty soldiers. On his arrival at Turin he was first acquainted with the loss of Cologne, which had been concealed from the emperor. He arrived at Vienne before the end of the year, and was received by the people of that city, and the neighbourhood, with extraordinary marks of joy^f.

His power gives the emperor jealousy.

He is sent into Gaul.

In the following year, 356, Constantius took upon him his eighth consulship, and chose Julian for his colleague. The latter passed the winter at Vienne, deliberating about the operations of the ensuing campaign. Having received intelligence, that the city of Autun was besieged by the Barbarians, but defended with great bravery by the veterans, who had repulsed the enemy when they were scaling the walls, he assembled some forces, and marched to the relief of the place; but finding the siege raised, from Autun he went in pursuit of the Barbarians to Auxerre, penetrating with the greatest danger thick woods, and from

Autun besieged by the Barbarians, who raise the siege.

^d Zos. lib. iii. p. 759. Julian. ad Athen. p. 504. Socrat. lib. ii. cap. 34. ^e Ammian. lib. xx. p. 168. ^f Ibid. lib. xv. p. 50. Liban. Orat. xii. p. 270.

*Cologne
retaken by
Julian, and
rebuilt.*

Auxerre to Troies. On his march he found himself surrounded on all sides by the enemy, who ravaged the country in great bodies; but he defeated them with a handful of men, killed great numbers, and took many prisoners. From Troies he proceeded to Rheims, where the main body of the army, commanded by Marcellus, waited his arrival. Leaving Rheims, he took his route towards Decempagi, now Dieuze, on the Seille in Lorraine, with a design to attack the Germans, who were busied in ravaging that country. But the enemy, taking advantage of a dark and wet night, surprised his rear, and would have cut off two legions, had not the rest of the army, alarmed at the sudden noise, returned to their assistance. The Germans themselves were defeated a few days after, though not with great loss, in the neighbourhood of Biocomagus, now Brumt, in Alsace, between Straßburg and Haguenau^g. This advantage, however, opened him a way to Cologne, which he found abandoned by the enemy, and entered, after it had been ten months in their hands. The Barbarians had neglected to fortify it; but Julian ordered the old fortifications to be repaired, and the houses rebuilt^h. Libanius adds, that he rebuilt another great city in that country, perhaps Tongres or Treves, which had been often attacked by the Barbarians, and was reduced to a miserable condition. During his stay at Cologne, one of the kings of the Franks, dreading his arms, sent deputies to sue for peace; but Julian granted him only a short truce. Having repaired the city and fortifications of Cologne, he removed to Basil to support the emperor, who was making war upon the Germans in Rhætia; and to prevent their escaping into Gaul, he continued there till winter, when he retired to the city of Sens, and took up his quartersⁱ.

*Constantius
obliges the
Germans to
sue for
peace.*

It appears, from the dates of several laws, that Constantius did not stir from Milan till after the eleventh of April, and then took a progress into Illyricum^k. He was at Milan on the twenty-ninth of October, as appears from a law bearing that date, which confirms to the clergy of Rome all their privileges. He left Milan soon after, to make war upon the Germans, under the command of their kings the two brothers Gondomadus and Vadomar. He passed the Rhine, entered their dominions on the side of Rhætia, and meeting with no opposition, laid waste their country to a great extent. This devastation obliged them to implore peace, which the emperor readily granted, and then re-

^g Liban. Orat. ix. p. 237, & Orat. xii. p. 271. ^h Julian. p. 512.
ⁱ Ammian. p. 61, 72. ^k Cod. Theodof. Chron. p. 55.

turned to Milan, the usual place of his residence¹. While the emperor was engaged in this expedition, the empress Eusebia visited the city of Rome, and was received by the senate, who went out to meet her, with extraordinary pomp and magnificence. During her stay in that metropolis, she gave great sums to the people, and upon her departure made rich presents to the heads of the tribes. The same year the emperor enacted two remarkable laws; one dated the twentieth of February, condemning to death those who should for the future sacrifice, or pay any manner of worship, to idols^m; the other, dated the eighth of March, declaring the effects of condemned persons, except in cases of magic or treason, to belong to their children and relations, within the third degree. But this law the emperor himself revoked two years after.

Forbids, upon pain of death, the worshipping of idols.

The next consuls were, Constantius the ninth time, and Julian the second. The latter had taken up his winter-quarters at Sens, as we have related above, and had retained but a small number of troops, the rest being dispersed about the country for the convenience of their quarters in a province so often ravaged and laid waste. The Barbarians, apprised of this circumstance, assembled in great numbers, and laid siege to the place, hoping to take Julian himself prisoner: but he, with the few forces he had, made so vigorous a defence, that the enemy, despairing of being able to reduce the town, retired, after they had lain a whole month before it. All this while Marcellus, the commander in chief, never attempted to rescue Julian, or relieve the place, though he was quartered in the neighbourhood.

Julian besieged in Sens.

Not long after, Constantius declared Julian commander in chief of all the forces in Gaul, being persuaded to this measure either by the empress, or the eunuch Eutherius, or probably by bothⁿ. At the same time he appointed Severus, an officer of great experience, to command under him. Upon his arrival in Gaul, Julian, who received him with great joy, raised fresh troops, and supplied them with arms, which he luckily discovered in an old arsenal. This year Constantius sentenced to death a great many persons convicted of having consulted the magicians, and published a law forbidding, on pain of death, any one to have recourse to the augurs, auspices, or any other diviners whatsoever^o. By another law, dated the fourth of December, he condemned all magicians to be devoured by the wild beasts.

He is created commander in chief of all the forces in Gaul.

¹ Ammian. lib. xvi. p. 77, &c. Julian. Orat. iii. p. 240. ^m Cod. Theodos. lib. xvi. tit. 10. leg. 6. p. 266. ⁿ Zos. lib. iii. p. 703. Ammian. lib. xvi. p. 72. ^o Cod. Theodos. ix. tit. 16. lib. iv. p. 119.

Constantius takes a progress to Rome.

Pleased with the grandeur and magnificence of the city.

He now made an excursion to Rome, which he had never yet visited, with the empress Eusebia, and his sister Helena, the wife of Julian. He entered the metropolis of the empire on the twenty-eighth of April, in a gilt chariot, adorned with an incredible number of precious stones, attended by the senate and the whole nobility, who came out to meet him in their robes and richest apparel. He was wonderfully pleased with the grandeur and magnificence of the place, the multitude of the people, and the loftiness of the buildings; but chiefly admired the temple of Jupiter Tarpeius, the public baths, the amphitheatre, Pompey's theatre, and the square of Trajan. He is said to have reproached fame for exceeding truth in other things, but coming short of it in what related to Rome. He harangued both the people and the senate, the former from the rostra, and the latter in the senate-house. During his stay at Rome, he was presented with golden crowns of an extraordinary weight by several cities, and among the rest by the city of Constantinople, which had appointed Themistius to present it^p; but he falling sick, the discourse which he had composed for the occasion was sent to the emperor, who was so well pleased with it, that he ordered a statue to be erected in honour of the orator; which induced him to write a second discourse or panegyric^q. The emperor, desiring to add something to the ornaments of the city, gave orders for conveying an obelisk thither, which had been removed by his father Constantine from Heliopolis in Egypt with that design, and had been carried as far as Alexandria. Constantius therefore commanded it to be brought to Rome, where it was with much difficulty erected in the Circus Maximus about the beginning of the following year^r. Constantius would not enter the senate-house till the ancient altar of Victory was removed, that he might not defile his eyes, says St. Ambrose^s, with the unhallowed sight of an altar consecrated to the infernal spirits.

He returns to Milan.

He was charmed with the pleasures and diversions of Rome, says Ammianus; but soon obliged to abandon them, upon intelligence that the Suevians had entered Rhætia, the Quadians Valeria, and the Sarmatians Lower Pannonia, and Upper Mœsia. He therefore left Rome on the twenty-ninth of May, after he had resided there about a month; and was at Milan, if no mistake has crept into the code, on the third of June, and likewise on the thirteenth of July^t; whence we may conclude, that the Barbarians re-

^p Ammian. lib. xvi. p. 71, &c.

^q Themist. Orat. iv. p. 53—57.

^r Baron. Ann. 357.

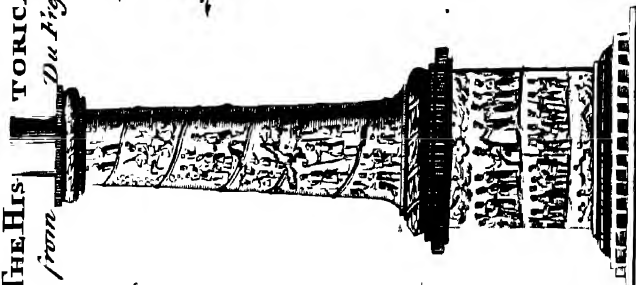
^s Ambros. Rel. Sym. p. 196.

^t Cod.

Theodos. Chron. p. 56, 57.

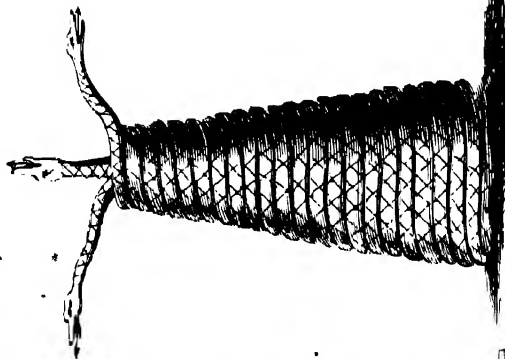
THE HISTORICAL PILLAR

from Du Rigne Lib. 1. Pag. 9.

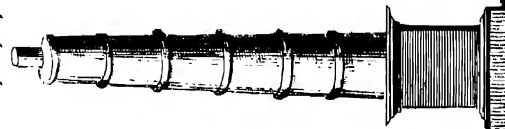


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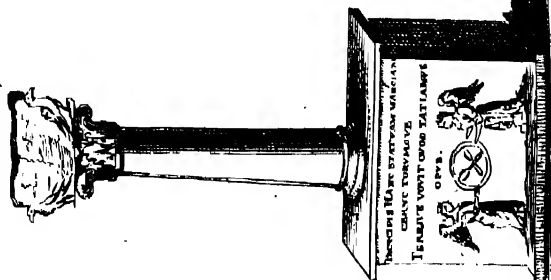
The Serpentine Pillar



The Porphyry Pillar



The Pillar of the Emp^r Marcian



tired at his approach. While Constantius was at Milan, he received letters from Musonianus, prefect of the East, informing him, that Sapor king of Persia was engaged, on the most remote frontiers of his kingdom, in a dangerous war with the Chionitæ, and other people; that he had suffered great losses, and consequently would, in all likelihood, hearken to a treaty of peace and amity with the Romans, which Musonianus had taken care to propose to Tamsapor, the Persian general on the frontiers of Mesopotamia, who had written on that subject to his master. These negotiations proved abortive, as will appear hereafter. However, the emperor sent for Ursicinius, who was still in Gaul, in order to advise with him about the most proper method of humbling the Persians. In the mean time Constantius, leaving Milan about the middle of July, went to Trent, and from thence into Illyricum, visited the frontiers of the empire towards the Danube, and conferred with the chiefs of the Quadians, and other neighbouring nations, who assured him of their friendship. Ursicinius found him at Sirmium, and was, after several conferences, sent into the East, with the character of general, and the same power with which he had been vested before his disgrace.

Ursicinius recalled from Gaul and sent into the East.

The emperor, resolved to terminate the dreadful devastations committed in Gaul, chiefly by the Alemans, wrote to Julian, to march with all his forces against them; and at the same time sent Barbatio, who had been created general of foot in the room of Sylvanus, out of Italy, with a body of twenty-five or thirty-thousand men, in order to surprise and inclose the enemy between the two armies. Barbatio was, in general, esteemed a good officer^u; but all his bravery consisted, according to Ammianus, only in words. He had betrayed Gallus, under whom he served, and studied how to check the progress of Julian; who no sooner heard of his arrival at Basse, than he took the field, with only thirteen thousand men: but the Leti, a German nation, passing between the two armies, advanced as far as Lyons, with an intent to pillage that wealthy city. As they met with a warmer reception from the inhabitants than they expected, they gave over all thoughts of investing the place, and contented themselves with ravaging the surrounding country. Julian, upon the first notice of what had happened, detached strong parties to secure the passes, through which he knew they must return; by this disposition they were all cut off, except those who marched near the camp

Barbatio sent into Gaul.

The Germans attack Lyons in vain, and are cut in pieces by Julian.

^u Ammin. lib. xvi. p. 72. Jul. ad Athen. p. 513. Orat. xii. p. 272.

^w Liban.

of Barbatio, who, far from opposing their retreat, complained to Constantius of some officers for attempting that measure, who thereupon ordered them to be cashiered. One of these was Valentinian, afterwards emperor. The other Barbarians either fortified themselves in the countries which they had seized, blocking up all the avenues with large trees, or took shelter in the islands formed by the Rhine.

*Barbatio
endeavours
to thwart
his designs.*

Julian resolved first to attack the latter, and with this view sent to demand some boats of Barbatio, who, instead of complying with his just request, immediately burnt all his vessels, as he did on another occasion the provisions which had been sent for both armies, after he had plentifully supplied his own. It is uncertain whether he behaved thus out of resentment to Julian, or in compliance with private instructions from the emperor*. Be that as it may, Julian, not in the least disheartened by the unaccountable conduct of Barbatio, persuaded some of the most resolute soldiers to wade over to one of the islands, where they killed all the Germans who had taken shelter there; and seizing their boats, pursued the slaughter in several other islands, till the enemy, abandoning them all, retired with their wives, and what booty they could carry off, to their respective countries†.

*Julian re-
builds Sa-
verne.*

After this exploit, he undertook the rebuilding of the Tres-tabernæ, a fort near Strasbourg in Alsace, now known by the name of Saverne, which the enemy had demolished. In being situated so as to curb the nations beyond the Rhine, and prevent their irruptions into Gaul, Julian not only repaired the ancient fortifications, but added new works to them, furnished the place with provisions for a whole year, and left a numerous garrison, to keep the neighbouring country in awe‡. While Julian was engaged in this work, Barbatio was employed in laying a bridge of boats over the Rhine: but the enemy threw a great number of large trees into the river, which, being carried by the stream against the boats, sunk several of them, and separated the rest. Barbatio seeing his work ruined, was obliged to retire; but the enemy attacking him in his retreat, killed a great number of his troops, took most of his baggage, laid waste the neighbouring country, and returned in triumph, loaded with booty. Barbatio, putting his army into winter-quarters, as if the campaign had been over, though it was then but harvest-time, returned to court, to endeavour to ruin Julian with his calumnies and all offices.

*Barbatio
put to flight
by the Bar-
barians.*

* Ammian. lib. xvi. p. 73, 74.
† Julian. p. 512.

‡ Liban. Orat. xii. p. 233

The Barbarians, elated with this success, assembled in great numbers, under the banners of Chnodomarius, a prince of great reputation among them, and of six other kings, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Strasbourg. Being informed by a deserter, that Julian had only thirteen thousand men, Chnodomarius sent a haughty and menacing message, commanding him to abandon the country which the Germans had conquered by their courage and valour. Libanius adds, that the messenger produced letters from Constantius, promising to relinquish to them what countries or cities they should seize in Gaul^a. By such promises Constantius is supposed to have incensed them against the tyrant Magnentius. But Julian detained the messenger as a spy, and pursued the works he had begun at Saverne, till he received intelligence that the enemy were advanced within twenty miles of the camp. Then, leaving Saverne, he marched directly against them. About half-way he halted to rest his men, and put off the battle till next day; but both officers and soldiers demanding to be led without delay against the enemy, he pursued his march, and found the Germans, who had been informed of his approach, ready to receive him. They were thirty-five thousand strong, headed by seven kings, ten princes, and many lords of great distinction.

Julian marches against them.

Both armies engaged with great resolution and intrepidity, and the victory continued long doubtful. The Roman cavalry even gave way, nor could Julian, with all his eloquence, prevail upon them to rally, and return to the charge: but the vigorous resistance made by the foot so disheartened the enemy, that, after having attempted several times in vain to break them, they began to abate much of their impetuosity; a circumstance which the Romans perceiving, they made a last effort; and charging the Barbarians, already exhausted, put them to flight, and pursued them with great slaughter. Great numbers plunged into the Rhine, which was in their rear, and were drowned. Chnodomarius himself was taken in a wood, and presented to Julian in sight of the whole army, who thereupon saluted him with the title of Augustus; which he rejected, telling his soldiers, that the glory of the action was chiefly owing to Constantius, under whose auspices they had fought^b. He lost in the battle only four tribunes, and two hundred and forty-three private men. Of the Germans six

Yl. of Fl.
2807.
A.D. 357.
U.C. 1155.

The battle of Argentoratium, or Strasbourg.

The Germans entirely defeated.

^a Liban. Orat. xii. p. 269. Athen. p. 512.

^b Ammian. p. 84, 85. Julian. ad

or eight thousand men were killed in the field, besides a great number who were lost in the river ^c (C).

Julian ascribed the whole glory of this memorable victory to Constantius, and immediately sent his royal captive Chnodomarius to him, whom he had treated with great respect, considering him as an instance of the instability of all human grandeur. Constantius permitted him to reside at Rome, where he soon after died a natural death. This victory was greatly lessened by the sycophants at court, and all the other actions of Julian were turned into ridicule; which, however, was less prejudicial to him, than if they had magnified his exploits to a suspicious, weak, and tinorous prince.

Constantius assumes to himself the whole glory of this action.

Constantius was not ashamed to arrogate the fame of this important action to himself, as appears from an edict which was published about this time, wherein he speaks as if he had fought at the head of his army, without even mentioning the name of Julian. Aurelius Victor, who wrote about the latter end of his reign, speaks in the same strain ^d; and Themistius, in magnifying his victories over the Germans, and the valour with which he delivered Gaul from their inroads, and restrained them within their ancient limits, quotes the letters which the emperor himself had dispatched to the senate of Constantinople ^e. Julian's first care, after the battle, was to cause all the dead to be buried, without distinction of friend or enemy. Having performed this pious office, he returned to Saverne, to finish the works begun there; and then advanced with his army to Mayence, where he built a bridge over the river, and entered Germany, having with difficulty prevailed upon his troops to follow him. The Germans, alarmed at the boldness of the young general, sued for peace, at the same time threatening him and his army with immediate destruction, if they did not retire; but Julian, despising their menaces, continued

^c Ammian. p. 84, 85.
Orat. p. 57.

^d Aur. Vict. p. 528.

^e Themist.

(C) The battle of Strasbourg is famous in history. Julian himself styles it a successful action, which restored Gaul to its ancient liberty (1). Mamerlinus says, that, by this single battle, the war was ended, and Germany ruined (2). It

is at least certain, that the Barbarians were entirely driven out of Gaul. This memorable battle was fought in the plains near Strasbourg, when the corn was ripe, and the moon in the last quarter (3).

(1) Ammian. lib. xx. p. 160.
(3) Ammian. lib. xvi. p. 78.

(2) Panegy. xi. p. 223.

ravaging their country till after the equinox; and then the snow preventing him from advancing farther, he began to repair the fort of Trajan, which is supposed to be the castle of Cromburgh, about three or four leagues from Francfort. This undertaking intimidated the enemy to such a degree, that they again sent deputies to implore peace, which they could not obtain upon any terms; but a truce was granted for ten months, upon their promising to supply with provisions that very fort which was intended to overawe them ^f.

Having thus humbled the Germans, he returned to Gaul with a great number of captives; but being informed on his march, that some Franks, having ravaged the country about Rheims during his absence, had secured themselves in two castles on the Meuse, he marched against them, and compelled them to surrender, after they had defended themselves with great bravery fifty-four days. The prisoners were all sent to the emperor, who incorporated them among his troops. Julian, having thus finished this long and glorious campaign, put his troops into winter-quarters, and took up his own in Paris, which we find about this time first mentioned in history. It was then only a castle situated on the island formed by the Seyne, which is now but a very small part of that great metropolis ^g. This year the emperor enacted a law, dated the third of July, commanding the effects of those to be confiscated, who should renounce the Christian to embrace the Jewish religion; by another he obliges all senators to reside at Rome, or in the neighbourhood, many of them having retired from that metropolis, and settled in Achaia, Macedon, and the other provinces of Illyricum, on account of the great expences attending that dignity at Rome. By a third, addressed to Felix bishop of Rome, he exempts all merchandizing ecclesiastics, their wives, children, and domestics, from every imposition, whether ordinary or extraordinary, ordering the profits they made to be applied to the relief of the poor.

Julian obliges some Franks to surrender, and sends them to the emperor.

Some laws of Constantius.

The next consuls were Cerealis, uncle to Gallus Cæsar on the mother's side, and Datianus, who, though of a mean descent, bore the title of comes in 349, and was afterwards raised to the rank of patrician ^h. We have observed already, that the Persian general Tamfapor had been persuaded by Musonianus, prefect of the East, to write to his master about renewing the ancient treaties with the Romans; but as Sapor had not only concluded a peace with the Chionitæ, but entered into an alliance with them, before he received

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^f Ammian. p. 88. Liban. Orat. xii. p. 277. p. 240. in fol. ^h Philostorg. lib. viii. c. 8. p. 113. tit. 4. p. 8.

^g Ammian. Cod. Theod.

*Embassies
from Sapor
to Constantius,
and
from Constantius to
Sapor.*

Tamfapor's letters, in answer to the proposals transmitted by that general, he wrote a haughty epistle to Constantius, which he sent by Narses, with presents for the emperor. The contents of the letter were, that he might lawfully insist upon the emperor's ceding all the countries beyond the river Strymon in Macedon; but lest his demands should seem unreasonable, he would be satisfied with Armenia and Mesopotamia, which, with the utmost injustice, had been wrested from his grandfather Narses. He added, that, unless they were restored, he was determined to do himself justice by force of arms. In this letter Sapor styled himself King of Kings, and Brother of the Sun and Moon. Narses, who was charged to deliver it to the emperor, arrived at Antioch about the end of the preceding year. After having remained some time there, he pursued his journey to Constantinople, which he entered with great pomp on the twenty-third of February of the year 358. From Constantinople he proceeded to Sirmium, where the emperor then resided; and, in a public audience, presented Sapor's letter, enclosed in white silk. Constantius, without entering into any negotiation, wrote back to Sapor, that as he had maintained the Roman dominions in their full extent while he was possessed only of the East, he could not suffer them to be curtailed now that he was master of the whole empire. He added, that he was ready and desirous to conclude a peace with the Persian monarch upon honourable terms. With this letter he dismissed Narses; but a few days after sent a solemn embassy into Persia, with presents for the king, being desirous, at least, to postpone the war till he had secured the northern provinces against the incursions of the Barbarians, that he might employ all the forces of the empire against so powerful and formidable an enemy. The Roman ambassadors found Sapor at Ctesiphon; but not being able to prevail upon him to abate of his demands, they returned about the twenty-fourth of August. Count Lucilianus, and Procopius, who usurped the sovereignty in the reign of Valens, were deputed to the Persian court soon after, to amuse that warlike prince with new proposals; but he, instead of attending to them, kept the ambassadors some time under close confinement, threatening to punish them as spies; though in the end he dismissed them unhurt¹.

*The Quadi
and Sarmatians
overcome
by Con-
stantius.*

While the emperor resided at Sirmium, the Quadi and Sarmatians broke into Pannonia and Mœsia; and the Juthunges, a German nation, invaded Rhætia. The latter

¹ Ammian. lib. xvi. p. 68. & lib. xvii. p. 94. Themist. Orat. iv. p. 57. Zonar. p. 17. Petr Legat. p. 28.

were defeated and driven back by Barbatio; but the emperor marched in person against the former soon after the vernal equinox; and having crossed the Danube on a bridge of boats, ravaged the territories of the Sarmatians, who thereupon came in great numbers, with the Quadi, pretending to sue for peace; but their real design was to surprise the Romans, who, suspecting it, fell upon them sword in hand, and slaughtered them all to a man. This massacre obliged the rest to sue for peace; which they obtained, upon their releasing the prisoners they had taken, and delivering up hostages *. The emperor then marched against the Limigantes, those slaves, who, in 334 had driven the Sarmatians out of their country, and seized it for themselves. They too had made frequent inroads into the Roman territories; but upon the approach of the army, came in prodigious numbers to meet the emperor, pretending to submit; but prepared to attack him unexpectedly, if an opportunity should offer. The emperor, observing their furious looks, and distrusting them, ascended his tribunal, attended by the chief officers of the army, and his guards, in order to acquaint them with his pleasure. While he was addressing them, his troops, pursuant to private orders, insensibly surrounded them. When the emperor had done speaking, the Limigantes, dissatisfied with the conditions he had offered, laid their hands on their swords; which being observed by the Romans, who watched all their motions, they began the slaughter. The Limigantes, finding it impossible to escape, made with great fury towards the tribunal; but were repulsed by the guards forming themselves into the shape of a wedge, and all killed, not one of them deigning to ask quarter. After this execution, the Romans entering their country on one side, and the Sarmatians, their ancient masters, with the Taïfales, on the other, and destroying all with fire and sword, they were obliged to comply with the only condition the emperor offered them; which was, to abandon their country, and remove to a more distant place, that they might not be again tempted to infect the empire. Constantius restored the country to the Sarmatians, its ancient owners, twenty-four years after they had been expelled; appointed one of their nation, named Zizais, to rule over them with the title of king; and declared them a free people †. For these exploits the army saluted Constantius with the surname of Sarmaticus, who soon after returned to Sirmium, which he entered in triumph, and put his troops into winter-quarters.

The Limigantes driven out by him, and the country restored to the Sarmatians.

* Ammian. lib. xvii. p. 103, 104.

† Idem lib. xvii. p. 106—112.

*Julian
marches
againſt the
Franks.*

In the mean time Julian, having employed the first months of this year at Paris, in regulating the taxes paid by the province, so as to find the necessary supplies, without laying any fresh burdens on the people, already quite drained and exhausted, took the field as soon as the season was fit for action, with a design to conquer the Franks, before the truce which he had granted to the Alemans was expired. The Franks were at this time divided into several tribes; but the most powerful among them was that of the Sali, who, being driven by the Saxons, according to Zosimus^m, from the lands they possessed in Germany, had settled in Batavia, that is, in the islands formed by the several branches of the Rhine, and in Toxandria, which country began, according to the best modern geographers, about a league from Maestricht, and extended about twenty leagues along the Meuse, where stand at present the cities of Boisleduc, Breda, and Antwerpⁿ. Julian marched first against these Franks, and was already arrived at Tongres, when he met their deputies on their journey to Paris, where they supposed they should find him. They had been sent to intreat he would suffer them to remain as friends in the country which they possessed. Julian, upon some difficulties which he started, ordered them back for more particular instructions. They imagined, that he designed to wait their return at Tongres; but they were no sooner gone, than he pursued them. Having entered their country, and obliged them to submit, he allotted them lands in Gaul, and incorporated great numbers of them into his cavalry^o. He then marched against the Chamavi, another nation of Franks, who had settled in Gaul; and having defeated them in battle, obliged them to retire beyond the Rhine; on which he granted them peace upon such terms as he thought fit to prescribe. Having reduced the Sali and Chamavi, he rebuilt three forts on the Meuse, which the Barbarians had destroyed; but wanting provisions in a country so often ravaged by the enemy, to supply his army, and to maintain the many captives whom he had obliged the enemy to release, he ordered six or eight hundred vessels to be built in Britain, for conveying corn from thence into Gaul.

*Overcomes
the Sali,
and the
Chamavi.*

*He obliges
the Ale-
mans to
sue for
peace.*

Julian continued in the country of the Chamavi, till the truce with the Alemans was expired; and then laying a bridge of boats over the Rhine, he entered their country, which he wasted with fire and sword. Two of their kings, Suomarius and Hortarius, came in person, and obtained a

^m Zos. lib. iii. p. 707.
Athen. p. 514.

ⁿ Notit. Gall. p. 558.

^o Julian. ad

peace, upon their promising to set at liberty all the captives they had taken, to supply a certain quantity of corn when required, and to furnish wood, iron, and carriages, for repairing the cities which they had ruined. The prisoners, whom he rescued out of the hands of the Barbarians during this campaign, amounted to twenty thousand^p (D). This year the emperor enacted a law, dated the thirteenth of July, addressed to Taurus, prefect of Italy, declaring all magicians, astrologers, augurs, aruspices, and pretenders to the art of divination, enemies to mankind; and such as should be found in the prince's court, guilty of treason^q. Authors think, that, by this law, the emperor meant to drive these impostors from the court of Julian, who was suspected of privately favouring them, and giving credit to their predictions^r.

A law against magicians, augurs, &c.

In the year 359, the two brothers Eusebius and Hypatius were consuls, being raised to that dignity by the emperor Eusebia their sister^s. Julian was engaged in Gaul, in erecting magazines, in visiting the cities which had suffered most by the inroads of the Barbarians, and giving proper orders for rebuilding their walls, and repairing their fortifications. He afterwards assembled all his forces at Mentz, and passing the Rhine on a bridge of boats, entered Germany, and advanced as far as a place called Pallas, where the territories of the Alemans and Burgundians ended, pillaging and laying waste their country to a considerable extent. There he was met by several kings, who made their submission, and were indulged with peace, upon their promising to give up all the prisoners they had taken, and to furnish a certain quantity of corn when required. Then Julian left Germany, and, as the season was already far advanced, he indulged his troops in winter-quarters, and retired himself to Paris.

Julian obliges several German nations to sue for peace.

To return to Constantius: that prince, having intercepted a letter to Barbatio from his wife Aslyria, giving

^p Julian. *ibid.* Ammian. p. 102. Liban. Orat. xii. p. 280. Zof. p. 70. ^q Cod. Theod. lib. ix. tit. 16. leg. 6. p. 124, 125. ^r Vide Baron. ad Ann. 358. ^s Ammian. lib. xviii. p. 113.

(D) On the twenty-fourth of August, of this year, about six in the morning, a most dreadful earthquake was felt in Asia, Pontus, and Macedon, which greatly damaged a hundred and fifty cities, and totally ruined that of Nicomedia, where it was so sudden and violent, that all the houses were overturned at once, and all the inhabitants buried in the ruins (1).

(1) Ammian. p. 97.

Yr. of Fl.
2809.
A. D. 259.
U.C. 1157.

*Barbatio
and several others
executed.*

*The
treachery
of the Limigantes.*

*They are
cut off.*

him hopes of being raised one day to the sovereignty, ordered them both to be executed. Many innocent persons were involved in their ruin, and put to death, as privy to their designs. A tribune, named Valentine, was several times racked in a most inhuman manner; but, as he constantly denied the charge, the emperor, convinced of his innocence, to make him some amends, gave him the command of the troops in Illyricum¹. Before the end of the winter, the emperor received intelligence, that the Limigantes, quitting the country in which they had been settled the preceding year, were advancing towards the borders of the empire. In consequence of this advice, leaving Sirmium early in the spring, he hastened to the banks of the Danube, to prevent them from crossing that river, and invading Pannonia. Upon his arrival he dispatched deputies to inquire what had induced them to abandon the country which had been allotted them. The Limigantes answered, in appearance, with the greatest submission, that they were willing to live as true subjects of the empire, in what part soever the emperor should think fit to place them; but that the country which they had abandoned, was altogether uninhabitable, as they were ready to demonstrate, if the emperor would allow them to cross the river, and lay their complaints before him. Constantius, pleased with the proposal, granted their request, and received them in the neighbourhood of Acumincum, the present town of Kamanez on the Danube, near Peterwaradin, in the territory of Sirmium. But while he was ascending his tribunal, they suddenly attacked his guards sword in hand, and would have killed the emperor himself, had he not with difficulty saved himself by flight. Several of his guards were slain; but in the mean time the rest of the troops, taking the alarm, flew to arms, surrounded the Limigantes, and destroyed them to a man. Constantius now returned to Sirmium, where he was on the twenty-second of May, this year, the eve of Pentecost; but soon after departed from thence for Constantinople; for he was on the eighteenth of June at Singidunum in Mœsia². He passed the remaining part of this year at Constantinople, ready to march, upon the first advice, against the Persians.

From hence, he dispatched into the East the secretary Paulus Catena, infamous for his cruelty, to prosecute several persons accused of having consulted the oracle of an idol named Bessa in the city of Abydus, on the most distant borders of Egypt. Modestus, then count of the East, and

¹ Ammian, lib. xviii. p. 118.

² Cod. Theod. Chronol. p. 59.

afterwards prefect, was appointed to judge the criminals, Hermogenes, who had succeeded Musonianus in the office of prefect, being deemed unfit for that commission, on account of his mild and compassionate temper. Modestus established his tribunal at Scythopolis in Palestine, whither persons of both sexes, and of every rank and condition, were daily dragged in crowds from all parts, and either confined to dungeons, or torn to pieces in a most cruel and barbarous manner on the rack, or publicly executed. Ammianus gives us a most frightful idea of this horrid inquisition; but at the same time owns, that several persons were cleared, and others punished with far less severity than was expected *. Parnasus, who had been governor of Egypt, was condemned to lose his head, for having consulted an astrologer, by means of Aristophanes; but Modestus softened the rigour of that sentence, and only sent him into banishment. Simplicius the son of Philippus, who had been prefect, and consul in 348, was only exiled from his own country; nor would Modestus suffer him to be racked, though he had received positive orders from the emperor. Aristophanes was, by order of Paulus, whom he had provoked by his freedom of speech, beaten with balls of lead fastened to cords, till he was ready to expire; when Modestus, in compassion, ordered the executioner to forbear, and sent Aristophanes into banishment. Demetrius, surnamed Cythras, a philosopher advanced in years, being convicted of having sacrificed to idols, was tortured with great cruelty for many hours; but afterwards suffered by Modestus to return to Alexandria his native city. Parnasus, and the rest, excepting Aristophanes, were recalled in the sequel, and pardoned *.

Several persons condemned for consulting an oracle.

Mean while Sapor king of Persia was encouraged to begin hostilities by an officer of Constantius, named Antoninus, who, finding his affairs ruined at home, had fled to the court of Persia, hoping to make his fortune, and brought with him an exact account of the state of the empire, and all its forces. At the same time Eusebius the eunuch, who had been long contriving the ruin of Ursicinus, as the only person who was independent of him, and scorned his support, persuaded the emperor to remove him from the command of the troops in the East, and to appoint in his stead Sabinianus, a decrepit old man, possessed of immense wealth, but altogether unfit for that employment. This change was no sooner known at the Persian court, than Antoninus, well acquainted with the character of Sa-

The Persians begin hostilities.

* Ammian. lib. xx. p. 150, 151.

* Idem, p. 152.

binianus, pressed Sapor to begin the war immediately, advising him to march to the Euphrates, without losing time in besieging towns, to cross that river, and enter Syria, which he might easily reduce. The Persian, approving the scheme, began to assemble his troops from all quarters, in order to put it in execution. This conduct alarmed Constantius, who immediately ordered Ursicinus to march into Syria, with the character of general of foot, in the room of Barbatio lately beheaded; but without any authority or even troops under his command. This too was a malicious contrivance of Eusebius, and the other eunuchs, that, if the mighty designs of the Persians were defeated, Sabinianus might reap all the honour; but if they were attended with success, Ursicinus might be involved in disgrace.

*Ursicinus
enters Me-
sopotamia.*

That brave commander had no sooner reached Syria, than he was informed, that the enemy's vanguard had already passed the Tigris. Upon this intelligence he hastened into Mesopotamia, to give the necessary orders, in case the enemy should attack the city of Nisibis. From Nisibis he flew to Amida, another city in the same country; and though he travelled in the night-time, he narrowly escaped falling into the enemy's hands, whose parties were spread all over the country. From Amida he sent Ammianus Marcellinus, the historian, to reconnoitre the enemy, who, upon his return, informed him, that they seemed at least a hundred thousand strong; that they had already passed Nineve, in the province of Adiabene, and were arrived at the bridge of the Anzabes, a river in Assyria. Ursicinus immediately dispatched orders to Cassianus, duke of Mesopotamia, and to Euphronius, governor of the province, to order the inhabitants to withdraw with their effects into places of safety; to abandon Charrhæ, which was an open city; and to set fire to the forage, and likewise to the corn, though already ripe, that the enemy might find no subsistence, either for themselves or their horses, between the Tigris and the Euphrates. At the same time he fortified the banks of the Euphrates with forts and palisades, supplying the former with warlike engines of every kind. These wise precautions having obliged Sapor to abandon his design of marching to the Euphrates, he turned to the left, and took his route, pursuant to the advice of Antoninus, by the foot of the mountains which part Mesopotamia from Armenia, not doubting that he should find plenty of forage, and the Euphrates fordable nearer its head. Ursicinus, apprised of his design, immediately left Amida, to give the necessary orders on that side likewise; but being surrounded by one of the enemy's parties, he narrowly escaped falling into their

*Wise pre-
cautions
taken by
Ursicinus.*

their hands. Ammianus Marcellinus, the historian, was pursued to Amida; which place was invested a few days after by Sapor's whole army, in which several princes of different nations served, and among the rest the king of Albania, and Grumbates, king of the Chionitæ, a prince renowned for his valour and conquests. The Persian took possession, on his march to Amida, of two Roman forts, Reman and Busan, the soldiers who garrisoned them opening the gates upon the first summons, though they were both places of great strength, and the inhabitants of the neighbouring country had retired to them with all their effects. In both forts Sapor found some virgins, consecrated, to use the expression of Ammianus, to the worship of God, according to the discipline of the Christians; and was so far from offering them any injury, that on the contrary he enjoined his soldiers not to interrupt or disturb them in their usual exercises of piety, hoping, by that gentle treatment, to remove the prejudice which his former cruelties had produced in the minds of the neighbouring people *v*.

*Sapor takes
two Ro-
man forts.*

He appeared before Amida, not with a design to besiege the place, but only to sound the disposition of the garrison; and, in case they refused to submit, to pursue his march into Syria, agreeable to the plan suggested by Antoninus. But the Romans having discharged, as he approached the walls to shew himself in all his pomp and majesty, a shower of darts, arrows, and javelins, one of which pierced his royal robes, and another laid the son of Grumbates, a youth of great expectation, dead at his father's feet, he was so transported with rage, that laying aside his former scheme, he resolved to revenge the affront offered to himself, and the death of the young prince, with the destruction of the city, and a general massacre of all its inhabitants. Never was place assaulted with more fury, nor defended with more vigour, resolution, and intrepidity; but at length most of the garrison being killed, and those who survived exhausted with labour and watching, the walls being in several places level with the ground, and the ditches filled up with dead bodies, the Persians made a furious assault, and entered the town sword in hand, after having lain seventy-five days before it, and lost, during that time, more than thirty thousand men. The city was rased, the chief officers were crucified, and the rest, with the soldiers and inhabitants, either put to the sword, or carried into captivity, except our historian, and two or three more,

*He lays
siege to
Amida,*

*which, af-
ter a long
and vigo-
rous resist-
ance, is
taken and
rased.*

who, in the dead of the night, escaped through a postern not observed by the enemy. Sapor, finding the summer already far spent, and his army greatly fatigued, returned to his dominions, having but little to boast of in this expedition, which cost him the lives of so many men, and prevented him from pursuing the grand designs suggested by Antoninus ². Sabinianus was busied during the whole time of the siege, in exercising his men near Edeffa. Urscinus was continually pressing him to take the field, and harrafs the enemy, by cutting off their parties, and intercepting their convoys; but Sabinianus returned no other answer than that his instructions were not to expose the army to unnecessary danger. He is supposed to have had private instructions from Eusebius, the favourite eunuch, his patron, to give Urscinus no opportunity of performing any thing that might redound to his honour ². Thus was that great officer obliged to continue inactive, and see, with the utmost regret, one of the strongest cities in the East reduced, and so many brave men fall unrevenged. Ammianus, after his escape from Amida, found him at Miletene, in the Lesser Armenia, on his way to Antioch, whither he followed him soon after.

*Urscinus
accused at
court; but
found in-
nocent.*

From Antioch Urscinus repaired to court, where he was, to his great surprize, charged with the loss of Amida, and all the misfortunes of that unhappy campaign. Arbetio and Florentius, two creatures of Eusebius, were appointed by the emperor to enquire into his conduct, and examine by whose neglect Amida was lost. These two judges, however partial and corrupt, could not condemn Urscinus; but on the other hand not caring, through fear of offending Eusebius, to expose Sabinianus, ended their enquiries, without clearing the former, or condemning the latter. Urscinus, highly provoked at such proceedings, appealed to the emperor, who he said would not fail to punish, with due severity, the authors, whoever they were, of the late miscarriages. In the transport of his passion, he let drop the following unguarded expression, viz. "That the emperor himself, though he marched into Mesopotamia the next spring at the head of his army, would not be able to protect that country, so long as he was thus governed by eunuchs." This reflection being carried immediately to the emperor, with malicious aggravations, Constantius, without further enquiry, ordered that brave and loyal officer to retire to his native country, after having divested

*He is dis-
graced.*

² Ammian. p. xviii. lib. 144—146.
p. 127. & lib. xix. p. 136.

² Idem, lib. xviii.

him of his employment, and given it to Agilo, a German, who, in 354, had been tribunus stabuli, or master of the horse. Thus was this weak and deluded prince induced to deprive himself, and the empire, at so critical a conjuncture, of the skill, counsels, and experience of the best officer of the age, to gratify the avarice, ambition, and revenge of a wicked courtier, sacrificing to his private views the public interest, and the welfare and glory both of his prince and country.

In the course of the following year, Constantius being consul the tenth time, and Julian the third, Sapor, entering Mesopotamia early in the spring, took Singara, a town of considerable strength, by assault, and carried both the garrison and inhabitants into captivity. Then leaving Nisibis, where great part of the Roman army lay encamped, on the left, he took his route towards Bezabde, called also Phœnicia, a strong town on the Tigris. After several attacks, in which great numbers perished on both sides, the bishop went out to exhort the king to withdraw, and put an end to so destructive a war; but Sapor, without returning an answer, pursued the siege, made himself master of the place, put most of the inhabitants to the sword, and carried the rest, with the bishop, and all his clergy, into slavery. Some suspected the bishop, Heliodorus^b, of secretly favouring the Persians; but Ammianus clears him of this charge^c. Sapor did not demolish Bezabde, but repaired the fortifications, and leaving a garrison in it, led his army against Virta, or BIRTHA, on the most distant borders of Mesopotamia; but not being able to reduce it, after several unsuccessful attacks, he raised the siege, and retired to his own dominions, without engaging in any other enterprize. While Sapor thus, by degrees, reduced Mesopotamia, Constantius was still at Constantinople, raising new troops, and soliciting the Goths, and other Barbarians, to join him. At length he left that metropolis, when the spring was far advanced, and set out for Syria. Upon his arrival at Cæsarea in Cappadocia, he was met by deputies from Julian, who had been declared emperor at Paris. He was thunderstruck at the intelligence, and long in suspense whether he should march against Julian or Sapor; but was at last persuaded to pursue his march into the East. Leaving therefore Cappadocia, he advanced to Miletene in the Lesser Armenia, passed the Euphrates at Samosata in Syria, and arrived at Edessa in Mesopotamia, where he was obliged to wait the arrival of his troops and warlike engines, till

The Persians make themselves masters of several places in Mesopotamia.

Constantius marches into Mesopotamia.

^b Menza, 9 Apr. p. 76. ^c Ammian. lib. xx. p. 165.

after the autumnal equinox, when he pursued his march to Amida, which he could not behold, buried in its ruins, without shedding many tears. From Amida he continued his route to Bezabde, to retake that place; but being in several assaults repulsed by the Persian garrison, he resolved to reduce it by famine; but the heavy rains, and severe weather, obliged him to drop the enterprize, and retire to Antioch, which he did not reach before the end of the year^d.

*The Scots
and Picts
break into
the Roman
territories.*

We shall now return to Julian, whom we left the preceding year in his quarters at Paris, where he was informed, in the beginning of the winter, that the Picts and Caledonians, about this time first distinguished in history by the name of Scoti or Scots, had invaded the Roman province, and committed dreadful ravages. Upon this intelligence he detached his lieutenant Lupicinus, who had succeeded Severus in that post, with some troops into Britain. Lupicinus sailed from Boulogne in the depth of winter, and in a few days reached London, where he landed his forces^e. But we find no farther account of this expedition in history: and indeed Lupicinus, though he was an officer of great bravery and experience, had not time to perform any remarkable exploits, being recalled soon after, as will soon appear. Mean while Constantius, intent upon assembling a powerful army for his intended expedition against the Persians, sent Decentius, one of his secretaries, into Gaul, to bring all the Batavians, and other auxiliaries, with three hundred men chosen out of each corps serving under Julian. The emperor's orders were not addressed to Julian, to whom he only wrote, cautioning him not to oppose them, but to his lieutenant Lupicinus, and to Gentinus, or, as others call him, Sintula, his tribunus stabuli. Julian found himself reduced, by this order, to the unhappy dilemma, either of falling a sacrifice to the resentment of the emperor, if he refused to comply with it, or perishing by the arms of the Barbarians if he obeyed it; being well apprised that, unmindful of their promises and treaties, they would be tempted to attack Gaul as soon as they saw that province destitute of troops for its defence.

*The emperor
sends
for part of
Julian's
army.*

In this dangerous situation he resolved, without hesitating a single moment, to obey, but at the same time to renounce the dignity of Cæsar, that he might not be charged with the loss of Gaul. He thought himself however bound to acquaint Decentius, that the auxiliaries raised in Gaul and Germany had entered into the service, on condition

^d Cod. Theod. p. 60.

^e Ammian. lib. xx. p. 154.

of their not being obliged to pass the Alps; and that the violation of this article, always insisted upon by the people beyond the Rhine, might prevent their lifting themselves for the future. But Decentius, disregarding his just remonstrances, he submitted to the emperor's will without reply. As Lupicinus, to whom the emperor's orders were addressed, was absent in Britain, Decentius himself selected the best men of each corps, not excepting Julian's own guards; and Julian wrote to the respective commanders, enjoining them to quit their winter-quarters, and begin their march without delay. This order threw Gaul into the utmost confusion; nothing was heard but complaints, outcries, and lamentations, as if the Barbarians had already entered the province: several libels against Constantius, and in commendation of Julian, were privately handed about, and dispersed among the soldiery. To obviate their complaints, Julian ordered them to carry their families with them, supplying them with carriages for that purpose. When the troops were ready to depart, Julian advised Decentius not to suffer them to approach Paris, where he still was in winter-quarters; but Decentius, fearing they might mutiny if they left Gaul without seeing their general, conducted them thither to take their leave of him, which proved a very injudicious step. Julian received them in a most obliging manner, and encouraged them cheerfully to submit to the emperor's commands, who would not fail to reward their valour. But, on the other hand, the people conjured him not to abandon a country which they had defended with so much glory; and the soldiers shewed a strong inclination to comply with their request.

Julian complies with the emperor's orders.

Julian, ascending the tribunal, said, that it was not lawful for them to deliberate about a thing already decided by the emperor; and upon that subject made a long discourse, which the soldiers heard with attention, and withdrew in silence. After this harangue Julian invited the chief officers to dinner, entertaining them with equal tenderness and magnificence, and desiring them to inform him in what he could be serviceable to them. The officers, greatly concerned to part with so generous a commander, and to quit their country, returned in the utmost affliction to their quarters^f. However, they continued quiet till about sunset, when the soldiers, roused, according to Zosimus^g, by libels dispersed privately among them by their officers, flew all at once to arms, surrounded the palace, and, with a tumultuous noise, proclaimed Julian emperor. Julian calls

The soldiers unwilling to leave him.

^f Ammian. lib. xx. p. 169. Julian. ad Athen. p. 518, 519. ^g Zof. lib. iii. p. 710.

They proclaim him emperor.

all the gods to witness, that he had not the least knowledge of the design, nor the least suspicion of its being in agitation; but was withdrawn with his wife, when he first heard himself saluted emperor^h. Libanius too assures us, that the project was not premeditated, but suddenⁱ. Julian, shewing himself highly dissatisfied with the conduct of the soldiery, ordered all the gates of the palace to be kept shut; insomuch that the soldiers, eager to see him, were obliged to wait till next morning. In the mean time he invoked his gods, intreating them to reveal their will by some prodigy; and they commanded him, as we are told, to comply with the desires of the army (W). As soon as day appeared, the forces, breaking down the gates of the palace, obliged Julian to shew himself, and saluted him again with the title of Augustus, which he continued to reject, reminding them of their duty, and promising to prevail upon the emperor to countermand the orders which had given occasion to their complaints, mutiny, and revolt. But all was ineffectual; for the soldiers, apprised that Constantius, notwithstanding all his promises, would treat them as rebels, threatened Julian with instant death if he persisted any longer in declining the honour they intended to confer upon him. To these menaces he yielded, and was thereupon borne by the soldiers on shields, and shewn to the multitude, who, with loud acclamations, proclaimed him emperor, while an officer, named Maurus, placed upon his head his golden collar, enriched with precious stones, instead of a diadem. When this ceremony was over, Julian, to animate his soldiers, promised them five pieces of gold and a pound weight of silver a man^k. Then he shut himself up in the palace, displeased and uneasy at what had happened; a circumstance which gave occasion to the report of his having been murdered. This alarmed the soldiery, who immediately flew to the palace, where, to their great satisfaction, they found him, not only safe, but clad in the imperial robes^l. Libanius writes, that the

Julian rejects the title;

Yr. of Fl.
2810.
A. D. 360.
U C. 1158.

but is forced to accept of it.

^h Julian. Orat. xii. p. 284. ⁱ Liban. Orat. x. p. 241. ^k Ammian. p. 160. Liban. Orat. v. p. 179. Zos. p. 711. Zonar. p. 18. ^l Julian. p. 522.

(W) Ammianus writes, that Julian told his friends in confidence, that a spectre appeared to him that very night, representing the genius of the empire, as it was painted in those days, and disappeared, after having uttered these words, "I am come to stay with you, but only for a short time (1)."

eunuch, his chamberlain, had been bribed to murder him; and Julian himself declares, that money had been distributed among the troops to corrupt them. However that be, the soldiers, imagining he had been in danger, pressed him to execute all the friends of Constantius who had opposed his promotion; but he resolutely declared, that he would not suffer the least injury to be offered them; nay, he generously forgave the eunuch who had attempted to take away his life.

His generosity.

Some troops had already begun their march towards the East; but they were no sooner informed of what had passed at Paris, than they returned with their leader Sintula, and joined the rest. Julian having assembled them in a neighbouring plain, appeared at their head with all the ensigns of majesty; and ascending the tribunal, in a very elegant speech commended their valour, reminded them of the many victories they had gained under his conduct, encouraged them to defend and protect a prince whom they themselves had raised, and ended with assuring them, that he had determined to rule with justice and moderation, and to prefer such only as were men of merit, without suffering himself to be biassed by the recommendations of any person whatever.

His speech to the soldiery.

He had no sooner accepted the imperial title, than Decentius returned into the East, whither he was soon followed by the prefect Florentius, who, conscious of his conduct towards Julian, and dreading his resentment, was in such haste to depart Gaul, that he left his whole family behind him; but Julian not only allowed them to follow him, but ordered them to be supplied for that purpose with carriages. Lupicinus, Julian's lieutenant, an officer of great experience, courage and address, was capable of imbroiling matters; but as he was still in Britain, Julian, by ordering all the vessels on the coast to be stopped, prevented his receiving intelligence of what had passed; so that, upon his landing at Boulogne to execute the emperor's orders addressed to him, as we have related above, he was arrested by an officer sent thither for that purpose, but treated by Julian with the utmost humanity and condescension^m. Julian, convinced that the emperor would be alarmed, and highly provoked, at what had happened, in order to appease his wrath, and allay his fears, wrote a polite letter to him, which he sent by two of his chief officers, Pentadius and Eutherius. He acquainted him with what had happened, begged he would suffer him to enjoy the title which he had been forced to accept, promised to obey him, even in that

Decentius and Florentius retire from Gaul.

Lupicinus arrested, but treated with humanity. Julian sends despatches, and writes to the emperor.

^m Ammian. p. 171. Julian. ad Athen. p. 515.

station, with the same readiness and alacrity as if he were a private person, offered to send him some troops, and even to leave the nomination of the prefect to him; but at the same time he reserved to himself the creating of the other officers, and remonstrated with the greatest submission, that Gaul was so far from being able to spare any of its natives, that, on the contrary, it stood in need of assistance from other provinces. Julian not only wrote himself, but persuaded the whole army to write to the emperor, earnestly intreating him to confirm what they had done, and to agree with Julian, who had obliged them to take an oath not to raise any disturbances, if Constantius suffered him to continue in Gaul with the title of Augustus". Julian contented himself with the title of Cæsar; and he himself assures us, that in writing to the emperor, he never assumed any other. But to this public paper, as we may style it, he added a private one, highly injurious and abusive, as we read in Ammianus; who tells us, that though it had been communicated to him, yet he should have thought it indecent and unbecoming to insert it in his history.

*Constantius
refuses to
acknow-
ledge him
emperor.*

*Julian's
conduct on
this occa-
sion.*

The deputies from Julian found the emperor at Cæsarea in Cappadocia, who, upon his first reading the letter, was so transported with rage, that he drove them from his presence; and was some time in suspense, whether he should proceed in his expedition against the Persians, or turn his arms against his rival; but, upon mature deliberation, cooler counsels prevailed. Constantius, dismissing the deputies, dispatched Leonas, his quæstor, into Gaul, with a letter to Julian, acquainting him, that he could not by any means approve of his usurpation, and exhorting him, as he tendered his own safety, and that of his friends, to be satisfied with the title of Cæsar, which he still allowed him to enjoy, but disapproved and annulled every other transaction. Leonas soon reached Paris, where he was kindly received by Julian, to whom he delivered the emperor's letter. Julian received it sitting on his tribunal, in the presence of the soldiery and people, whom he had assembled for that purpose, and caused it to be read aloud. When he understood, that the emperor would not allow him the title of Augustus, addressing himself to Leonas, he told him, that he was willing to lay down that title, provided the army consented to it; but otherwise could not, without betraying, and exposing them to the resentment of Constantius. He had scarce uttered these words, when the whole assembly confirmed, with repeated acclamations, the title they had bestowed, declaring, that they were determined to

support him to the last extremity. Julian wrote to the emperor by Leonas, acquainting him with the disposition of the people and soldiery, and telling him, that he could not prevail upon himself to abandon them to his resentment. Several messages and embassies passed between Constantius and Julian; the former insisting upon his abdicating the sovereignty, and the latter declining, under various pretences, to relinquish the authority with which he had been vested by the people, but at the same time assuring the emperor of his good intentions and zeal for his serviceⁿ.

In the mean time, the emperor being wholly engaged with the Persian war in the East, Julian, to keep his army in action, and maintain the reputation he had acquired, passed the Rhine at Tricesima, which some maintain to be Cleves, others Kellen, in that neighbourhood. Falling suddenly upon the Atthuarii, the inhabitants of the present countries of Cleves and Munster, who had made frequent inroads into Gaul, he laid waste their territory, killed great numbers, and obliged the rest to submit to such laws as he thought fit to impose. In this expedition he spent three months, and then repassing the Rhine, visited all the forts on that river as far as Basle, recovered some places that were possessed by the enemy, fortified them, and, as the year was already far spent, retired by Befançon to Vienne, where he took up his winter-quarters^o.

*Julian
overcomes
the Atthuarii.*

The next consuls were Flavius Taurus, prefect of Italy, who had presided the year before at the famous council of Rimini, and Florentius, prefect of Gaul, who had fled from that province upon the promotion of Julian. The new emperor, finding Constantius would not agree to any terms, began to prepare for war, incited to it by magicians, who assured him of success, and encouraged by several dreams, in one of which he is said to have discovered, that Constantius was near his end, and that he would die about the month of November^p (P). When he had made the necessary preparations for war, and was ready to march into

ⁿ Ammian. lib. xx. p. 170. Liban. Orat. xii. p. 286. Zonar.

p. 19. ^o Julian. Epist. xxxviii. p. 189.

p. 286. Ammian. lib. xx. p. 179.

^p Liban. Orat. xii.

(P) He still made an outward though he had long since re-
profession of the Christian religion, says Ammianus (1), to
gain the Christians to his party; embraced the religion of the
ancient Romans,

(1) Ammian. lib. xxi. p. 190.

Italy,

*He reduces
the Alemans;
and grants
them a
peace.*

Italy, and thence into the East, against Constantius, if he persisted in refusing him the title of emperor, advice was brought that the Alemans, and, among the rest, the subjects of Vadomarius, whose country lay near Basle, had invaded Gaul, on the side of Rætia, and committed dreadful ravages. Vadomarius pretended to have the greatest respect imaginable for Julian, and to be much concerned for the hostilities committed by his countrymen; but in the mean time, Julian having intercepted a letter from that prince to Constantius, filled with bitter invectives against himself, found means to have him arrested at a banquet, and banished into Spain. He had already sent Libano, one of his commanders, with a strong detachment against the Alemans; but he being killed, and his men routed, near Sanctio, now Seckingen, in the neighbourhood of Basle, Julian advanced in person against them, passed the Rhine, where coming upon them unexpectedly, he slew great numbers, and obliged the rest to restore the booty they had taken, and sue for peace; which he granted upon his own terms.

*He obliges
his soldiers
to take an
oath of al-
legiance to
himself.*

In the mean time, Constantius having ordered magazines to be formed at Briançon in Dauphiné, at Bregentz on the lake of Constance, and at several other places on the Alps, Julian concluded from thence, that he was determined upon war. Resolving, therefore, to be beforehand with him, he threw off the mask, and obliged his soldiers to take an oath of allegiance to him; which they all did very readily, except Nibridius, who had succeeded Florentius in the prefecture of Gaul. That officer frankly declared, that he would not, upon any consideration whatsoever, take an oath, which obliged him to draw his sword against his lawful sovereign. Upon this refusal, Julian suffered him to retire unmolested into Hetruria¹. In his room, Julian appointed Germanicus to discharge the functions of the prefect. As thus obliging the soldiers to take an oath of allegiance to himself was openly revolting from Constantius, he wrote to several cities, and among the rest to Athens, Lacedæmon, and Corinth, acquainting them with the motives that had induced him to take that step. Julian, now finding he could depend upon the fidelity of his army, and resolved to pursue his designs with vigour, detached part of his forces into Pannonia under the conduct of Nevita, Jovinus, and Jovius, ordering them to take different routes, that they might seem the more numerous, and strike the greater terror into the enemy, while he, leaving Basle,

*He writes
to several
cities.*

marched through woods and by-ways into Illyricum. Nevita, Jovinus, and Jovius, commanded about twenty thousand men, but Julian himself was attended by no more than three thousand. They were all directed to meet at Sirmium, the place of the general rendezvous. Upon intelligence of Julian's march, Taurus, prefect of Italy, and Florentius, whom Constantius had lately appointed prefect of Illyricum, abandoning their provinces, fled to the emperor to acquaint him with the motions of Julian. As they were both consuls this year, Julian ordered them, if Zosimus is to be credited¹, to be stigmatized in all the public acts with the epithet of the Runaway Consuls. By their flight Julian became master of Italy without striking a blow, and likewise of Sicily, whither he sent some troops, with orders to keep themselves in readiness to pass over into Africa. The different detachments, conducted by Julian and the three above mentioned commanders, pursued their march with such expedition, that in ten or eleven days time they all arrived in the neighbourhood of Sirmium, which Julian entered in triumph; Lucilianus, who commanded there for Constantius, having been surprised the night before, and taken prisoner, by one of Julian's parties.

He sets out on his march.

He remained but two days at Sirmium, being eager to make himself master of the important pass of Sucidava, dividing Illyricum from Thrace, which he occupied accordingly without opposition. Having left a strong garrison under the command of Nevita, he returned to Naissus, where he seems to have continued till the death of Constantius. During his residence, he raised Aurelius Victor, the historian, to the government of Pannonia Secunda, and wrote to the Roman senate a letter filled with bitter invectives against Constantius, which was ill received by the people, and is severely condemned by Ammianus himself². While Julian lay at Naissus, without the least apprehension of an enemy at his back, two of Constantius's legions, and a cohort of archers, who had been ordered into Gaul, surprised on their march the city of Aquileia, and defended it with such vigour and resolution, that Julian could not, with all his efforts, reduce it: they were commanded by Nigrinus, who defended the place till two months after the emperor's death, and was even then with difficulty prevailed upon to submit to Julian³.

Makes himself master of Illyricum.

but cannot reduce Aquileia.

Constantius, being returned from Mesopotamia to Antioch in the latter end of the preceding year, married in

The emperor marries Faustina.

¹ Zof. p. 712.

² Ammian. p. 190. Liban. Orat. xi. p. 254.

³ Ibid. p. 191—195.

that city, with great solemnity, Maxima Faustina, Eusebia being dead some time before. Of the parentage and qualities of this empress, no mention is made by the ancients. All we know of her is, that after the death of Constantius she was delivered of a daughter, named Flavia Maxima Constantia, who was afterwards married to the emperor Gratian^u. The emperor spent the remaining part of the winter in preparing for his intended expedition against the Persians, being resolved to terminate that war, or at least to secure the empire on that side, before he marched into the West against Julian. In the mean time Sapor, having assembled a powerful army, took the field, and advanced to the banks of the Tigris, with a design to pass that river, and pursue his march to the Euphrates. This intention Constantius no sooner understood than he left Antioch; and crossing the Euphrates, advanced to Edesa; whence he sent part of his army, under the command of Arbeto and Agilo, to the banks of the Tigris, with express orders not to expose the troops wantonly to dangers. About this time the emperor received certain intelligence, that Julian had already made himself master of Illyricum, and the important pass separating that country from Thrace. He was thunderstruck with these news; but the very next day an express arrived from his generals on the banks of the Tigris, assuring him, that Sapor, intimidated by unlucky omens, had marched back to his own dominions with his whole army. Constantius, overjoyed at these tidings, immediately left Mesopotamia, and returned to Antioch, with a design to march without delay against Julian, encouraged in this resolution by his army, who declared with one voice, that they were ready to sacrifice their lives in so just and honourable a cause.

The Persians retire.

Yr. of Fl.
281.
A. D. 361.
U. C. 1159.

The emperor marches against Julian;

but dies at Mopsucene.

In the mean time, he dispatched Arbeto with a strong detachment to the streights of Sicadava, where Julian was assembling his forces in order to invade Thrace, and followed in person with the rest of his army about the latter end of the autumn. Upon his arrival at Tarsus in Cilicia, he was seized with a feverish distemper, occasioned chiefly by the uneasiness and perplexity of his mind; but believing he should get the better of it by motion and exercise, he pursued his march to Mopsucene, on the borders of Cilicia, at the foot of Mount Taurus, where, by the violence of his distemper, which increased daily, he was obliged to halt. In that place all remedies proving ineffectual, he died on the third of November, in the forty-fifth year of his age,

^u Cange Byz. Fam. p. 48.

and the thirty-eighth of his reign, reckoning from the time he had been created Cæsar, but only the twenty-fifth since the death of his father. Julian was no sooner informed of his death, than he left Illyricum, and on the eleventh of December arrived at Constantinople, whither he caused the corpse of the deceased prince to be brought by Jovian, afterwards emperor, and ordered it to be interred with the usual solemnity in the church of the Apostles *. Julian himself assisted at the ceremony in his purple robes, but without the other ensigns of his dignity *.

As for his character, all the ancients, whether Christians *His character.* or Pagans, paint him as a weak and vain prince: he was entirely governed by the eunuchs of the court, especially by his chamberlain Eusebius. He admitted none to his confidence but such as were well skilled in flattery; whence *His bad qualities.* he had none about him but such as, by approving all his measures, studied to gain his favour, and raise themselves. It has been already observed, that he ascribed to himself the glory of victories gained by his officers, and spoke of them as if he had fought in person at the head of the victorious armies. The Christian writers, both Arian and orthodox, complain of his assuming too much in ecclesiastical matters. Under him employments were not given to the most deserving men, but to such only as were most able to purchase them of the eunuchs, and other favourites. The unhappy people in the provinces were miserably oppressed by their governors, who made it their business to repay themselves the sums which they had disbursed, and to heap up money to purchase other more profitable employments. He was so jealous of his authority, and of such a timorous and suspicious temper, that upon the least appearance of a plot, he put numbers of persons to death, frequently confounding the innocent with the guilty, though accused by persons altogether unworthy of credit. The infamous tribe of informers increased under him to such a number, that no man of fortune, however innocent, was safe †. As he had no great genius or capacity himself, he hated all men of letters, and discountenanced every liberal art and science; therefore freedmen only applied themselves to the study of the law, and that of eloquence was entirely neglected: to be a great philosopher was reckoned a crime, Constantius considering the philosophers as magicians, against whom he enacted most rigorous laws ‡.

* Amm. lib. xxi. p. 205. Socrat. lib. iii. cap. 1. p. 168. Paneg. xi p. 213. † Liban. Orat. xii. p. 289. ‡ Ammian. lib. xxi. p. 203. Liban. Orat. xxviii. p. 591. * Eutrop. lib. xv. p. 44.

However, he founded and endowed a library at Constantinople, enriched it with a large collection of choice books, and appointed a person, with a liberal salary, to take care of it ^a.

*His good
qualities.*

But among so many defects, he had some good qualities. In crimes of treason, real or only suspected, he behaved like a tyrant, says Ammianus; but in other respects was not a bad prince. He was of a very low stature, says the same writer, but enured to fatigue; and performed the military exercises, especially those of the infantry, with wonderful address. He was satisfied with a frugal diet, slept little, an utter stranger to luxury, and of such chastity and temperance, as not to be even suspected of those vices which usually prevail in courts. He is generally thought to have been the author of the law condemning to death those who were found guilty of unnatural crimes ^b. He sometimes performed the meanest duties of a soldier, but at the same time knew how to maintain the grandeur and majesty of his station ^c. He despised popularity; and his affectation was truly ridiculous: he appeared in public like a statue, without moving his head or hands, without spitting, or blowing his nose, lest he should by such vulgar actions degrade the majesty and grandeur of an emperor. Though he had no genius either for poetry or eloquence, yet he was not entirely unacquainted with polite literature ^d. Aurelius Victor and Eutropius commend him for the great respect he always shewed to his father, for his extraordinary modesty, and for rewarding services with uncommon generosity ^e. Themistius extols his magnificence, and observes, that he enriched all his friends ^f. He finished the walls of Constantinople, begun by his father; repaired, at a great expence, many of the buildings; and embellished the city with fountains, baths, and other stately edifices.

He was a zealous promoter of the Christian religion, and enacted several laws, of which we have taken notice in the history of his reign, for the total suppression of idolatry. He built a great number of churches, and among the rest the famous cathedral of Emesa in Syria, and the great church of Alexandria, called Cæsarea. That of St. Sophia at Constantinople was the work of Constantine, though commonly ascribed to his son Constantius ^g. He not only built, but endowed and enriched many churches with great

^a Themist. Orat. iii. p. 45.

^b Cod. Theod. ix. tit. 7. leg. 3.

p. 59.

^c Ammian. lib. xxi. p. 200.

^d Aur. Vict. p. 87.

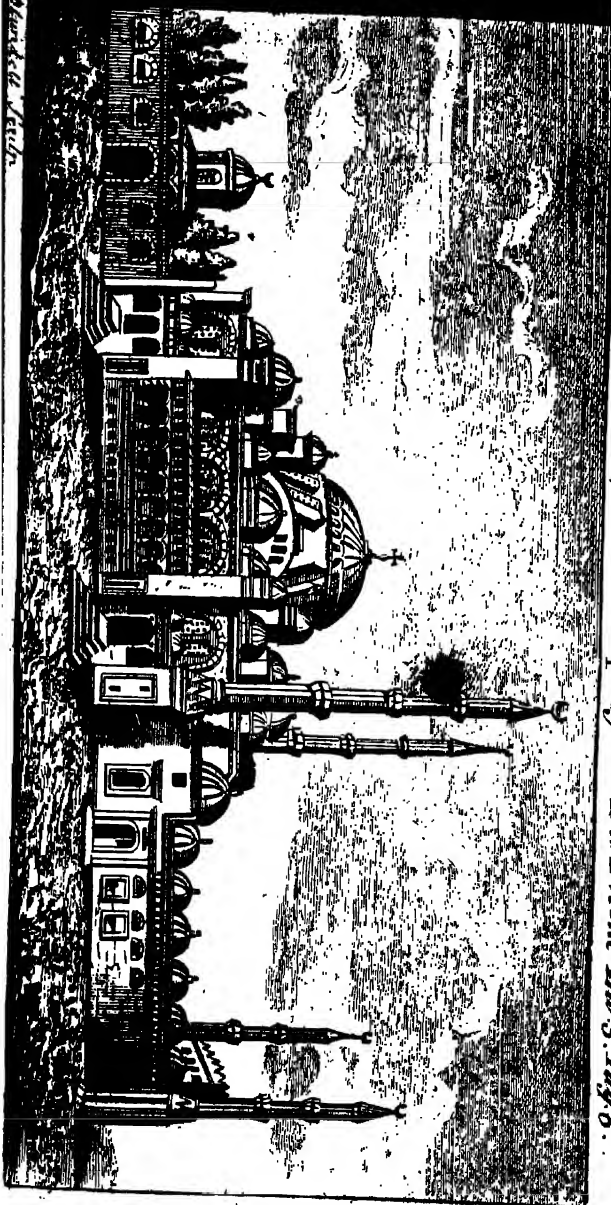
^e Eutrop. p. 183.

^f Themist. Orat. iv. p. 62.

^g Socra.

p. 94. Cange urb. Constantin. Descript. p. 144, 145.

The whole view of the Church of Sancta Sophie from Du Frou's Lib. 5. Pag. 6.



revenues; and shewed, on all occasions, an extraordinary respect and esteem for the clergy, especially the bishops, receiving their blessing in a humble posture, entertaining them at his table, and exempting them from all imposts and taxes^h (G).

Before

^h Hilar. contra Constant. Orat. p. 113, 114.

(G) But these favours he bestowed on those alone who professed the doctrine of Arius. The orthodox bishops were driven from their sees, and either banished, or imprisoned; and some of them were, by the authority or connivance of the emperor, put to death. But to give an account of this persecution is not our province, but that of the ecclesiastic writers.

Among the men of learning who flourished under Constantius, St. Jerom mentions Genadius, Petrus, Victorinus, Minervius, Alcimus, Delphidius, and Donatus (1). All we know of the two first, is, that they were both celebrated lawyers; that the former lived at Rome, and the latter at Saragosa in Spain (2). Of Victorinus we shall speak hereafter. Tiberius Victor Minervius taught eloquence at Constantinople, at Rome about the year 353, and at Bourdeaux, the place of his nativity (3). He is lavishly commended by Ausonius, who is proud of having studied under him (4). Latinus Alethius Alcimus was a native of the Agenois, or territory of Agen, and is by Ausonius numbered

among the professors of Bourdeaux (5). He published some works, in which he praised the emperor Julian, and Sallust, who was prefect of Gaul under that prince (6); but none of them have reached our times. Atticus Tyro Delphidius, the son of the orator Paterna, or Paternus, acquired great reputation by his poems (7). Donatus, under whom St. Jerom studied, taught grammar at Rome with great reputation in 354, wrote comments on Terence and Virgil, and published several grammatical pieces, often quoted by Cassiodorus, who judged them more proper for children, than any thing written by other grammarians (8). Nonius Marcellus, another celebrated grammarian, lived, as is supposed, about the time of Constantius, and was, as we gather from the title of his work on the propriety of Latin words, a native of Tivoli, and a Peripatetic philosopher (9). The works of Sextus Pompeius Festus bear a much better character than those of Marcellus. He wrote on the signification of words; but his work, which was only an epitome of what Verrius Flaccus had written on

(1) Hier. Chron. (2) Idem *ibid.* (3) Idem *ibid.* & Auson. de Profess. Burdigal. carm. i. p. 137. (4) Auson. *ibid.* carm. vi. p. 150. (5) Idem *ibid.* carm. ii. p. 141. (6) Sidon. lib. viii. epist. 11. p. 230. (7) Auson. *ibid.* carm. v. p. 147. (8) Hier. in Ruf. lib. i. cap. 4. p. 202. Cassiod. de Orthogr. p. 255, 256. (9) Vide Baillet. cap. 620. p. 34. & Salmas. in Not. in Spart. p. 241.

Before we proceed to the history of Julian's reign, it will not be foreign to our purpose, to give the reader a succinct account of the birth, parentage, education, and studies of a prince so much spoken of by the ecclesiastical writers. Julius

that subject in the time of Augustus, was abridged in the time of Charlemagne by Paulus Diaconus; and to this abridgement is owing the loss of the much greater part of that which was done by Festus (1). Some manuscripts have reached our times on the art of surveying or measuring land, written by Innocentius, probably the surveyor of that name, who, according to Ammianus Marcellinus, was at the court of Constantius in 359 (2). Vindanius Anatolius, a native of Berytus, wrote ten books on Agriculture, containing many useful rules, blended with some superstitious and heathenish observations (3). Part of that work has reached our times; but the author is there styled Vindaminius, and not Vindanius. Sextus Aurelius Victor may be ranked among the writers who flourished under Constantius, though he died long after him, since, in his reign, he wrote his history of the Roman emperors. He is commonly thought to have been a native of Africa, and to have been born of poor parents in some village of that country (4). He was, at least when he wrote his history, a pagan, as must evidently appear to all who peruse it. Gothofredus published in 1628, an ancient description of the world, as he styles it, compiled in the

time of Constantius, and not of Constantine, as we read in the text, after that prince had finished the port of Seleucia, and after the earthquake which overturned the city of Duras (5). Julius Firmicus Maternus, who flourished at the same time, was not only a Christian, but a zealous defender of the religion he professed; for he addressed a work to the two emperors, Constantius and Constans, animating them to complete the destruction of idolatry. This work is intitled *The Errors and Falshoods of Profane Religions* (6). The author is distinguished, in the title of the work, with the epithet of *clarissimus*, which was peculiar to the senators of Rome, and sufficiently confutes the opinion of Baronius, who insists upon his having been bishop of Milan (7). Eight books on judicial astrology were published about the same time by Julius Firmicus Maternus, who was likewise a Roman senator, and is therefore by some writers confounded with the above mentioned author (8); but Possevinus maintains them to be two different writers (9): and indeed the astrologer is styled, in the title of his work, Julius Firmicus Maternus junior; and the work itself is altogether unworthy of a Christian.

(1) Vide Baillet, p. 30, 35.

(3) Phot. cap. 163. p. 349.

(5) Gothofred. *Vetus Orb. Descrip.* p. 13, & 33.

(6) Firm. Matern. cap. 21. *Bibl. Patr.* tom. iv. p. 99.

(8) Vide Du Pin, p. 577.

(2) Ammian. lib. xix. p. 149.

(4) Voss. *Hist. Lat.* p. 196.

(7) Firm. Ma-

(9) Baron. ad

Ann. 337. (8) Vide Du Pin, p. 577.

(9) Possevin. p. 998.

Constantius, the brother of Constantine the Great, had two wives; Galla, by whom he had Gallus Cæsar, and other children, whose names are unknown; and Basilina, descended of an illustrious family, being the daughter of one Julian who was prefect, and the sister of another who was count of the East. The surname of Anicius was common to both, and the Anician family was one of the most illustrious in Rome. He was named Julian from his grandfather on the mother's side, and is styled in all ancient inscriptions Julianus Flavius Claudius. He was of low stature, and a disagreeable aspect, which was, besides, disfigured with a long beard, as represented in most of his medals; but at the same time well-shaped, active, and of great address in every kind of exercise.ⁱ

Birth, education, and parentage of Julian.

His mind was endowed by nature with an extraordinary capacity: he learned with surprising quickness, and never forgot what he had once known; insomuch, that those, whose province it was to instruct him, though persons eminent in every branch of learning, complained that he too soon exhausted their stock of knowledge^k: on which account he is by some writers equalled, and by others preferred, to the greatest men Greece ever produced^l. However, he was much better acquainted with the Greek than the Latin tongue: in the former he rivalled the best writers; but did not excel, according to Eunapius^m, in the latter. His eloquence was easy and flowing, and accompanied by a graceful delivery. In his answers unstudied he displayed an uncommon penetration, vivacity, and presence of mind, and, in the greatest dangers, an undaunted courage and intrepidityⁿ. But whether the solidity of his judgement was equal to the brightness of his genius, we shall leave the reader to judge from his actions. He was naturally of a mild temper, had a violent thirst after glory, was greatly attached to his own opinion, which he frequently preferred to the advice of his ablest counsellors, and strangely addicted to satire and railery^o. He was brought up at Constantinople till the death of his uncle Constantine, which was followed by the massacre of all his relations, in which were involved among the rest the father and eldest brother of Julian; but Julian himself was spared on account of his infancy, being then but six or seven years old, as was his brother, Gallus, because he happened to be at that time ill of a fever, and thought past recovery^p.

Endowed with great capacity.

His eloquence.

His temper.

ⁱ Ammian. lib. xxii. p. 226.

^k Eunap. cap. 5. p. 68.

^l Idem,

p. 589. & Vist. epit. p. 545.

^m Eunap. cap. 5. p. 68.

ⁿ Am-

mian. lib. xviii. p. 114.

^o Socr. lib. iii. cap. 1. p. 169.

^p Ju-

lian. ad Athen. p. 497. Liban. Orat. xii. p. 262.

His education.

Julian, at seven years old, was put under the tuition of an eunuch named Mardonius, who discharged his trust with great care, inspiring him with an aversion to all manner of sports and diversions, and teaching him how to conquer his passions, and get the better of his evil inclinations. The emperor afterwards committed the care of his education to Eusebius bishop of Nicomedia, a leading man among the Arians, by whom he was instructed partly at Nicomedia, and partly at an estate in Bithynia left him by his grandmother, where he planted a vineyard with his own hands. He took great delight in this place; but nevertheless bestowed it afterwards on one of his friends ^q. At the age of fourteen or fifteen, he was, by the emperor's orders, sent with his brother Gallus, who had been hitherto confined to his estate in Ionia, to a castle called Macella, in the neighbourhood of Cæsarea in Cappadocia. There they had a royal palace for their habitation, a handsome allowance, a noble court, and the best masters to instruct them in all the sciences; but at the same time were surrounded by the eunuchs of the court, and kept in a manner prisoners ^r. In this exile or retreat they continued six years; that is, till the fifteenth of March 351, when Gallus was created Cæsar. The emperor's chief attention was to appoint them such masters as were capable of inspiring them with sentiments of piety, and instructing them in the duties of the Christian religion, which they were taught to practise, by conversing only with persons of religious and exemplary lives. From this retreat Gallus was called to court, and created Cæsar, in the beginning of the year 351, and soon after the emperor was, with difficulty, prevailed upon to allow Julian to quit Marcella, and pursue his studies at Constantinople, where he saw his brother, as he passed through that city on his journey into the East, with the title of Cæsar ^s. At Constantinople Julian studied oratory under a sophist of no great eloquence, but chosen by Constantius for his preceptor, because he used, in all his declamations, to inveigh against the idolatrous worship of the pagan gods.

Is ordered to quit Constantinople.

Julian's conduct at Constantinople, his application, and insinuating behaviour, soon gained him the affections of the inhabitants of that city, though he appeared in the schools like a private person; and, following the directions of the eunuch Mardonius, carefully avoided the least mark of distinction. This popularity no sooner came to the ears of the jealous emperor, than he ordered him to leave Con-

^q Julian. Epist. xlvi. p. 199, 200.
^s Ammian. lib. xv. p. 34.

^r Julian. ad Athen. p. 499.

stantinople, and retire to Nicomedia, or what other place in Asia he pleased; but strictly enjoining him not to frequent the school of Libanius, a Pagan sophist of great reputation; who, being driven out of Constantinople, had opened a school at Nicomedia; from which city he was likewise obliged to depart soon after, and retire to Antioch, the place of his nativity¹. The sophist too, under whom Julian studied at Constantinople, prevailed upon him to promise, and solemnly swear, that he would never hear the lectures of Libanius. Julian observed his oath; but as he had a great esteem for that orator, he privately read his works, and imitated his style with greater success than those who had studied under him (H).

Upon the ruin of his brother Gallus, he was very near undergoing the same fate, being unjustly charged with several crimes, and suspected of aspiring to the sovereignty. The emperor, therefore, ordered him to be arrested, and kept him seven months surrounded by guards, sometimes in one place, and sometimes in another², but mostly at

Is suspected of aspiring to the sovereignty.

¹ Eunap. cap. 14. p. 172. Liban. Vit. p. 18. Socrat. p. 165.
² Liban. *ibid.* p. 267. Julian. ad Athen. p. 501.

(H) During his stay at Nicomedia, he became acquainted with Maximus of Ephesus, a Pagan philosopher of great reputation, and much addicted to the study of magic; who flattering him with the hopes of being one day emperor, inspired him with an aversion to the Christian religion, which condemns all magical practices (1). Libanius writes, that the precepts and instructions of a philosopher in Ionia, meaning, no doubt, Maximus, made such a deep impression on the mind of Julian, that he immediately renounced the Christian religion, and embraced that of the Romans. However, he was so far from owning his real sentiments, that, on the contrary, he affected the appearance of a

sincere and zealous Christian, causing his head to be shaved, says Sozomen, imitating the dress and manners of a monk, and performing the office of a reader in the principal church of Nicomedia, while he at the same time privately adored the heathen deities, and caused himself to be instructed in the ridiculous mysteries of magic. Gallus, who resided at Antioch, hearing of his brother's inclination to idolatry, endeavoured, by several warm and pious epistles, to confirm him in the true religion, and divert him from the worship of the Pagan gods. But the sacrilegious curiosity of knowing future events, says Gregory Nazianzen, and the desire of reigning, prevailed over all other considerations (2).

(1) Socrat. lib. iii. cap. 1. p. 165. Soz. lib. v. cap. 2. p. 594. Liban. Orat. v. p. 175.
 (2) Greg. Naz. Orat. iii. p. 86.

Milan, where the emperor himself resided; for he tells us, that he was confined six months in the great city, which was the emperor's abode; and that, during the whole time he was detained there, he was but once admitted to see the emperor, and then by the mediation of the empress Eusebia, who prevailed upon her husband to hear him, and encouraged him to defend himself with confidence; a task which he performed, without either justifying, through fear or complaisance, the emperor's proceedings against his brother, or provoking his vengeance, by complaining of the hard usage he himself had received. Constantius promised him a second audience, which was put off from day to day, under various pretences, by the eunuch Eusebius, the emperor's great chamberlain, who apprehended that Julian might, by degrees, gain not only the prince's favour, but confidence ^w. However, Constantius being convinced of his innocence, by means of the empress, he was allowed to return into his own country; that is, to his mother's estate in Ionia or Bithynia. A report, however, being spread, before he departed, that Africanus had revolted in Illyricum, Constantius would not suffer him to return to Asia; but, at the request of Eusebia, permitted him to go into Greece, which he preferred to all other places, being desirous, as he pretended, to perfect himself in the sciences; but his real design was to confer with the magicians at Athens, whom he believed more skilled in that art than those in Asia ^x (I). During his residence at Athens he became familiar with the most zealous advocates for Paganism, and the persons best versed in magic, expressing to them, in confidence, his concern for the downfall of Paganism, and his desire and intention of restoring it to its former lustre.

*Goes into
Greece.*

*Is sent for
by the em-
peror.*

He had been but a very short time at Athens, when he was recalled to attend the emperor at Milan; who, it seems, had already determined to raise him to the dignity of Cæsar. Julian left Greece with regret, resolving not to accept the dignity with which he imagined the emperor designed to invest him, either because he loved a retired life, as Libanius would make us believe, or rather dreading the fate of

^w Julian. ad Athen. p. 501. Liban. Orat. xii. p. 267. ^x Euphr. cap. 5. p. 74. Themist. p. 479.

(I) He arrived at Athens about the middle of the year 355, and there became acquainted with the two great luminaries of the church, St. Gregory Nazianzen and St. Basil,

who were at that time both improving themselves at Athens in the study of eloquence, of which they afterwards made so good an use.

his brother, as he himself informs us. On his arrival at Milan, he lodged in a house without the city, where he was splendidly entertained by the eunuchs of the empresses. *Constantius was not then at Milan; but he returned soon after to that city, and immediately communicated to his friends his intention of raising Julian. They did all that lay in their power to divert him from this design; but Eusebia, who favoured Julian, prevailed. The emperor ordered him to shave his long beard, to quit his philosophical cloak, and appear in the attire of a military man, and the garb of a courtier. As he had hitherto led the life of a philosopher, his awkwardness in acting a part he had never been accustomed to, afforded, for some time, no small diversion to the other courtiers* ^y. The emperor assigned him an apartment in the palace, which he entered with dread and terror, reflecting, that he was to live among those who had shed the blood of his father and brothers, and massacred his whole family. When he found the emperor, in spite of his remonstrances, resolved upon his promotion, he earnestly intreated him to appoint such ministers and officers to serve under him as might supply his want of experience, and to give him in writing directions relating to his whole conduct, that his only business might be to obey ^z. Constantius encouraged him, and having dispelled his fears, ordered him to wait on the empress, who removed all his apprehensions ^a. At length, on the sixth of November, 355, he was declared Cæsar with the usual solemnity, appointed governor of Gaul, and a few days after, by the interest of Eusebia, married to her sister Helena. We have related above in what manner he was treated, and how narrowly watched, after his promotion. His household was changed, and, of his former domestics, only four were retained; two youths, his physician, and his librarian ^b: the latter alone was privy to his sentiments touching religion. He left Milan on the first of December, and arrived at Vienne in Gaul about the end of the year. His warlike exploits, already described in the reign of Constantius, seem to us altogether surprising, when we reflect that they were performed by one who was yet very young; who had been brought up in the country, and among books, and consequently was obliged to learn the first rudiments of war while he was leading the army to battle ^c.

*Julian is
declared
Cæsar.*

^y Julian. ad Athen. p. 505, 506.

^z Ammian. lib. xv. p. 47.

^a Chron. Alex. p. 680. Socrat. lib. ii. cap. 34.

^b Liban. Orat.

ix. p. 256.

^c Julian. ibid. p. 180.

His conduct in Gaul.

During his stay in Gaul, as soon as he had quitted the field, he applied himself to his studies, especially to that of philosophy, but without neglecting the other sciences; in which he made an astonishing progress, being, according to *Ammianus*, not only an excellent philosopher, but an eloquent orator, a good poet, well versed in the Roman and other histories, thoroughly acquainted with the Greek tongue, and conversant in the Latin, in which he expressed himself with great ease^d. As Julian delighted in learning, men of letters flocked to him, while he was in Gaul, from all parts, especially from Greece; and among the rest the pontiff of Eleusina, with whom he practised the mysteries in private, and consulted the aruspices and augurs; for, though he outwardly professed the Christian religion, he was a heathen in his heart, and sacrificed every morning to Minerva in his closet^e.

His frugality.

He observed great temperance and sobriety in his diet, remembering, says *Ammianus*, the saying of Cato the elder, that "Whoever thinks too much of his table, thinks little of virtue." Having this maxim constantly in his mind, he would not even suffer his table to be served after the manner prescribed by Constantius, who had given him instructions under his own hand, as we have observed before, which were to be the rules of his conduct, and descended even to his diet; but contented himself with the food of the common soldiers. As he fed sparingly, he was satisfied with little sleep, reposing on a skin spread on the ground, and awaking when he pleased, which was constantly about midnight: the rest of the night he employed in writing, reading, and visiting before break of day the centries and guards in their different stations; from this no inclemency of weather ever diverted him^f. He never suffered plays to be exhibited but on the first day of the year, and then not for his own diversion (for he despised all sports, even those of the circus), but to comply with an ancient custom, and to humour the populace. No dancers, comedians, players upon instruments, or buffoons, were suffered to appear at his court; nay, when he was emperor, he would not permit the Pagan pontiffs to assist at the infamous sports, as he styles them, of the theatre, nor to contract friendship with stage-players, dancers, and drivers of chariots; or even to enter their houses: however, he allowed them to be present at certain combats, which he names

He hates all sports.

^d *Ammian. lib. xvi. p. 62.*

^e *Julian. Ep. xxxviii. p. 180.*

Liban. Orat. x. p. 140. & xii. p. 279. Eunap. cap. 5. p. 76, 77.

^f *Ammian. Julian. Liban. ibid.*

sacred, and at which no women appeared; but from the combats in which men entered the lists with wild beasts, he excluded both the priests and their children ^g.

The grave and severe life he led in Gaul gained him the esteem and affections of the people, who beheld him as a prince sent by Heaven, the more because he made it his chief study to ease them of the heavy and insupportable burdens with which they were loaded by the emperor's officers, especially by Florentius, prefect of Gaul, who, on that account, conceived an implacable hatred against him, and did him all the evil offices at court that lay in his power. But Julian, preferring the welfare of the people to his own safety, in spite of Florentius, lessened the taxes, and reduced them from twenty-five pieces of gold a head to seven, which he found sufficient to defray all the expences of the war ^h; whence he was by all the people in Gaul considered as the restorer of their country, and their common father. He was greatly assisted in relieving the people by Sallust, a native of Gaul, in whom he reposed an entire confidence; which raised such jealousy in the other courtiers, that they took great pains to discredit him with the emperor, who was persuaded to remove him, and appoint Lucianus in his room. Julian, sensibly affected in finding himself deprived of the counsels of so truly a friend, gave vent to his grief in the discourse which he wrote to bid him farewell ⁱ (K). The emperor, who was then in Illyricum, ordered him into Thrace; whence he was soon after remanded into Gaul, where Julian left him in 361, with the character of prefect ^k. As Julian was universally esteemed and beloved by the people in Gaul, they readily concurred with the soldiery in bestowing upon him the title of emperor in 360. After his promotion, he continued for some time to profess outwardly the Christian religion, and publicly assisted at the holy ceremonies of the church on the feast of the Epiphany in 361 ^l, but threw off the mask soon after; for we are told by Libanius, that he no sooner

Studies to ease the people.

^g Julian. Or. Fragm. p. 555. ^h Panegy. xi. p. 223. ⁱ Julian. Orat. viii. p. 444. ^k Ammian. lib. xxi. p. 187. ^l Zos. lib. iii. p. 711. Soz. lib. v. cap. i. p. 590. Julian. ad Athen. p. 509.

(K) From that discourse, whence some conclude him to have been a Pagan, though a man of great integrity, and unblemished character (1). his most secret thoughts;

(1) Julian. Orat. viii. p. 449.

*He causes
the temples
of the gods
to be open-
ed.*

*Julian ac-
knowledged
emperor on
the death
of Constant-
inus.*

*He is re-
ceived
with great
joy at Con-
stantinople.*

saw himself master of Illyricum, than he opened the temples of the gods, offered sacrifices according to the ancient rites, and exhorted all persons to follow his example, and restore the religion of their ancestors to its former lustre^m. We have mentioned what passed in Gaul and Illyricum, from the time Julian was declared emperor to the death of Constantius; and shall therefore, without repeating the same events, resume the thread of our history from that period, generally reckoned the beginning of Julian's reign. Constantius being dead, the eunuch Eusebius, and some others, who dreaded the resentment of Julian, and the punishment due to their enormous crimes, were for electing another emperor; but no one joining them, Theolaiphus and Ali-guldus, both styled counts, were dispatched to acquaint Julian with the emperor's death, and to assure him, that all the eastern provinces were ready to obey his commands. The two messengers found him at Naissus in Illyricum, employed in superstitious inquiries into the entrails of victims, and sometimes promising himself the best, at other times apprehending the worst events. But the death of Constantius delivered him from all his doubts and apprehensions, and put him in possession of the empire without striking a blowⁿ. When he received the news of the emperor's death, he burst into tears, appeared the same day in deep mourning, and betrayed an extraordinary grief and concern amidst the repeated acclamations of the soldiery, saluting him with the title of Augustus^o. He immediately issued orders for a general mourning, and commanded all possible honours to be paid to the body of the deceased emperor. Soon after the messengers, several horsemen arrived from Constantinople, assuring him, that the troops in those parts had unanimously acknowledged him emperor. He therefore proceeded to Constantinople; and being met by almost all the inhabitants of that metropolis at Heraclea, he made his public entry on the eleventh of December of this year 361, attended by the senate in a body, by all the magistrates, and the nobility, every one testifying with loud shouts of joy the satisfaction they felt in seeing such a promising prince, who had been born, and some time educated, in their city, who had already performed such glorious exploits, raised to the empire without the least expence of blood or treasure to the republic. He was again declared emperor by the senate of Constantinople; and as soon as

^m Liban. Orat. xii. p. 288.

ⁿ Ammian. lib. xxi. p. 200. & lib. xxii. p. 204. Zof. lib. iii. p. 713. Liban. Orat. xii. p. 289.

^o Zonar. p. 21.

that ceremony was over, he caused the obsequies of Constantius to be performed with the greatest pomp and solemnity ^p.

His next care was to institute at Chalcedon a court of justice, to inquire into the conduct of the ministers of the deceased emperor, and to hear the complaints of such as had been injured by them. In this court presided Sallustius Secundus, whom Julian had created prefect of the East, in the room of Elpidius: we must take care not to confound him with Sallust, prefect of Gaul, of whom we have spoken before. Julian reposed in both an implicit confidence; and the prefect of the East, though a Pagan, is highly celebrated even by the ecclesiastic writers, for his prudence, discretion, and compassion towards the Christians persecuted by Julian, whose conduct towards them he justly condemned. With him were joined in commission the two consuls elect, Mamertinus and Nevita, the one prefect of Illyricum, and the other an officer in the army, with Arbetio, Agilo, and Jovinus, of whom the latter had been lately created general of horse in Illyricum, and the two others had served under Constantius in quality of generals. Arbetio was universally abhorred for his haughty and imperious behaviour, and was said to have occasioned the death of several innocent persons under the late reign: the conduct of Julian therefore seemed very strange, in appointing one to judge others, who ought himself to have been arraigned as a criminal; we are even told, that the whole authority was lodged in his hands ^q. By this court were condemned to be burnt alive the famous Paulus Catena, and the noted informer Apodemus, as the chief authors of the cruelties committed in the late reign. The eunuch Eusebius was likewise condemned and executed.

These executions were applauded by all the world as just and equitable; but the death of Ursula, a man of great merit and known integrity, was a stain upon the reputation of Julian, whom he had supplied with money unknown to the emperor, when he was sent into Gaul with the title of Cæsar, but without the necessary appointments to support that dignity. What prompted Julian to put him to death, we are not told; but all authors agree, that he deserved no such treatment, especially at his hands; and therefore charge him with the blackest ingratitude, in procuring the death of a person to whom he owed the greatest obligations ^r. Julian, to palliate his ingratitude and cruelty,

He erects a court of justice to inquire into the conduct of the ministers of Constantius.

Several of them condemned and executed.

Ursula, and others, condemned unjustly.

^p Socrat. lib. iii. cap. i. p. 164.
^r Lib. Orat. xii. p. 298.

^q Ammian. lib. xxii. p. 206.

Ammian. *ibid*.

pretended, that Ursula had been condemned and executed without his knowledge; but Ammianus himself owns this to be but a weak excuse. To atone in some degree for this injustice, he ordered great part of Ursula's estate, which had been confiscated, to be restored to his daughter, his only child. Florentius, who was this year consul, and had, while prefect of Gaul, incensed Julian, was likewise sentenced to death; but he found means to make his escape, and appeared no more¹: wherefore we must distinguish him from another of the same name, who was taken and beheaded with Procopius in 369. Two officers, whom Julian had discharged, offered to discover Florentius, provided they were restored to their rank; but Julian branded them with the name of informers, adding, that to persecute an unhappy man, who had been obliged to conceal himself, was an action unworthy of a prince. Taurus, Florentius's colleague in the consulship, and prefect of Italy, was banished to Vercellæ, now Vercelli, in Piedmont, because he had fled when Julian entered Illyricum. With the same injustice were banished another Florentius, who had been *magister officiorum* under Constantius, Palladius, who had discharged the same office in the court of Gallus, and many others. Julian, having punished some of Constantius's ministers, deprived the rest of their employments, without distinction, though there were among them several persons of unblemished characters, who had disapproved, and even opposed, most of the late measures.

*He reforms
the court.*

As the great number of officers was become an intolerable burden to the public, he thought himself bound to lessen it; and accordingly discharged all useless persons about court, preferring the frugality and modesty of a philosopher, says Ammianus, to the vain magnificence of a prince. He reduced, among the rest, the officers called *agentes in rebus*, from ten thousand to seventeen²; and discharged thousands of cooks, barbers, and unnecessary attendants, who devoured the substance of the people, and drained the treasury. The *curiosi*, whose office it was to inform the emperor of what had passed in the different provinces, were all discharged, and that employment entirely suppressed. This great reform of officers and offices enabled him to ease the people of the heavy burdens they groaned under; abating throughout the whole empire the fifth part of all taxes and imposts³. He recalled from banishment all the orthodox bishops, but with a design, as is observed both by the Pagan

*He eases
the people
by lessening
the taxes.*

¹ Ammian. lib. xxii. p. 206.

² Liban. Orat. xii. p. 279.

³ Julian. Misop. p. 192.

and Christian writers, to raise disturbances, and sow dissensions, in the church.

The death of Constantius was no sooner known, than deputies were sent from the chief cities of the empire, to present the new prince with crowns of gold, and to congratulate him on his accession to the empire. Their example was followed by several foreign nations, among which, however, we find no mention made of the Persians. The ambassadors of the Goths cavilling about the oaths they were to take, Julian ordered them to return, and prepare for war; but contented himself with placing strong garri-*Deputies sent from several cities and nations to congratulate Julian.* sons in the cities of Thrace, and on the banks of the Danube *. Before he left Constantinople, he wrote to the philosopher Maximus, who had first inspired him with an aversion to the Christian religion, inviting both him and another Pagan philosopher and magician, named Chrysanthus, to court. The latter, deterred by some ill omens, could not prevail with himself to comply with the invitation; but the former readily obeyed, and was received by the emperor at Constantinople with such tokens of friendship and esteem, as to Ammianus seemed below the dignity of a prince, though highly commended by Libanius. *He invites to court philosophers, magicians, &c. from all parts.*

The next consuls were Claudius Mamertinus and Nevita or Nevitta, who, on the first day of January, when they entered, according to custom, upon their office, went, before it was light, to wait on the emperor †. Julian no sooner heard they were coming than he ran to meet them in the utmost confusion, as if he had been wanting in respect, kissed them, received them with the greatest regard, and would by all means attend them in their chariots, walking before them to the senate with the crowd. His conduct on this occasion is greatly commended by some, and no less blamed by others, among the rest by Ammianus, who censures it as too mean, and below the majesty of a prince ‡. It was usual for emperors to accompany the new consuls on that day, but not on foot, nor blended with the crowd. On the third of January, Mamertinus exhibited the Circensian sports, when a number of slaves being brought into the circus, in order to be declared free by the consul, according to custom, Julian, unacquainted with the prerogatives of the several magistrates, declared them free himself; but being told that he entrenched upon the jurisdiction of the consuls, he begged pardon, and condemned himself to pay a fine of ten pounds weight of gold †. *Julian pays great respect to the consuls.*

* Ammian. lib. xxii. p. 210. Lib. Orat. x. p. 245.
gyr. xi. p. 222. † Ammian. lib. xxii. p. 209.
xxi. p. 209.

† Panegy.
* Ibid. lib.

*He enriches
the city of
Constanti-
nople with
many pri-
vileges.
He sets out
for An-
tioch.*

fore he left Constantinople, he enriched that metropolis, the place of his nativity, with many privileges, formed a large harbour to shelter the ships from the south wind, built a magnificent porch leading to it, and in another porch a stately library, in which he lodged all his books^b.

At length he left Constantinople, in the month of May, and departed for Antioch: he passed through Chalcedon, and from thence went to Nicomedia, the ruins of which city, overturned by an earthquake, he could not behold without shedding tears: he ordered considerable sums for the rebuilding of it; and then pursuing his journey by Nice, he turned from the borders of Galatia to visit the famous temple of Cybele at Pessinus, which he enriched with offerings of great value. He pronounced a discourse on that pretended deity, which he composed in one night, appointed Calixenes priests of the temple, and then continued his route to Ancyra, where he was received by the Pagan priests, carrying with them their idols. As soon as he arrived at the palace, he ordered considerable sums to be distributed among them, and the next day exhibited public sports^c. As he pursued his march he was met in most places by crowds of people, come to lay their complaints before him: he heard them with patience, and decided their differences with equity. As he entered Cilicia, he was stopt by the inhabitants of a small village, one of whom accused another of aspiring to the empire, alleging, that he had ordered himself a purple habit, which was actually making: Julian heard the informer with great coolness, and then told him, that when the purple habit was ready, he might supply, if he pleased, the new prince with purple shoes. The emperor, passing through Cilicia, arrived at length at Antioch, where he was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy. Soon after his arrival he ascended Mount Casius, in the neighbourhood of that city, and offered a solemn sacrifice to Jupiter. On his return Theodotus, one of the chief citizens of Hierapolis, who, it seems, had formerly offended him, threw himself at his feet, intreating his forgiveness. Julian did not know him; but without inquiring who he was, or what he had done, embraced him with great tenderness, saying, "In what have you disoblighed me, I know not, nor do I care to know; but be it what it will, you have nothing to fear under a prince whose greatest ambition is to lessen the number of his enemies, and increase that of his friends.

^b Themist. Orat. iv. p. 60.

^c Liban. Orat. x. p. 258.

During

During his stay at Antioch, he employed himself chiefly in hearing and deciding causes; in protecting the innocent, without distinction of Christian or Pagan; and punishing the guilty, without forgetting his usual lenity and moderation. In the administration of justice, he readily listened to those who seemed better acquainted with the laws than himself, constantly consulting them before he gave sentence. But notwithstanding his so much boasted equity and moderation, he sentenced to death Gaudentius, one of the late emperor's secretaries, and Julian, formerly vicar, for no other reason but because they had adhered to Constantius with great steadiness and zeal; which a magnanimous prince would have rather thought worthy of reward than punishment. He treated in the same manner the son of Marcellus, accused of aspiring to the empire; but only banished Romanus and Vincentius, two officers of distinction, though convicted of the same crime. Marcellus had exasperated Julian, while he commanded under him in Gaul, as we have observed elsewhere (L). Both Pagan and Christian authors observe, that during the short time Julian reigned, the empire was constantly afflicted by a variety of calamities: dreadful earthquakes were felt in every province; most of the cities of Palestine, Libya, Sicily, and Greece, were ruined^d. Libanius writes, that not one city was left standing in all Libya, and but one in Greece; that Nice was entirely destroyed, and Constan-

He administers justice with impartiality.

The empire afflicted with many calamities.

^d Ammian. lib. xxii. p. 226. Soz. lib. vi. cap. 2. p. 639. Chryf. in Gent. p. 677. Greg. Naz. Orat. iii. p. 91.

(L) The ecclesiastic writers make long descants on the shocking cruelties, and innumerable murders committed by Julian, during his stay at Antioch. Gregory Nazianzen represents the Orontes, on which Antioch stood, choaked up with the bodies of such as had by his orders been privately murdered, or thrown into that river in the night; and adds, that all the ditches, caves, wells, and ponds in the neighbourhood of that city, were filled with the bodies of the young virgins and chil-

dren, whom he had inhumanly sacrificed, hoping to discover future events in their entrails (1). These detestable practices, and barbarous murders, were kept secret, and carefully concealed, during his life-time, says Theodoret (2); but after his death many chests were found in the palace, filled with the bones of those he had thus inhumanly sacrificed. It is surprising that such cruelties should have been known only to the Christian writers.

(1) Greg. Naz. Orat. iii. p. 91. p. 659.

(2) Theodor. lib. lii. cap. 22.

tinople greatly damaged *. The temples of Apollo at Rome and Daphne were about the same time consumed by fire. The sea in several places broke in upon the land, and overwhelmed whole cities with their inhabitants. At Alexandria, the sea retiring during an earthquake, returned afterwards with such violence, that it laid under water several towns and villages, and drowned an incredible number of people. To these calamities was added a general drought, which lasted till the winter was far spent, and produced an universal famine: the famine was followed by a dreadful plague, and both continued till the death of Julian, carrying off great numbers of men and cattle. Julian, to remedy the dearth, fixed the prices of corn, and all other provisions; a step which increased it beyond measure, the merchants privately conveying their corn to other places. By these means that great and populous metropolis was reduced to such miseries as can hardly be expressed.

Julian offers sacrifices in the temple of Jupiter at Antioch.

The inhabitants of Antioch, being mostly Christians, were highly provoked against Julian, to whose impiety in worshipping the idols they ascribed the famine, and the other calamities with which the whole empire was afflicted. They published many lampoons, reflecting on the defects of his person, and exposing him to ridicule on account of his diminutive stature, his forbidding aspect, his long and rough beard, his port and gestures, which were, it seems, in some degree odd and ridiculous. Julian, piqued at the severe satires that were daily published against him, and sung publicly in the streets, wrote an ironical invective against the Antiochians, styled the Antiochian, or Misopogon, that is, the *beard-hater*; in which he represents them wholly addicted to their interest, abandoned to luxury, pomp, and lewdness, great admirers of plays, farces, and all sorts of dissipation. In this performance he solemnly declared, that none of them should for those libels lose their lives, be beaten with rods, arrested, or imprisoned; but threatened to withdraw from a city which thus required, with the utmost ingratitude, the innumerable favours he had heaped upon it, and the extraordinary care he had taken in relieving the citizens, when in the utmost distress †.

He prepares for the Persian war.

Ever since his accession to the empire, he had shewed a strong inclination to make war upon the Persians, and try whether he could humble that haughty enemy, who had for many years harraressed the Eastern provinces in a most miserable manner, and defeated all the attempts of his predecessor. Being advised, soon after his arrival at Constantinople, to attack the Goths, he answered, that he designed

* Liban. Orat. xii. p. 314.

† Julian. Misop. p. 101.

to enter the lists with a more formidable enemy ^f. Before he left that metropolis, he had appointed his generals, and named the officers and soldiers who were to serve under them. Victor was created general of the foot, and Hormisdas of the horse. The latter was the elder brother of Sapor, king of Persia; but having been excluded from the crown, and kept some time under confinement, he found means to make his escape, and took sanctuary in the court of Constantine ^g. Julian, during his stay at Antioch, pursued his preparations for the Persian war, collecting his troops from all quarters, erecting magazines, making new levies, and, above all, consulting the oracles, aruspices, and magicians. The oracles of Delphi, Delos, and Dodona, assured him of victory ^h. But the aruspices, and most of his courtiers and officers, strenuously endeavoured to divert him from his intended expedition ⁱ. The ambiguous answers of the oracles, the confidence he reposed in the magicians, and the desire of adding the Persian monarch to the many kings he had already seen humbled at his feet, prevailed over all other considerations. The Persians, according to Theodoret, began hostilities ^k, by making inroads into Mesopotamia. But Libanus assures us, that the king of Persia wrote to Julian, offering to conclude a peace upon such terms as he should think just and reasonable; but that Julian, desirous to revenge the insults offered to the Romans by that haughty prince, tore the letter, and would hearken to no terms ^l. Socrates speaks of ambassadors sent by Sapor with advantageous proposals, but dismissed by Julian with this answer, that ere it was long, he hoped to treat with their master in person ^m.

Will hearken to no terms.

Several nations offered Julian their assistance, which he refused, saying, "The Romans are to assist their allies, but stand in no need of their assistance." He likewise rejected the offers of the Saracens, saying, when they complained of his stopping the pension which was paid to their nation by other emperors, that a warlike prince had steel, but no gold; which answer they resenting, joined the Persians, and continued faithful to them to the last. However, he wrote to Arsaces, king of Armenia, enjoining him to keep his troops in readiness to execute the orders he should soon transmit. Having made the necessary preparations for so important a war, as soon as the season was fit for action,

He dis-oblige the Saracens.

^f Ammian. lib. xxii. c. 224. ^g Zos. lib. iii. p. 713. Abulfarag. p. 90.

^h Theodor. lib. iii. cap. 16. Greg. Naz. Orat. p. 114. Philostorg. lib. vii. cap. 15. Liban. p. 252. ⁱ Amm. lib. xxiii. p. 245.

^k Theodor. lib. iii. cap. 16. p. 654. ^l Liban. Orat. x. p. 243—245. ^m Socrat. lib. iii. p. 192.

*He sets out
from Antioch.*

he dispatched orders to his troops to pass the Euphrates, with a design to enter the enemy's country before they had the least notice of his march, placing guards for that purpose on all the roads^a. Before he left Antioch he appointed Alexander, a cruel and passionate man, governor of that city, saying, "The citizens deserve no better." He marched from Antioch on the fifth of March, and reached Litarba the same day, a village in the territory of Chalcis, about fifteen leagues from Antioch. The magistrates of that great city, who had attended him, wishing him a happy journey, and a triumphant return, he told them, in great heat, that he would never visit them again, being resolved to winter at Tarsus^o. From Litarba Julian proceeded to Beroëa, where he halted a day, and pronounced a speech before the council of the place, exhorting them to adore the gods of their ancestors. He writes himself, that they all heard him with attention, and commended him, but few followed his adviceⁿ (M). He was better pleased

^a Julian. Ep. xxvii. p. 160.
Julian. p. 156. Ammian. p. 239.
iii. cap. 17. p. 190.

^o Evagr. lib. vi. cap. 11. p. 452.
ⁿ Lib. Vit. p. 44. Socrat. lib.

(M) At the head of the council was a zealous Christian, who had not only disinherited, but turned out of doors, his son, for renouncing the Christian religion. As Julian approached Beroëa, the son, accosting him, acquainted him with the treatment he had received from his father, and the motive of his indignation. The emperor, pitying his condition, bid him take courage, and be under no concern: "For I will take upon me (added he) to appease your father, and reinstate you in his favour." Mindful of his promise, the same day he invited the chief citizens of Beroëa, and, among the rest, both the father and son, to sup with him. The two latter he placed by him; and in the midst of the banquet, turning to the father, "I do not think it rea-

sonable (said he) to use any violence in point of religion. Allow your son to profess a religion different from your's, as I allow you to profess one different from mine, though I might easily oblige you to renounce it." "What! (replied the father) are you speaking in favour of an impious wretch abhorred by heaven, who has preferred falsehood to truth, and renounced the worship of the true God, to fall down before idols?" "Injuries and invectives (replied Julian, interrupting him) are foreign to our purpose; and therefore I beg you would forbear them." Then turning to the son, "It is incumbent upon me (said he) to take care of you, since your father is deaf to my prayers and intreaties in your behalf (1).

(1) Theod. lib. iii. cap. 17. p. 655, 656.

with the inhabitants of Batnæ, the next city he visited; for they had, before his arrival, restored the public worship of the gods. There he offered sacrifices, and having immolated a great number of victims, he pursued the next day his journey to Hierapolis, the capital city of the province of Euphratesiana, which he reached on the ninth of March. He was met at a great distance by crowds of people; but, as he entered the city, fifty soldiers were killed, and a great many more hurt, by the fall of a porch ^q. At Hierapolis he resided in the house of a man for whom he had a particular esteem and veneration, because he was the son-in-law of Sopater, the disciple of Iamblichus, and because neither Constantius nor Gallus, who had both lodged in his house, had ever been able to prevail upon him to renounce the worship of his idols. He left Hierapolis on the thirteenth of March, and having passed the Euphrates on a bridge of boats with his army, he marched to Batnæ, a small city of Oschoene, about ten leagues from Hierapolis, different from the city of the same name in Syria ^r. From Batnæ he proceeded to Charrhæ, where, in the famous temple of the Moon, he performed some private ceremonies. While he was at Charrhæ, being informed that a party of the enemy's horse had broken into the Roman territories, he resolved to leave an army in Mesopotamia to guard the frontiers of the empire on that side, while he advanced on the other into the heart of the Persian dominions ^s. This army consisted, according to some ^t, of twenty thousand, according to others, of thirty thousand, chosen troops; and was commanded by Procopius and Sebastian, a famous Manichean, who had been governor of Egypt, and had persecuted, with the utmost cruelty, the orthodox Christians. These two were to join, if possible, Arsaces king of Armenia, to lay waste the fruitful plains of Media, and join the emperor in Assyria.

The route of Julian's army.

He sacrifices to the moon at Charræ.

There were two roads leading from Charrhæ to Persia, the one to the left by Nisibis, and through the province of Adiabene; the other to the right, through Assyria, along the banks of the Euphrates. On both these roads Julian had caused magazines to be erected, but chose the latter. After having from an eminence viewed his army, amounting to sixty-three thousand men, he set out on the twenty-fifth of March for Davanna, or Dabana, in Mesopotamia, and arrived next day at Callinifus or Callinicum, where he stopped the twenty-seventh to celebrate the feast of the mo-

^q Julian. Ep. xxvii. p. 159. Liban. Orat. xii. p. 311.
^r Ammian. lib. xxiii. p. 239, 240.
^s Idem. *ibid.*
^t Zof. lib. iii. p. 714. Soz. lib. vi. p. 634.

*The order
of his
march.*

ther of the gods. The day following he proceeded on his march, and encamped that night in the fields near the Euphrates, where he found his fleet, consisting of seven hundred gallies, and four hundred ships of burden, commanded by count Lucilianus, and the tribune Constantianus. From Callicinium he proceeded to Cercusium, called also Circesium, situated at the conflux of the Abora and the Euphrates, one of the strongest places in Mesopotamia, having been fortified by Dioclesian, to prevent the sudden irruptions of the Persians, who, in his reign, had even surprised Antioch. At this place Julian passed the Abora with his whole army, and then ordered the bridge to be broken down, that his soldiers might not be tempted to desert. From Cercusium he advanced to Zaitha, where the tomb of the emperor Gordian was still visible. On the seventh of April a soldier and two horses were struck dead by lightning; and a lion of an extraordinary size, presenting himself to the army, was dispatched by the soldiers with a shower of darts. These omens occasioned great disputes between the philosophers and the aruspices, the latter interpreting them as inauspicious, and advising the emperor not to proceed on his intended expedition, and the former refuting their arguments with others more agreeable to Julian's temper *.

*He enters
the Persian
dominions.*

The emperor, after having passed the Abora, which parted the Roman and Persian dominions, encouraged his men with an animating speech to revenge the many injuries and insults, which of late years had been offered by the haughty enemy to the Roman emperors. When he had concluded his speech, he ordered large sums to be distributed among them, amounting to a hundred and thirty pieces of silver a man, says Ammianus. He then proceeded on his march with the greatest order and precaution imaginable. Nevitta led the right wing along the Euphrates; Arintheus and Hormisdas conducted the left, with some troops of horse; Julian himself commanded in the center; and the rear was brought up by Dagalaiphus, Victor, and Secundinus: a body of fifteen hundred horse was appointed to scour the country for intelligence, and to prevent any surprize. To strike the greater terror into the enemy, he ordered his ranks to be extended; by which means the army took up about ten miles, and appeared at a distance far more numerous than it really was *. Having passed the Abora he entered Assyria, says Ammianus; but, accord-

* Ammian. p. 244—246.

* Zos. p. 715. Liban. Orat. xii.

p. 312.

ing to Libanius, he crossed vast deserts before he reached that province, which he found very populous, and abounding with all the necessaries of life; but he laid it waste to a great extent, setting fire to the magazines, and destroying the provisions which he could not carry off. By these means he put it out of his power to take the same route on his return. Six or seven days after he had passed the Abora, he arrived at a fort called Annathan, which capitulated upon the first summons; whereupon Julian preferred the officer who commanded there, named Pusius, to the rank of a tribune. He ever after served the Romans with great fidelity, and was finally created duke of Egypt.

He lays waste Assyria.

Julian burnt all the places he found abandoned by the inhabitants, but left several fortresses behind him, without attempting to reduce them, upon their promising to submit when he should have subdued the rest of the country. After the army had repassed the Euphrates, at Baraxmalcha, Hormisda would have fallen into an ambuscade contrived by the enemy, had he not been fortunately prevented by a canal, which he could not pass, from advancing to a place where a body of Persians lay concealed, under the conduct of Surena. After this escape Julian passed, with great difficulty, an arm of the Euphrates, which was swelled to an unusual height by the melting of the snow; and besieged Bersabora, or Pyrisabora, next to Ctesiphon, the strongest place in Assyria, fortified with a double wall and a citadel, and defended by a numerous garrison. But Julian, surmounting all difficulties, reduced it in two days, in spite of the most vigorous resistance both from the garrison and the inhabitants, who fought like men in despair. He found in the place a great quantity of provisions, and distributed among his soldiers, who began to mutiny, a hundred pieces of silver a man, having with difficulty prevailed upon them to be satisfied with that sum. Having thus pacified the army, and set fire to the town, he pursued his march, and entered a country which the enemy, foreseeing he would pass that way, had laid under water; but the soldiers, animated by the example of their leader, waded through it with great resolution, and, arriving at Maiozamalcha, a place of great strength, which refused to submit, they drew a double line round it, battering the walls night and day without intermission; but the besieged obstinately resisted, till the Romans, by means of a mine, forced the city, while the Persians were busied in defending the walls. Julian, incensed against the governor for not sur-

He reduces several towns and fortresses.

* Ammian. lib. xxiv. p. 265.

† Zos. p. 715.

rendering the place at the stipulated time, and for calling Hormisdas a traitor, ordered him to be burnt alive, and gave up the city to be plundered by the soldiers.

He advances to Ctesiphon.

As the army was now within seven miles of Ctesiphon, and Victor, who had surveyed all the roads, assuring them they had nothing to apprehend, they advanced to a city, which had been formerly ruined, says Ammianus, by a Roman emperor, meaning, according to some, Seleucia, ruined by Lucius Verus, and, according to others, Sabata, about three miles from Ctesiphon, the great metropolis of the Persian empire^a. From this place they advanced to a fort, which was taken by assault, after a short but vigorous resistance, Julian himself having narrowly escaped being killed by a shower of arrows discharged against him as he was viewing the walls. Having razed the fort, he allowed his army some time to refresh themselves; and then, causing the canal to be cleansed, which had been formerly dug by Trajan between the Euphrates and the Tigris, he conveyed by that channel his fleet from the former to the latter river. Then he conducted his army to Coche, a place of considerable strength, standing on the Tigris, opposite Ctesiphon; but we are not told that he attacked it. All we know is, that he passed the river with no less rashness than courage, in spite of the utmost efforts of the enemy encamped on the opposite bank, whom he forced to retire, and shelter themselves within the walls of Ctesiphon. Some of the Romans pursued them to the gates of the city, which they would have entered with the enemy, had not Victor prudently restrained them. The Persians lost on this occasion, according to some, two thousand five hundred, according to others, six thousand men, and the Romans but seventy or seventy-five. Only part of the Roman army passed the Tigris that day, and made themselves masters of the Persian camp. The rest followed the next, and the emperor, with his guards, three days after^a. Julian continued some days encamped before Ctesiphon; but not daring to attack it, as it was very strong, plentifully supplied with provisions, and defended by a very numerous garrison, he contented himself with sending Arintheus to ravage the neighbouring country^b.

Puts the Persians to flight, and passes the Tigris.

In the mean time the king of Persia was assembling, on the most distant confines of his kingdom, a formidable army, to fall upon Julian in his retreat. However, he sent deputies to propose terms of accommodation, being de-

^a Ammian. p. 271. Zof. p. 721.
ammian. p. 21.

^a Liban. p. 319.

^b Am-

sirous to put a period to so destructive a war. These applied to Hormisdas, as their countryman, and their king's brother, who immediately flew to the emperor with the agreeable tidings; but Julian, instead of accepting the proposals, ordered Hormisdas to dismiss the ambassadors privately, and give out, that they were only some of his old friends come to visit him; for he apprehended, that both the soldiers and officers would have disapproved of his pursuing so dangerous and tedious a war, when peace might have been concluded upon honourable and advantageous terms. The proposals being rejected, Julian, contrary to the advice of his officers, resolved to advance farther into Persia; but the army had no sooner began their march, than, on mature deliberation, he thought it more advisable to return, not by the way he came, the country on that side being laid waste, but to take his route along the banks of the Tigris, without even attempting to reduce Ctesiphon, though he had lain several days before it.

He rejects proposals of peace.

He turns back, without making any attempt upon Ctesiphon.

He marched some time along the Tigris, which was on his left, being conducted by guides well acquainted with the country; but who in the end betrayed him: for, as they were natives of Persia, they persuaded him to quit the river, and take a quite different route, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Hormisdas, and all the officers of the army; who, considering the guides as persons sent by the enemy on purpose to deceive, used every effort to divert Julian from following their advice; but he, reposing an entire confidence in them, resolved not only to leave the Tigris, but to burn his fleet, lest the enemy should become masters of it. This resolution alarmed the whole army, but was nevertheless put immediately in execution, only twelve small vessels being reserved, which were to be conveyed over land in waggons, to make bridges, if there should be occasion. When the fleet was first set on fire, the army began to mutiny, and exclaim with one voice, "That the emperor was betrayed; that the pretended guides were real traitors, sent by the enemy on purpose to lead them to destruction." Julian, to appease the soldiery, ordered the guides to be put to the rack, when they owned their treachery, confessing, that, in advising him to burn the fleet, they had no other design but to ruin him and the army. In consequence of this confession, every means was tried to extinguish the fire, but the flames could not be overcome; for the whole fleet, except the above mentioned twelve vessels, was reduced to ashes. Julian

Deceived by treacherous guides, he burns his fleet.

* Ammian. lib. xxiv. p. 281. Liban. p. 301. Zonar. p. 23.

perſued his march through a country, ſays Ammianus, very fruitful in itſelf, but ravaged and laid deſolate by the enemy; inſomuch that the Romans were reduced to the laſt extremity, wanting proviſions, and at the ſame time haraſſed without intermiſſion by ſtrong parties, who attacked them both in front and rear.

*Is reduced
to great
ſtraits.*

Julian, not knowing what route to take in a ſtrange country, and finding his army diſpirited, ſummoned a council of all the chief officers of the army, when, after many conſultations, they reſolved to march towards Corduene, which lay ſouth of Armenia, and belonged to the Romans. Purſuant to this reſolution, they moved forward on the ſixteenth of June; but had not marched far, when they diſcovered at ſome diſtance a very numerous body advancing againſt them. This was the Perſian army, commanded by the king in perſon, attended by two of his ſons, and all the nobility of the kingdom. The Romans returned to their camp, where they were, in a manner, beſieged the next day by the troops of the enemy. Several ſkirmiſhes happened on that and the ten following days, in which the Perſians were conſtantly repulſed. In a ſharp encounter on the twenty-second of June, almoſt the whole Perſian army engaged; but were, after a very vigorous reſiſtance, put to the rout with great ſlaughter. The Romans remained maſters of the field; but found little ſatiſfaction in a victory which could not relieve their wants in a country where no proviſions were to be had, the corn, graſs, and every thing elſe, being burnt by the enemy. Julian himſelf laboured under the greateſt perplexity and uneaſineſs, finding the Perſians were reſolved to oppoſe his march, and attempt all means to diſtreſs him, without coming to a general engagement. At length, the night preceding the twenty-fixth of June, as he aroſe, according to cuſtom, about midnight, and was buſied in his tent in reading or writing, he is ſaid to have beheld ſuddenly before him, with a countenance full of ſorrow, the ſpectre repreſenting the genius of the empire, which had appeared to him upon his being declared emperor. He was in ſome degree terrified at this unexpected ſight, and at other omens which happened at the ſame time, and were looked upon by the aroſpices as portending ſome great miſfortune, if he ſhould undertake any thing that day. But Julian, deſpiſing the predictions of his ſoothſayers, as ſoon as it was light, ordered his army to decamp, being probably no longer able to ſubſiſt in the ſame place.

*Puts the
Perſians to
flight; but
diſtreſſed
for provi-
ſions.*

On his march he was attacked on all ſides by the enemy, who, after they had diſcharged their arrows, which never failed

failed doing great execution, retired, without giving him an opportunity of revenging the death of those who fell. In one of these sudden onsets, the emperor flying, without his armour, to oppose the enemy, was mortally wounded by a dart, which, through his arm and side, penetrated to his liver. Those who were about him concluding, from his sinking upon the neck of his horse, that he was wounded, conveyed him speedily upon a large shield to his tent, where Oribasus, a celebrated physician, and his intimate friend, attempted in vain to save him, applying the most powerful remedies his art could suggest. However, as the pain began to abate, he called for his arms and horse, being desirous to animate his men with his presence; but his strength not answering his courage, being greatly weakened by the loss of blood, he was forced to continue in his tent, while his men, filled with rage, and breathing revenge, made a dreadful havock of the enemy, till night interrupted the slaughter. Fifty Persian lords of great distinction were killed, and an incredible number of other officers and common soldiers. The Romans lost Anatolius, who was *magister officiorum*, and generally esteemed an officer of great skill and experience. The prefect Sallust was with difficulty rescued by his apparitors; but Phosphorius, his vicar, was slain, with many others in the right wing, where the emperor commanded.

*harassed
on his
march by
the Persian
army, and
mortally
wounded.*

While the battle continued, Julian lay languishing in his tent; and, being apprised that his end approached, he addressed those about him, who seemed greatly dejected and concerned, in the following terms: "I am now, my fellow-soldiers, called upon to pay the last debt of nature, which I do with a willing and chearful mind, being taught by philosophy, that the state of the soul is infinitely more happy than that of the body. Upon this consideration, I embrace death as the greatest blessing: it exempts me from the many dangers to which my rank and reputation were daily exposed. I have lived, first in a private, and afterwards in an exalted state; and have so behaved in both, as not to be conscious to myself of any action that gives me at present the least remorse. I have studied to govern with moderation, and, being well apprised, that the end of all government is the happiness of the people, I have, both in peace and war, endeavoured, as far as in me lay, to render them happy. I have great reason to thank Divine Providence, for not having suffered me to fall by the hand of conspirators; to languish under a long and troublesome disease; or to die like a criminal, as many innocent and deserving persons have done. I submit with joy to the eternal and

*His speech
before his
death.*

immutable decrees of the gods, though in the bloom of my age, being sensible, that he who is fond of life when he ought to die, is as great a coward as he who desires to die when he ought to live. As for my successor, I decline naming any, lest, through ignorance, I should omit a worthy person, or, by naming one equal to so great a trust, expose him to those dangers, which would inevitably attend his promotion, if it were not universally approved of. I therefore leave the choice to the commonwealth, and, like a dutiful son, wish her a worthy governor to succeed me."

Having thus spoken, he disposed of his private estate, dividing it amongst his relations and friends; and not seeing Anatolius, enquired after him. Sallust the prefect told him he was happy, meaning he was dead, according to the expression then in use; a circumstance which seemed greatly to affect him: but turning immediately to the philosophers Maximus and Priscus, he discoursed with them concerning the nature of the soul; then calling for a glass of cold water, he drank it, and having expressed his desire of being interred at Tarsus in Cilicia, he expired on the twenty-sixth of June, a little before midnight. He died in the thirty-second year of his age, after having reigned seven years, and six months, from the time he had been created Cæsar, about three years since he had taken the title of Augustus, and only twenty months, not quite complete, since, by the death of Constantius, he became peaceable possessor of the whole empire.

Yr. of Fl.
2813.
A. D. 363.
U. C. 1161.

Julian dies.

His character.

Julian was, without all doubt, endowed with extraordinary parts, a great lover of learned men, and himself well versed in most branches of literature ^d. Ammianus greatly extols his moderation, and the mildness of his temper, no less opposite to that of his brother Gallus, than the temper of Titus was to that of Domitian ^e. He could never endure the title of dominus, or *lord*, though common to all princes since the time of Dioclesian; and had even some thoughts of quitting the diadem, which, for many years, had been considered as one of the ensigns of the sovereign power ^f. He made it his chief study to ease the people, lessening the taxes throughout the empire, and exacting no more than was absolutely necessary for the defence and support of the state. All the cities used, pursuant to an ancient custom, to present the new prince with crowns of gold, some of which weighed a thousand, and some two thousand ounces, and upwards; but Julian enacted a law,

His good qualities.

^d Vict. Epit. p. 545.
p. 221.

^e Ammian. lib. xvi. p. 63. & lib. xxii.
^f Liban. Orat. xii. p. 305.

forbidding any city, however rich or populous, to offer a crown weighing above seventy ounces. He would not suffer his officers or ministers to receive presents from the people, upon any consideration whatever; nor the soldiers to injure the subjects, or allies of the empire, through whose countries they marched. Libanius speaks much of the extraordinary care he took in regulating the public carriages, in chusing worthy magistrates, in clearing the highways of robbers, and in relieving several cities, reduced by heavy taxes to a most miserable condition. His bed, says Mamerlinus, was as pure and chaste as that of a Vestal virgin ^g; and Ammianus declares, that he was an entire stranger to all unlawful pleasures, and a declared enemy to lewdness and debauchery. He was generous, adds the same author, valiant, sincere in his friendship, and kind to all, especially to such as were in distress, and most wanted his assistance. Prudentius speaks of him as a prince who deserved well of the empire, both as a general and a lawgiver ^h.

He was not, however, even in the opinion of his admirers, without some faults. Ammianus owns him to have been of a fickle and changeable temper, ambitious beyond measure of popular applause, elated with the least success, and talkative to such a degree, that his tongue never ceased ⁱ. The same writer accuses him of cruelty and ingratitude, in condemning Ursula, to whom he owed the greatest obligations; and Libanius, though highly prejudiced in his favour, cannot help allowing him to have been superstitious to excess, inconsiderate on many occasions, and too much attached to his own sentiments ^k. Ammianus condemns the censorious temper, which he betrayed in a manner unworthy of a philosopher, and below the dignity of a prince, in his Mispogon, and his Cæsars, not sparing even the excellent emperor M. Aurelius. The pagan writers themselves, namely Eutropius ^l, Themistius ^m, and Ammianus Marcellinus, own, that his conduct towards the Christians was repugnant to the laws of humanity, and deserved to be buried in oblivion; which is more than a Christian writer of our days seems willing to allow (N).

The

^g Panegy. xi. p. 230.

^h Prud. Apol. cap. 4. p. 163.

ⁱ Ammian. lib. xxii. p. 206.

^k Liban. Orat. xii. p. 304.

^l Eutrop. p. 589.

^m Themist. Orat. v. p. 69.

(N) As for the Christian writers of ancient times, they represent Julian as inclined to, and guilty of, the most enormous crimes; but craftily disguising them with a false shew of the opposite virtues. His true character is not to be learned either from the extravagant panegyrics of the Pagans,

Greatly lamented by the Pagans.

The news of his death were received with inexpressible joy by the Christians, and with the deepest concern by the Pagans. The messenger who brought it to Charrhæ, was either stoned to death by the populaceⁿ, or with difficulty escaped the fury of the enraged multitude^o. Several cities placed the image of the deceased prince amongst those of their gods, and paid it the same honours. Libanius, transported with grief when he first heard of his decease, determined to lay violent hands on himself, not choosing to outlive him; but, upon reflexion, altered his resolution, and chose to live, that he might have the satisfaction, as he himself tells us, of composing his funeral oration (O). Of the several writers who flourished under Julian, the reader will find a succinct account in the note (P).

C H A P.

ⁿ Zof. lib. iii. p. 733.

^o Liban. Orat. xii. p. 330.

gans, or from the accounts of the Christian writers; but from a candid detail of his administration, which was generally polite and upright. He undoubtedly possessed great talents and many princely virtues, which however were strongly allayed with caprice, obstinacy, self-conceit and superstition.

(O) He wrote two discourses on this occasion, the one to express his own grief (1), the other to proclaim the praises of Julian (2). From the latter, which contains the whole history of Julian's life, and from the two orations written much about the same time, and on the same subject, by Gregory Nazianzen, an impartial reader will conclude, that both writers are strangely biased and prejudiced, the one in his favour, the other against him. Julian not only renounced the Christian religion, whence he was surnamed the Apostate, but betrayed a mortal hatred to those

who professed it, traducing them with the name of Galileans, as he impiously styled our Saviour the Galilean, debarring them from all honours and employments, both civil and military, and prohibiting them either to teach, or learn, the sciences. But we refer our readers to the ecclesiastic writers for a more particular account of the persecution he raised against the church, and of his wild attempt to restore Judaism, and rebuild the temple of Jerusalem; which is said, by Ammianus and others to have been miraculously defeated by fire issuing out of the earth, and destroying both the work and the workmen.

(P) Ammianus Marcellinus, in his history of the emperors, gives us a more particular account of Julian's reign, than any other writer; and Eunapius, a most zealous stickler for the ancient religion of the Romans, often mentions, and highly commends Julian, in his history of the sophists.

(1) Liban. Orat. xi.

(2) Idem. Orat. xii.

Callistus

C H A P. LXI.

*The History of the Eastern and Western Empire,
from the Death of Julian to the Death of
Valens.*

THE death of Julian was no sooner known than the chief officers of the army assembled, and unanimously chose Jovian for his successor^p, who was accordingly saluted with the title of Jovianus Augustus, the day after Julian's death; that is,

*Jovian
chosen em-
peror.*

p Ammian. lib. xxv. p. 226.

Callistus, one of Julian's officers, wrote in verse, according to Socrates (3), the history of that prince; but his work has not reached our times. Julian himself deserves to be ranked among the writers of his life; for he composed the history of his wars in Gaul (4), which has been long since lost; and gives us an account of the most remarkable passages of his life in his Misopogon, in his letter to the Athenians, and in the writings which he published in the year 362, the one upon Cybele, the other against a Cynic philosopher (5). He wrote another discourse against the Cynics, particularly against Heraclius or Heraclitus (6). But the most famous of all Julian's works is that intitled the Cæsars; which, in reality, is a satire on all the emperors from Julius Cæsar to Constantine and his children. Suidas ascribes two other works to him, the one on the Three Figures, which he does not explain, and the other on the

Origin of Evils; but both these works, as well as that which he wrote against the Christians, have been long since lost. He wrote many letters, of which sixty-four have reached our times, not counting those which, by reason of their length, have been ranked among his discourses. Libanius, who pretends to have brought the epistolary style to its greatest perfection, shares that glory with Julian, the elegance of whose letters he greatly commends and admires (7). Under Julian flourished Proereses, a Christian sophist, much esteemed for his learning and eloquence. Orbasus, a famous physician, was a native of Pergamus in Asia, according to Eunapius (8), of Sardis, according to Philostorgius (9) and Suidas (1). He studied physic under Zeno of Cyprus, to whom Julian wrote a letter, inviting him to Alexandria, whence George, the famous Arian bishop, had caused him to be banished (2).

When Julian was created Cæ-

(3) Socrat. lib. iii. cap. 21. p. 195. (4) Liban. Orat. v. p. 178.
(5) Julian. Orat. vii. p. 382. Suid. p. 1248. (6) Julian.
ibid. p. 716—718. (7) Liban. Orat. v. p. 184. (8) Eu-
nap. cap. 5. p. 76. & cap. 19. p. 139. (9) Philof. lib. vii. cap. 15.
p. 205. (1) Suid. p. 329. (2) Julian, Ep. xlv. p. 198.

is, the twenty-seventh of June of this year 363. He was the only surviving child of Verronianus, a native of Singidunum

far, he took Oribasus with him into Gaul, and reposed such confidence in him, says Eunapius (2), as to make him privy to his greatest secrets, that is, to his idolatry; for Oribasus was himself a Pagan. Oribasus, at the request of Julian, abridged, first, the works of Galen, and afterwards those of all the most able physicians. He attended Julian into Persia, and did all that lay in his power to cure his wound, but without success. After the death of that prince, his patron and benefactor, he was stripped of all his wealth, and banished to the countries of the Barbarians (3), or abandoned, to use the expression of Eunapius, to the Barbarians, who were most remarkable for their cruelty (4). However, he was greatly respected by them, and honoured by their princes, on account of the art he professed. At length the Roman emperors recalled him, and restored his estate, and all his effects (5). He gave some ease to Chrysanthus in his last malady at Sardes; but could not cure him (6). He was still living, when Eunapius wrote the lives of the sophists, that is, about the year 400. Himeras, a celebrated sophist in Julian's time, was a native of Bithynia, and the son of Aminius, who taught rhetoric at

Prusa in the same province (7). Himeras and Proereses, of whom we have spoken above, were at the same time professors of eloquence at Athens, and rivals (8). In the history of Julian's reign, we have mentioned the philosopher Maximus, who first inclined that prince to idolatry, and the study of magic. He was a native, either of Smyrna, as we read in Eunapius (6); or of Ephesus, as Ammianus maintains (1); and brother to the philosopher Claudianus, who taught at Alexandria, and to the sophist Nymphidianus, professor of rhetoric at Smyrna, and afterwards secretary to Julian. Maximus must have been well versed in polite learning, since Julian submitted all his compositions to his judgment (2); and Eunapius has placed his life among those of the sophists, though he is commonly styled Maximus the Philosopher. Julian invited him to court about the beginning of the year 362, where he behaved as Eunapius himself owns (3), in a manner altogether unworthy of a philosopher. He returned to his native country, as appears from Julian's letters (4), for the recovery of his health; but came again to court, and, together with Priscus, attended Julian in his Parthian expedition (5). These two were, with-

(2) Eunap. cap. 29. p. 140.

(4) Idem. cap. 218. p. 557.

(6) Eunap. cap. 21. p. 160.

cap. 12. p. 129.

cap. 5. p. 67. & 16. p. 137.

(2) Julian. ep. xvi. p. 131.

(4) Julian. ep. xv. xvi. xxxviii. lib. xxv. p. 291.

(3) Phot. cap. 216, 217. p. 556,

p. 557.

(5) Idem. p. 560.

(7) Phot. cap. 165. p. 363. Eunap.

cap. 8. p. 119.

(8) Idem. cap. 8. p. 119.

(1) Ammian. lib. xxix. p. 350.

(3) Eunap. cap. 5. p. 77. 79.

(5) Eun. cap. 5. p. 81. Amm.

dunum in Pannonia, or rather in Mœsia ¹, who had lately resigned the eminent post of comes domesticorum, to lead a private

¹ Vict. Epit.

out all doubt, in the number of those obdurate and ignorant philosophers, who, according to Ammianus, had great influence at court, and urged the emperor to that wild enterprise, against the sentiments of the officers of the army. Hence, when intelligence of Julian's death were brought to Antioch, the people, in the transports of their joy, cried out, "Thus are the predictions of the false prophet Maximus fulfilled 6)." Eunapius writes, that Jovian continued to honour Maximus, and the other philosophers, who had followed Julian (8). Be that as it will, they were treated in a very different manner by Valentinian and Valens, who hated all the friends of Julian, and, above the rest, these two philosophers, accused, as they were addicted to the study of magic, of having brought upon the princes the maladies with which they were both seized about the beginning of April in 364 (8). Priscus, however, was acquitted; but the soldiery and populace were, with difficulty, restrained by Sallustius Secundus from tearing Maximus to pieces. Having escaped the rage of the multitude, he was condemned to pay a greater fine than he was

able to discharge, and kept a close prisoner till the end of the year 365 (9), when, by the mediation of Themistius, who recommended him to Valens, in a speech pronounced before that prince, and by the interest of Clearchus, a zealous Pagan, he was set at liberty, and not only forgiven the fine, but restored to his estate, and suffered to return to Constantinople, where he was very well received (1). But his happiness was short-lived; for he was accused, with several other philosophers, as a magician, in 371, found guilty of magical practices, and being sentenced to death, was beheaded at Ephesus the same year (2). Chrysanthus was a native of Sardes in Lydia, in which city his father was senator. He studied with Maximus under Edeus of Cappadocia, a Platonic philosopher and magician; and then returned to his native city, where he continued, notwithstanding the repeated and pressing solicitations of Julian and Maximus, inviting him to court. Julian created him pontiff of Lydia, in which employment he had the prudence not to oppress the Christians, and therefore was suffered by the Christian emperors to live unmolested (3). He lived to the age of eighty (4). Priscus

(6) Theodor. lib. iii. cap. 22. p. 659. p. 82.

(8) Zof. lib. iv. p. 734, 735.

Ammian. lib. xxvi. p. 315. Eunap. cap. 5. p. 83. Themist. Orat. vii. p. 100.

(1) Idem. p. 99, 100. Eun. p. 84—87. (2) Amm. lib. xxix. p. 390. Socrat. p. 39. Eunap. p. 87.

cap. 5. p. 69, 80. & cap. 12. p. 144—149.

(7) Eunap. cap. 5.

(9) Ibid. p. 374.

(3) Eunap.

(4) Idem. p. 151.

a private and retired life. He was esteemed one of the best commanders of his time, and the reputation which he had acquired in the army greatly contributed to the promotion of his son^s. The first public act of Jovian after his election, was to name his father for his colleague in the consulship against the ensuing year; for Verronianus was said to have been foretold in a dream, that his son should be one day raised to the empire, and he to the consulship; but he died before he had the honour of discharging that office, or the satisfaction of seeing his son emperor, though he had been informed of his promotion^t. Jovian, or Flavius Claudius Jovianus, as he is styled on an ancient coin, was born about the year 331, and married Carito, the daughter of Lucillianus, a commander of great reputation, often mentioned by Ammianus. By her he had, according to Philostorgius^u, a son named Verronianus, who was born about the time Jovian was created emperor, and a daughter, of whom we find no farther mention; indeed, Zonaras says, in express terms, that Verronianus was his only child^w.

His excellent qualities;

As Jovian was a zealous Christian, we shall not copy his character from the Christian writers, who may be suspected of partiality, but from the Pagans, who cannot be thought to have been biased in his favour. Among these Eutropius commends his affable, mild, and generous temper; and adds, that no person could, with justice, accuse him of neglect or imprudence in the discharge of his duty^x. Ammianus Marcellinus^y, and Victor the Younger^z, de-

^s Themist. Orat. v. p. 65.

^u Philostorg. lib. viii. cap. p. 12.
p. 589. ^y Ammian. p. 296.

^t Socrat. lib. iii. cap. 26. p. 205.

^w Zon. p. 25.

^x Eutrop.

^z Vict. p. 79.

was born in the country of the Molossi, or Thesproti, in Epirus; and studied under Edesius, with Maximus and Chrysanthus. Afterwards he retired to Greece, whence he was invited by Julian to court, and complied with the request. He was perhaps more esteemed by that prince than Maximus himself. He attended the emperor to Antioch, and prevailed upon him to admit Libanius to his presence, and even to re-

ceive him in a friendly manner, though he was not a little prejudiced against him (5). He followed Julian into Persia, and was accused, with Maximus, of magical practices under Valens; but discharged, and suffered to return to Greece, where he lived to the age of ninety, and upwards (6); and was killed, with many others, by the Goths, who, in 395, ravaged Greece under the conduct of the famous Alaric (7).

(5) Eunap. cap. 5. p. 69. Lib. Vit. p. 41.

(6) Ammian

lib. xxv. p. 291.

(7) Suid. p. 1155. Socrat. lib. iii. cap. 1.

Zos. lib. iv. p. 735. Phot. cap. 165.

scribe him as well-shaped in his person, of a majestic air, of a gay and agreeable aspect, of an even, affable, and courteous temper, naturally inclined to mercy, and a great encourager of learning, being himself pretty well acquainted with the sciences. From the few officers he preferred during his short reign, we may judge how circumspect he would have been in the distribution of offices, had he lived longer. Themistius bestows still greater encomiums ^a; but we lay no great stress upon them, as coming from a panegyrist. On the other hand, Suidas ^b paints him in quite different colours, following Eunapius, who, by his implacable hatred to the Christian religion, was often led into gross mistakes. Ammianus does not forget to mention his vices, as well as his virtues, telling us, that he was naturally timorous, a great eater, and much addicted to wine and women. The same author observes, that Jovian had a great respect and veneration for the law of the Christians; for he had always made an open profession of the Christian religion, even in the reign of Julian, despising both his threats and promises ^c. His promotion was disagreeable to the Pagans, as appears from the manner in which Ammianus Marcellinus speaks of it.

*alleged
with some
bad ones.*

The army was in a strange country, far from home, with an enraged enemy round them, destitute of provisions, and consequently reduced to the necessity of perishing, either with hunger, or by the arms of the incensed Persians. Jovian, who was obliged to struggle with two such formidable enemies, did not so much dread the latter as the former: he repulsed the Persians with great slaughter, as often as they ventured to attack him, as Ammianus tells us in express terms ^d; a testimony which is sufficient to refute what Libanius writes of the great advantages gained over Jovian by the Persians ^e. But the valour and experience of Jovian was not proof against the famine which raged in his camp, and would not have left one man alive in the whole army, had not heaven unexpectedly declared in his favour, to use the expression of Ammianus, by inclining the enemy to offer conditions of peace at so critical a conjuncture. That writer is of opinion, that the Persians, through mere pity and compassion, offered to treat; and Libanius cannot conceive what could induce them to think of a peace, when they had reason to promise themselves the greatest advantages from the continuation of the war. The negotiations

*The army
reduced
to great
straits.*

^a Themist. Orat. v. p. 63.
lib. iv. cap. i. p. 660.
Orat. xii. p. 324.

^b Suid. p. 1244.
^d Amm. lib. xxv. p. 297, 298.

^c Theodor.
^e Lib.

lasted four days, a delay which proved more insupportable to the Romans, says Ammianus, than the greatest torments, occasioned by the famine which raged in the camp. Besides the dreadful extremity to which the army was reduced, Jovian was apprehensive, and not without reason, of the designs of Procopius, Julian's kinsman ^f. No wonder, therefore, that he submitted to a peace upon terms dishonourable, we own, in themselves, but absolutely necessary to extricate himself, and so many brave men, from the difficulties into which they had been drawn by the temerity and imprudence of Julian. A peace was agreed on for twenty-nine years, upon Jovian's promising to abandon and yield up to the Persians the five provinces on the Tigris, which had been wrested from them in the reign of Dioclesian, with several castles, and the cities of Nisibis and Singara. To this article was added another, in itself no less shameful; which was, not to afford any assistance to Arfaces, king of Armenia, against the Persians, though Arfaces was a faithful friend and ally of the empire. Jovian, however, with difficulty, prevailed upon the king of Persia to suffer the inhabitants of Nisibis and Singara to withdraw with their effects into the Roman territories ^g. The loss of Nisibis, which was the bulwark of the empire against the Persians, chiefly affected the Romans; and Ammianus labours to exaggerate that loss, in order to raise the public odium against Jovian, to whom he is favourable on no occasion.

Jovian, after the conclusion of the treaty, pursued his retreat; and having passed the Tigris, and a long tract of desert, without being molested by the enemy, he arrived at Ur, a Persian fortress between the Tigris and the city of Nisibis, where he was relieved by Cassianus, governor of Mesopotamia, and Mauritius, a tribune, with such provisions as the army commanded by Procopius and Sebastian could spare; for he had sent the two former officers to acquaint the latter with the extremity to which he was reduced ^h. From Ur he dispatched messengers into Illyricum and Gaul, with the news of Julian's death, and his own promotion. At the same time he appointed Lucilianus, his father-in-law, commander in chief of the horse and foot in Illyricum and Italy, and Malaricus general of the troops in Gaul, in the room of Jovinus. Then continuing his march, he entered the Roman territories at a place call-

^f Ammian. lib. xxiii. p. 240.

^g Zof. p. 730. Buf. ibid.

Greg. Naz. Orat. iv. p. 118.

^h Ammian. lib. xxv. p. 301. & seq. Zof. lib. iii. p. 730.

ed Thisalphata, and was met by Procopius and Sebastian; who commanded the army which Julian had left in Mesopotamia. The emperor received them in a very obliging manner, and soon after sent Procopius, who was Julian's kinsman, to attend the corpse of that prince to Tarsus, in the suburbs of which city he was buried, pursuant to the orders he had given before he expired. When the funeral ceremonies were over, Procopius privately withdrew from Tarsus; and though diligent search was made after him in all parts of the empire, he never could be discovered, till he assumed the purple in 365. From Thisalphata the emperor advanced to Nisibis; but encamped without the walls, though greatly importuned by the inhabitants to lodge in the palace. He was ashamed, says Ammianus, to enter a city which he had stipulated to deliver up to the enemy. Next day Bineses, a Persian lord of great distinction, who attended Jovian in the quality of a hostage, demanded the city to be delivered up, pursuant to the articles of the treaty.

Jovian pursues his march to the Roman dominions.

The inhabitants strenuously endeavoured to divert the emperor from complying with his demand; they earnestly intreated him to allow them to defend the place of their nativity, without putting the public to the least charge, telling the emperor, that they were inured to the fatigues of a siege, and knew how to check the Persian pride. But Jovian insisting upon complying with the treaty, and the obligation of his oath, Bineses was, by his order, admitted into the city, of which he took possession in his master's name, by setting up the Persian standard. At the same time the inhabitants were commanded to quit their native city, and retire with their effects. This order occasioned the most melancholy sight, says Ammianus, the sun ever beheldⁱ. Chrysostom likewise describes their departure in a very affecting manner^k. But the emperor, alleging the sanctity of his oath, was deaf to their cries, intreaties, and lamentations; so that the city was evacuated in three days, every one cursing, as they departed, a peace which had proved more fatal to them than the most bloody wars. All the roads were crowded with these forlorn exiles, loaded with what they could carry; but greatly grieved for the loss of many valuable things, which, for want of convenient carriages, they had been obliged to abandon. Most of them retired to Amida, and were placed by the emperor in the suburbs of that city, which, by this accession, repaired all the losses it had sustained in the time of Constan-

Nisibis delivered up to the Persians.

ⁱ Ammian. p. 304.

^k Chryl. in Gent. tom. i. p. 696.

tius, and, by degrees, became the metropolis of what remained to the Romans in Mesopotamia¹. He then continued his march to Antioch, passing through Edeffa, where he was on the twenty-seventh of September, as appears from the date of one of his laws^m. Zosimus writes, that he was no-where received with the demonstrations of joy usual on such occasions.

*Jovian re-
vokes all
the laws
against the
Christians.*

During his short residence at Antioch, he revoked all the laws enacted by Julian against the Christians, and restored the Christian religion to its former lustreⁿ. He wrote to all the governors of provinces, strictly injoining them to observe, that they were not disturbed in their usual assemblies. He restored to the churches, to the ecclesiastics, to the virgins and widows, all the privileges, immunities, and exemptions, which had been granted by Constantine and his children, but lately revoked by Julian^o. He likewise ordered the yearly allowance of corn, which had been given by Constantine to the churches, for the support of the poor, to be continued; but as the famine still raged, only the third part of Constantine's donation could be spared. Jovian promised the other two parts as soon as the famine abated; but he dying in the mean time, his successors did not make good his promise; whence the churches henceforth received only one third of what Constantine had allotted^p. Jovian likewise restored the labarum, or the standard with the cross; and obliged Magnus, a comes or count, to rebuild at his own expence the church of Berytus, which, by his order, had been burnt: the emperor had commanded his head to be cut off, but was with difficulty prevailed upon by his friends to pardon him. As in Julian's time several sacred virgins had married, some by choice, others by constraint, Jovian, by a law addressed to the prefect Sallustius Secundus, declares those guilty of death, who shall mention marriage to the sacred virgins, or utter a single word in their presence repugnant to the rules of modesty^q.

*He espouses
the cause of
the ortho-
dox Chris-
tians a-
gainst the
Arians.*

Jovian not only espoused the cause of the Christians against the Pagans, but that of the orthodox believers against the Arians; for, by the first law he published after he had entered the Roman dominions, he commanded the churches to be every-where restored to those who had inviolably adhered to the faith of the council of Nice, and recalled all the bishops who had been banished on that score, and Athanasius in particular, to whom he wrote

¹ Zof. p. 733. Chron. Alex. p. 696.

p. 67.

ⁿ Ruf. lib. xi. cap. 1. p. 177.

^m Cod. Theod. Chron.

^o Soz. lib. vi.

cap. 3. p. 640.

^p Theod. lib. i. cap. 10. p. 552. & lib. iv. p. 664.

^q Soz. p. 640.

with his own hand a very friendly letter¹, which has reached our times². Some time after he addressed a second letter desiring Athanasius to draw up and send him a rule of faith, by which he might regulate his belief in the great variety of opinions that prevailed then in the church. Athanasius readily complied with the emperor's request, and sent him a creed, or rule of faith, supposed to be that which still passes under his name, approved of and subscribed by all the bishops of Egypt³. Jovian soon after invited Athanasius to court, received him, upon his arrival at Antioch, with the greatest demonstrations of esteem; often conferred with him touching the articles of religion then in debate, and was thoroughly confirmed in the doctrine defined and established by the council of Nice⁴. After these conferences, Athanasius took his leave of the emperor, and returned to his diocese.

Jovian, after a short stay at Antioch, proceeded to Constantinople, though the winter was already far advanced, to prevent the disturbances, which he had reason to apprehend in the West. As he passed through Tarsus in Cilicia, he ordered some ornaments to be added to the tomb of Julian; on which account he is censured by some Christian writers⁵. From Tarsus he proceeded to Tyana in Cappadocia, where he was informed, that Malaricus, whom he had appointed general of the troops in Gaul, having declined that post, Lucillianus, the emperor's father-in-law, and general of the troops in Illyricum and Italy, had hastened into that country; that, taking upon him to examine the accounts of some officers, one of them, conscious of his frauds, had fled for protection to the Batavians who served in the Roman army; and by persuading them, that Julian was still alive, had so incensed them against Lucillianus as a traitor, that in a tumult they killed him and a tribune named Seniauchus, whom he had taken into Gaul. Valentinian, afterwards emperor, but then only tribune, and one of the attendants of Lucillianus, fortunately escaped the same fate. This tumult, which happened at Rheims, did not prevent the troops in Gaul, nor their general Jovinus, from declaring for Jovian, and proclaiming him emperor. They even sent deputies, to congratulate him upon his promotion, and acquaint him, that they were ready to obey his

He sets out for Constantinople.

A tumult in Gaul.

¹ Theodor. lib. iv. cap. 2. p. 661. Greg. Naz. p. 394. Socrat. p. 202.

² Athan. tom. ii. p. 33, 34.

³ Ruf. lib. xi. cap. 1.

p. 177. ⁴ Theodor. lib. iv. cap. 3. p. 661—664. Epiphani.

cap. 10. p. 726. Soz. lib. vi. cap. 5. p. 642.

⁵ Socrat. lib. iii.

cap. 26. p. 205. Baron. ad Ann. 364.

commands. The deputies met the emperor at Aspona in Galatia, who received them in a very kind manner, and continued Jovinus in the post of general, urging him not to suffer the death of Lucillianus to pass unrevenged.

Jovian enters upon his first consulship.

From Aspona, Jovian pursued his journey to Ancyra, the metropolis of Galatia, where he took upon him his first consulship. We have observed above, that he had chosen his father for his colleague; but he dying in the mean time, he nominated his own son, whom, though then only an infant, he distinguished with the title of nobilissimus, or most noble*. Jovian, hastening to Constantinople, left Ancyra, and continued his journey, though the cold was then so severe and intense, that some of his retinue died on the road. Upon his arrival at Dadastana, a town on the borders of Gallatia and Bithynia, he was met by Themistius, and other persons of distinction, sent by the senate of Constantinople to attend him. But before he left that place, he was found dead in his bed, on the sixteenth or seventeenth of February of the year 364, after he had lived thirty-three years, and reigned seven months and twenty days (Q). Jovian is greatly celebrated by all the ecclesiastic writers, among whom Theodoret says, that Heaven raised him to the sovereignty to reward, even in his life, his virtue; but that the world did not deserve to enjoy so great a blessing long†.

Yr. of Fl.

2814.

A. D. 364.

U. C. 1162.

He dies at Dadastana.

* Ammian. lib. xxv. p. 306, 307. Zof. p. 733 Zonar. p. 25.
† Theodor. lib. iv. cap. 4. p. 664, 665.

(Q) His sudden death gave occasion to various reports. Some ascribe it to the dampness of his chamber, which had been newly plaistered; others say, he was stifled with the vapours of charcoal placed in the room to dry it. Some write, that he died of a surfeit; others, that his death was owing to poisonous mushrooms. Socrates says, he was carried off by an obstruction; and Chrysostom, that he was either poisoned or murdered by his guards. Ammianus likewise believed, that he died a violent death; for he compares his end with that of

Scipio Æmilianus, who was strangled in his bed; and adds, that no inquiry was made after the death of either (1). But Jovian had not yet offended any man; nor does it appear, that he had any enemies, except perhaps Procopius, who took no advantage of his death, nor even shewed himself on that occasion. The body of the deceased emperor was carried to Constantinople, and there interred with the usual solemnity in the church of the Apostles, where his tomb was to be seen many years after (2).

(1) Ammian. p. 308. (2) Philoſt. lib. viii. p. 113. Zonar. p. 25.
Du Cange Urb. Constant. Descript. lib. iv. p. 110.

Jovian

Jovian being dead, the chief officers, both civil and military; assembled to choose a new emperor; when some proposed Equitius, tribune of the first company of the shield-men of the emperor's guard; and others Januarius, a kinsman of the deceased emperor, at that time commander of the troops in Illyricum: but the former was rejected on account of his morose and rustic temper, and the latter because he was at too great a distance. At length, after an inter-regnum of nine or ten days, Valentinian was, by universal consent, chosen emperor; which unanimity Ammianus ascribes to a particular inspiration from Heaven². The prefect Sallustius Secundus, Arintheus one of the generals of the army, Dagalaiphus general of the horse, and Datianus a patrician, who had been consul in 358, are said to have been the chief authors of his election³. The latter had been left by Jovian on account of his old age, and the severity of the winter, in Galatia; whence he wrote to the army, advising them to choose Valentinian, as a man properly qualified for that high station. This election was made at Nice, the metropolis of Bithynia, whither the army, after the death of Jovian, had removed from Dadastana⁴.

Valentinian is chosen emperor.

Valentinian was the son of Gratianus, a native of Cibale in Pannonia, of obscure origin: but Gratianus himself being admitted into the army on account of his extraordinary strength, and great address at all manner of exercises, raised himself to the dignity of count of Africa; of which honourable employment he was afterwards deprived, upon a suspicion of having imbezzled the public money. However, he was many years after appointed commander of the troops in Britain; in which office he acquitted himself with great reputation. On his return, he withdrew to his estate in the country, leading a retired life, till it was confiscated by Constantius, incensed against him for having entertained Magnentius as he passed by his seat, with a design to usurp the empire. But he continued, notwithstanding his disgrace, to be greatly beloved and revered by the army⁵; and the esteem and affection they had for the father did not a little contribute to the promotion of the son. The senate of Constantinople decreed him a statue in the beginning of the reign of Valens⁶. We do not find, that he had any other children besides Valentinian and Valens, who are supposed to have been both born in the city of Cibale, the birth-place of their father. The former is styled on some

His parentage, education, employments, &c.

² Ammian. lib. xxvi. p. 310.

³ Philostorg. lib. viii. cap. 8.

p. 113.

⁴ Ammian. ibid.

⁵ Vict. Epit. 345.

⁶ Theodoret. p. 171.

Themist. Orat. vi. p. 81.

*He declares
his brother
Valens his
colleague in
the empire.*

*He punishes
some of
Julian's
friends.*

*He divides
the empire
with his
brother
Valens.*

the twenty-eighth of the same month, and removed to Constantinople. His march was very expeditious; for he made his public entry into Nicomedia on the first of March, and created his brother Valens præfectus stabuli, with the title of tribune; and, after his arrival at Constantinople, declared him his colleague in the empire on the twenty-eighth of March, according to the most probable opinion. This ceremony was performed at a place called Hebdomon, or the Seventh, because it was seven miles distant from Constantinople. Some time after both princes were seized with a violent fever, which was ascribed to the magical practices of Julian's friends, especially of the philosophers Maximus and Priscus, who were apprehended, with many others, and carried in chains to Constantinople. Priscus was soon discharged; but Maximus, who was universally hated, and supposed to have excited Julian against Valentinian, on account of his zeal for the Christian religion, was condemned to pay a heavy fine, and to remain in prison till he had paid it. Many eminent persons were accused on this occasion; but the præfect Sallustius Secundus, with his usual address, prudence, and humanity, stifled such accusations, and put an end to all farther enquiries². The two emperors were no sooner recovered, than they left Constantinople, and passing through Adrianople, arrived at Philippopolis, whence they proceeded to Sardica, and from that city to Naïssus in Dacia, where they were on the third of June: they seem to have continued till about the eighteenth of the same month, partly at Naïssus, partly at a castle named Mediana, about three miles from that city³.

As the empire was threatened with a general invasion from the barbarous nations that surrounded it, Valentinian, the better to make head against them, divided the provinces between himself and his brother. He accordingly made this famous partition at Mediana, committing the East, comprehending all Asia, with Egypt and Thrace, to the government of Valens; and reserving to himself Illyricum, Italy, Gaul, Spain, Britain, and Africa. After this partition both princes repaired to Sirmium, where they parted, Valentinian for Milan, and Valens for Constantinople⁴. In the mean time the Barbarians burst into the empire from all quarters, the Germans into Gaul and Rhætia, the Sarmatians and Quadi into Pannonia, the Picts, Saxons, Scots, and Attacotti into Britain, and the Asturians, and other Moorish nations, into Africa. But the

² Zos. lib. iv. p. 755. Eunap. cap. 5. p. 82, 83.
lib. xxvi. p. 315. Cod. Theodof. Chron. p. 69.
³ xxvi. p. 316. Cod. Theodof. Chron. p. 69, 70.

⁴ Ammian.
⁵ Ammian. lib.

latter province was not so much harassed by the Barbarians as by Romanus, who had been appointed by Jovian to protect it; for the Asturians had in his reign made frequent inroads into Libya Tripolitana, and the neighbouring countries. Romanus surpassed the Barbarians themselves in oppressing and pillaging that unhappy province, and even refused to march against the enemy, who, roving up and down the country, committed dreadful ravages. He declined this service because the inhabitants would not comply with his exorbitant demands; for he required, besides immense sums, four thousand camels, without which, he said, he could not take the field. The Africans, finding they received no protection from Romanus, charged the deputies, whom they sent with the usual presents to Valentinian upon his accession to the empire, to lay before the new emperor the miserable state of their country; which they did accordingly, offering to prove the particulars contained in the memorial which they presented to the emperor; but Remigius, who was then magister officiorum, and shared with Romanus, his kinsman and confidant, the spoils of the province, by representing things in a quite different light, managed his friend's cause with so much art and address, that the emperor, not knowing whom to believe, referred the matter to a farther enquiry; which, by the intrigues of Remigius, was easily put off from time to time. However, they prevailed upon the emperor to give the command of the troops to Ruricius, governor of Libya Tripolitana; but, by the interest of Remigius, it was soon after restored to Romanus. Mean while the Asturians assembled in greater numbers than ever, and laid waste the fruitful territories of Leptis and Oea; from which cities, and that of Sebrata, the province is said to have been named Tripolis, that word importing three cities. As Romanus continued the whole time unconcerned and inactive, the Barbarians scoured the country without the least opposition, ravaged it in a most dreadful manner, put many persons of all ranks to the sword, took an incredible number of prisoners, and had even the confidence to besiege Leptis, a strong and populous city, which however they were not able to reduce.

The noise of these devastations reaching the emperor's ears, he dispatched Palladius to pay the troops their arrears, and bring him a true account of the state of the province. Romanus being immediately acquainted by his friend Remigius with the errand on which Palladius was sent, persuaded the principal officers of the army, with whom he maintained a good understanding, to present Pal-

Libya Tripolitana harassed by the Asturians, and oppressed by Romanus.

Romanus accused, but continued in his command.

Palladius sent to inquire into the state of the province.

ladius,

ladius, whom he represented as a man of great authority at court, with a considerable share of the money brought to pay them. Palladius accepted the present, and proceeded to Leptis, where he heard the complaints of the inhabitants, and was conducted to view the country, that he might be an eye-witness of the miserable condition to which it was reduced, and of the dreadful havock the Barbarians had made, without being in the least curbed or restrained. Palladius, at that sight, could not help exclaiming against Romanus, telling him, in plain terms, that he would acquaint the emperor with his unaccountable conduct, and upbraided him with his cruelty and avarice. But Romanus soon stopped his mouth, by charging him, in his turn, with converting to his private use the money with which he was entrusted to pay the soldiers, and threatening to inform the emperor how he had betrayed his trust. This threat so intimidated Palladius, that he agreed with Romanus to conceal the whole from the emperor, whom accordingly he assured on his return, that the city of Leptis, and the Tripolitan province, complained without reason; a report which was believed, Palladius being generally esteemed a man of integrity, and above bribery and corruption. The emperor was so far misled, and so shamefully imposed upon, that he ordered him into Africa to try and punish the authors of the supposed calumnies and false charges brought against Romanus. In the discharge of this scandalous office, he tampered so artfully with the inhabitants of Leptis, that they disowned the complaints which Jovinus, one of their deputies, had exhibited before the emperor in their name, maintaining, that they had given him no such commission. Jovinus himself, to gain the favour of Palladius and Romanus, and avoid the danger that threatened him, owned that he had made a false report to the emperor; who thereupon ordered him to be put to death, with some of the chief citizens of Leptis, and the governor Ruricius, who had confirmed the truth of the informations brought against Romanus. The latter was executed at Stephæ in Mauritania, and the others at Utica. Erechtius and Aristomenes, two other citizens of Leptis, who had complained of Romanus, were condemned to have their tongues cut out: but they found means to make their escape, and lay concealed till the reign of Gratian, when this scene of iniquity was discovered.

He is gained over by the Romanus.

His accusers punished.

In the following year, 365, both princes entered upon their first consulship, the one at Milan, the other at Con-

¹ Ammian. lib. xxvi. p. 316, & lib. xxvii. p. 347—380.

Constantinople. Valentinian continued at Milan till the month of August, and afterwards visited Verona, Aquileia, and Luceria. From Italy he passed into Gaul, and was either at, or near Paris, in the latter end of October, when he received certain intelligence that the Germans had made an irruption into that province, and that Procopius had revolted in the East. Of the latter we shall speak in the reign of Valens. As for the Germans, they had sent ambassadors to congratulate Valentinian on his accession to the empire; but Ursacius, then *magister officiorum*, having received them in a very contemptuous manner, and dismissed them with inconsiderable presents, they had thrown them away with scorn and indignation, and, upon their return, urged their countrymen to take arms and revenge the affront. They broke therefore into Gaul, and laid waste the country bordering on the Rhine. Valentinian dispatched Dagalaiphus against them, and advanced in person as far as Rheims to support him. But the Germans retiring at his approach, he returned to Paris, and took up his winter-quarters¹. He proposed to return into Illyricum to make head against the rebel Procopius; but his friends, and the deputies of all the cities in Gaul earnestly intreating him not to leave that province exposed to the inroads of the Germans, he complied with their request, considering, says Ammianus Marcellinus, that Procopius was only an enemy to his family, whereas the Germans were declared enemies to the whole Roman empire. Being therefore resolved not to leave Gaul, he dispatched Neotherius, at that time only a notary, but afterwards consul, into Africa, to prevent Procopius from making himself master of that province; and at the same time enjoined Equitius to cover Illyricum, and watch the motions of the usurper on that side.

The next consuls were Gratian and Dagalaiphus: the latter was general of the horse, and had been comes domesticorum under Julian: his name seems to import, that he was by birth a Barbarian. His colleague was the son of the emperor Valentinian, and then an infant; whence in the dates of the laws enacted this year he is marked thus, NB. P. that is, Nobilissimus Puer. The Germans, who had invaded Gaul the preceding year, and retired at the approach of the emperor, now returned, and having passed the Rhine on the ice, defeated the Romans in a pitched battle, took the standards of the Batavians and Heruli, and killed the two counts Charietto and Severianus, who commanded the Roman forces². When this battle was fought,

Yr. of Fl.
2815.
A. D. 365.
U. C. 1163.

The Germans break into Gaul;

but retire at the approach of the emperor.

Yr. of Fl.
2816.
A. D. 366.
U. C. 1164.

The Romans defeated by the Germans.

¹ Cod. Theodol. Chron. p. 75.

² Zol. lib. iv. p. 740.

Valentinian was at Paris, whence he immediately dispatched Dagalaiphus, to prevent the evil consequences that were likely to attend the defeat of the other generals. Dagalaiphus, pretending he had not sufficient strength to engage the enemy, who were dispersed about the country in great bodies, did not even attempt to restrain them. He was therefore recalled; and Jovinus, general of the troops in Gaul, who was appointed in his room, gained a complete victory over the Germans. The public joy for the happy successes of this glorious campaign, was greatly heightened by the arrival of messengers from Valens, with the head of Procopius, killed in Asia on the twenty-seventh of May. Valentinian had returned to Rheims on the twenty-seventh of November, and appears to have continued there all the winter.

Valentinian falls ill;

The next consuls were Lupicinus and Jovinus, both generals, the former under Valens in Syria, and the latter under Valentinian in Gaul. All the laws of this year, to the third of June, are dated from Rheims; a plain proof that the emperor continued there till that time: one dated the sixth of August was enacted at Nemœsia, a place in the neighbourhood of Rheims*. From Nemœsia the emperor removed to Amiens. He was probably confined so long at Rheims by a violent distemper with which he was seized this year. As his recovery was despaired of, the great officers of the court began to form cabals, and to think of naming a successor. The chief candidates for the imperial dignity were Rusticus Julianus and Severus, both dreaded on account of their severity and rigour, but the former much more than the latter: he afterwards betrayed a most cruel and savage temper when he was proconsul of Africa. Severus was, in the judgment of Ammianus, in every respect preferable to Julianus*.

Yr. of Fl.
2817.
A. D. 367.
U. C. 1165.

but recovers, and creates his son Gratian emperor.

But the emperor's unexpected recovery defeated the hopes and intrigues of the courtiers; for he, being probably informed of what had been transacted, resolved to prevent any farther disputes, by raising his son Gratian to the empire. Having therefore privately gained the soldiery, he assembled them in the neighbourhood of Amiens; and, with their consent and approbation, declared him his colleague in the empire, vesting him with the purple and other ensigns of sovereignty, amidst the loud acclamations of the multitude†. Gratian was created emperor on the twenty-fourth of August, 367, at the city of Amiens, for

* Cod. Theodof. Chron. p. 77, 79.
‡ Zof. lib. iv. p. 742. Socr. lib. iv. cap. 11. p. 219.

* Ammian. lib. xxvii. p.

which he is said to have ever shewn a very particular regard: he was then about eight years old, having been born in 359, on the eighteenth of April, or, as others assert, on the twenty-third of May. About the close of this year the city of Mentz was unexpectedly attacked, taken, and plundered by Rhando, one of the princes of the Alemans, ~~and~~ the emperor, says Ammianus, was employed in some other expedition^z, but in what expedition we are not informed. Valentinian, soon after the promotion of Gratian, left Amiens, and repaired to Treves, in which city he passed the winter^a. In the course of this year the Picts and Scots broke into the Roman territories, but were repulsed by Theodosius, father to the emperor of that name, as well as the Franks and Saxons, who had broken into Gaul; and it was probably on account of the advantages gained on this occasion that Valentinian assumed the title of the conqueror of the Franks, which is given him in an inscription of the year 369^b. Ammianus, among the other transactions of this year, relates several instances of the excessive severity and injustice of Valentinian, who had hitherto, with great hypocrisy, concealed the cruelty of his temper. He condemned Diocles, who had been comes largitionum in Illyricum, to be burnt alive for very inconsiderable faults; and ordered Diodorus, who had been agens in rebus, to be put to death, with three apparitors of the vicar of Italy, on pretence that Diodorus had commenced a suit against a count, who was going to court, and the apparitors had, pursuant to their office, summoned him to appear. The memory of Diodorus, and the three apparitors, is still honoured, says Ammianus, by the Christians at Milan, who style the place where they were buried the Innocents^c. To this event probably the quæstor Euphraxius alluded, when, upon the emperor's commanding another person to be slain for causing the sentence of a lawful judge to be executed, he told him, that the Christian religion honoured those as martyrs, whom he condemned as guilty. St. Jerom tells us, that this year, in the country of the Atrebatæ, now the Artois, wool fell from heaven mixed with rain^d. Orosius adds, that it was true wool^e; and Bucherius, that some of it is still to be seen at Arras, where it is called manna^f.

In the following year the two emperors, Valentinian and Valens, were consuls for the second time. The former

The city of Mentz taken and plundered by the Alemans.

The Picts and Scots break into the Roman territories; but are repulsed by Theodosius.

Instances of Valentinian's cruelty.

^z Ammian. lib. xxvii. p. 349.

^a Valef. Rer. Fran. lib. i. v. 46.

^b Hier. Chron. ad Ann. 367.

^c Buch Belg. p. 349.

^a Cod Theodos Chron. p. 81.

^c Ammian. lib. xxvii. p. 345.

^e Oros. lib. vii cap 32. p. 218.

*Several
excellent
laws en-
acted by
Valenti-
nian.*

enacted several excellent laws; and, among the rest, one commanding all advocates, or lawyers, to forbear, in pleading, abusive terms and invectives, and to content themselves with such fees as their clients shall be pleased to give them, without making any previous bargain or agreement^b. By another law he establishes a physician in each of the fourteen quarters, into which the city of Rome was divided, who was to take care of the poor, and be maintained at the public expence. By this law the physician is allowed to accept what his patient should think fit to give him, when entirely recovered, but not what he had promised during his illness^c. By a third law he commands some foldiers to remove from a synagogue, where they were quartered, that being contrary to the respect due to a place dedicated to the worship of God. Valentinian entering the territories of the Alemans, defeated them with great slaughter, and employed the greater part of the following year in fortifying the banks of the Rhine, as appears from several laws of different dates enacted at Marciaticum, which most geographers take to be Manheim, at Altrip between Manheim and Spire, and at Brisac.

*Several
persons put
to death by
the empe-
ror's or-
ders.*

At this period, the emperor caused several senators, governors of provinces, judges, and other officers, to be condemned for receiving bribes, and oppressing the people committed to their care, and among the rest the eunuch Rhodanus, his chief chamberlain, whom, upon the complaint of a widow named Berenice, whose estate the eunuch had seized unjustly, he caused to be immediately apprehended, and to be burnt alive in the circus, where the people were assembled to behold the sports^k. The next consuls were the two emperors Valentinian and Valens, both the third time. The former continued all the year 370, as appears from several laws, dated partly at Treves, partly at Altea, which is supposed to have been an imperial palace or country-seat near that city. In an inscription of this year, which is still to be seen at Vienna in Austria, we read that Equitius, general of the troops in Illyricum, erected by the emperor's orders a fort in that country; and from another inscription of the following year, found near Strigonium or Gran in Lower Hungary, it appears, that another fort was built by his command in that neighbourhood, for protecting the trade carried on by the subjects of the empire in those parts. The emperor likewise built a bridge this year over the Tiber at Rome, which was then called

^b Cod. Theodof. lib. ii. tit. 10. leg. ii. p. 140. & Cod. Jusf. lib. ii. tit. 6. leg. 6. p. 187. ^c Ibid. lib. xiii. tit. 3. leg. 8. p. 14. ^k Zonar. p. 26. Chron. Alex. p. 700. Suid. p. 706, 707.

the bridge of Gratian, afterwards the bridge Cestius, and is by the present inhabitants styled Ponto di S. Bartolomeo, or the bridge of St. Bartholomew, being near the porch of St. Bartholomew's church¹. This year is remarkable in history for an irruption of the Saxons, who, inhabiting the coasts of the ocean amongst inaccessible marshes, left their country in great numbers, and landing on the Roman territories, committed dreadful ravages, but were almost to a man treacherously cut off by the Romans.

The Saxons break into empire.

The Burgundians, amounting to eighty thousand fighting men, appeared on the banks of the Rhine, invited by Valentinian, who maintained a private intelligence with their kings, and had promised to pass the Rhine, and, in conjunction with them, fall upon the Alemans, with whom they were then at variance on account of some salt-pits. But the emperor being busied in building the above mentioned forts, and not willing to interrupt that work, and join them, as he had promised, they put all the prisoners they had taken to the sword, and returned to their own country, highly enraged against the emperor, by whom they had been thus disappointed and deluded^m. However, Theodosius, general of the horse, to which post he had been raised for his gallant and prudent conduct in Britain, taking advantage of the consternation the Alemans were in, made an irruption into their country, and returned with a considerable number of captives, to whom the emperor allotted lands and settlements on the banks of the Po. Ammianus gives us a pathetic account of the horrible cruelties practised this year at Rome by Maximinus, or, as others style him, Maximus, a man of a most inhuman and savage temper. He was brother-in-law to Valentine, or Valentinian, who attempted to usurp the sovereignty in Britain; but nevertheless of a mean descent, and by birth a Barbarian. However, he raised himself to the first employments in the state. He was first appointed governor of Corsica and Sardinia, and afterwards of Tuscia or Tuscany. From the latter government he was preferred to the honourable employment of præfectus annonæ at Rome, whose province it was to supply the city with provisions; which office he performed at first with great prudence and moderation, but in the end betrayed a most cruel, inhuman, and revengeful temper. Chilo, who had been vicar to the præfects, and his wife Maxima, having accused Sericus, Asbolius, and Campanis, three persons of mean condition, before Olybrius, præfect or governor of the city, for having, by magi-

Yr. of Fl.
2820.
A. D. 370.
U. C. 1168.

An army of 80,000 Burgundians on the banks of the Rhine.

The great cruelties of Maximinus at Rome.

¹ Gruter. p. 150. Baron. Ann. 312.

^m Oros. p. 377.

cal practices and enchantments, endeavoured to take away their lives, Olybrius began to investigate this matter; but he falling sick, the complainants impatient of delay, petitioned and obtained, that the cause might be referred to the præfectus annonæ, who readily undertook it, glad of any opportunity that offered to satisfy his cruel dispositions. He had scarce begun his examinations, when he wrote to the emperor, that innumerable persons were guilty of magical practices, but could not be convicted without racks and tortures. Upon this information, the emperor, who was himself naturally inclined to cruelty, appointed Maximinus vicar to the præfects in the room of Aginacius, and empowered him to put such persons, if thought necessary, to the rack, as had been by other princes exempted on account of their rank, or only subjected to it in cases of treason. With Maximinus he joined in commission Leo, at that time only a notary, but afterwards raised to the dignity of magister officiorum. He was a Pannonian, of mean parentage, but no less blood-thirsty, according to Ammianus, than his colleague Maximinus^a.

*Persons of
all ranks
tortured
and executed.*

These two implacable judges performed their commission with that cruelty peculiar to their characters: persons of all ranks and ages were dragged to their tribunal, tortured without mercy, and either executed like public malefactors, or stripped of their estates, and driven into exile. Among the former were Marinus, a famous pleader, Cethegus, Paphius, and Cornelius, all three senators, and many other eminent persons of both sexes. Alypius, a young nobleman of great distinction, was, for a very small fault, banished. Lollianus, the son of Lampadius, who had been governor of Rome in 306, and præfectus prætorio under Constantius, being accused of having copied, when he was very young, a book of magic, his father, finding Maximinus inclined to condemn him to banishment, advised him to appeal to the emperor; which he did accordingly: but Valentinian having referred the cause to Phalangus, governor of Bætica, who surpassed Maximinus himself in barbarity, the youth was sentenced to death, and publicly beheaded. As Maximinus continued exterminating without distinction of sex, age, or condition, the senate dispatched deputies to the emperor, earnestly entreating him, as he tendered the lives of his innocent subjects, to revoke the power given to Maximinus. Valentinian complied with their request; a circumstance which terminated for the present those bloody executions. Maximinus was called to court, and received

^a Ammian. lib. xxviii. p. 358—360, & seq.

with great marks of esteem and affection by the emperor, who two years after created him prefect of Gaul, in which office he continued at least three years; but was soon after executed by Gratian; with some of the ministers of his cruelty.

The following year, when Gratian and Sex. Petronius Probus were consuls, the emperor enacted several remarkable laws; among the rest one dated the eleventh of February, and addressed to Viventius prefect of Gaul, importing, that such players and comedians as should have received at the point of death the sacrament of baptism, should not be obliged, if they recovered, to act again on the stage. From this law it appears, that the profession of a player, always deemed infamous among the Romans, was, under the Christian princes, thought inconsistent with Christianity; and likewise, that it was not free and voluntary, but servile and hereditary in certain families. By another law, dated the seventh of September, the emperor declares, that the daughters of players shall not be obliged to follow the profession of their mothers, if they have behaved in any other calling so as to deserve a good character. By a third law, dated the twenty-ninth of May, and addressed to the senate, he allows the free exercise of the Pagan religion; and by a fourth, dated the twenty-eighth of June, several privileges are granted or restored to the Pagan pontiffs, and the same honour and respect is ordered to be paid to them as to the comites or counts. It is surprising that an emperor, who is said to have been not only an orthodox, but a zealous Christian, should have thus favoured the Pagan pontiffs and religion. By a law, dated the seventeenth of May, he exempts such as had been admitted among the clergy before his time from all civil offices; but obliges the rest to discharge them, notwithstanding the privileges and immunities granted by other princes to ecclesiastics. All the laws enacted this year before the twenty-eighth of June, are dated from Treves, whence he removed to Cationacum, a place unknown to geographers, but which must have been but at a small distance from Treves, since the emperor was in that city on the twenty-eighth of June, and the very next day at Cationacum, where he remained till the fifteenth of August.

On the sixth of September he was at Mentz, probably on his march into the country of the Alemans; for this year he undertook an expedition against them, hoping to surprise their king Macrianus. This gallant prince having re-

Yr. of Fl.
2821.
A. D. 371.
U. C. 11691

*Law
enacted by
Valenti-
nian.*

*He at-
tempts to
surprise the
king of the
Alemans.*

⁹ Cod. Theod. lib. xv. tit. 7. leg. i. p. 361, & seq.

ceived timely notice of his approach, saved himself by flight; and the emperor, greatly enraged for his disappointment, returned to Treves, after having desolated the country round Mentz belonging to the Alemans, called Bucinobantes, to whom he gave one of their own nation, named Fraomarius, for king, who soon after exchanged his new dignity for the command of some of his countrymen then quartered in Britain. Valentinian returned to Treves, with his two generals, Severus and Theodosius, on the sixth of December P. The next consuls were Modestus and Arintheus, during whose administration nothing happened in the West, which authors have thought worthy of transmitting to posterity. From the dates of several laws, it appears, that the emperor passed the whole year, partly at Treves, and partly at Nazonacum, situated at a small distance from that city.

The next consuls were Valentinian and Valens, both for the fourth time. This year Maximinus was created prefect of Gaul; and the first against whom he exerted his new authority, was a person guilty of as enormous crimes as himself, namely, Remigius, who, being magister officiorum, had screened his kinsman Romanus from the punishment due to the many cruelties, murders, and extortions, which he had committed in Africa. Leo, upon his return from Rome, where he had been joined in commission with Maximinus, being raised to the post of magister officiorum, Remigius, who held it before him, retired to his estate in the neighbourhood of Mentz, his native city, to lead a retired life. But Maximinus, despising him when out of power, seized and tortured one of his domestics, named Cæsar, in order to make him discover the evil practices of his master, and what sums he had received of Romanus to defend and support him at court. This particular Remigius no sooner understood, than, impelled by fear, he strangled himself, to avoid a public and more ignominious death. Palladius, who had been no less guilty than Remigius, had been disgraced before, for some other misdemeanour, though he ascribed his misfortune chiefly to his having imposed upon the emperor in an affair of such importance. Of this deceit Valentinian had some suspicion, and therefore ordered him to be arrested; but while the soldiers who guarded him, were passing the night (no doubt the eve of some festival) in a church, he followed the example of Remigius, by putting an end to his own life. Romanus himself was then

Remigius and Palladius, the accomplices of Romanus, strangle themselves.

P Ammian. lib. xxix. p. 397. & lib. xxx. p. 399. Cod. Theod. p. 89, & seq. † Ibid. lib. xxx. p. 417.

under arrest, for having, by his unwarrantable conduct, provoked Firmus, a Moorish prince, to revolt. Theodosius, who was sent to suppress the rebellion, had seized Romanus, with all his domestics and papers, among which were found some relating to the affair of Leptis. Upon this discovery, Palladius had been arrested; but both he and Remigius having laid violent hands on themselves, Romanus was some time after set at liberty, and the matter dropped for the present, but resumed under Gratian, when Romanus was convicted of high misdemeanours; nevertheless, by the interest of Merabaudus, he was allowed to plead his own cause before the emperor. What was the issue of this affair, we are no-where told. Firmus, whom we have mentioned above, was the son of Nubel, the most powerful of all the Moorish princes, who considered him, though subject to the Romans, as their king and sovereign. He left several sons, and among the rest Firmus and Zamma. The latter being privately murdered by his brother Firmus, Romanus, with whom Zamma lived in great intimacy, to revenge the death of his friend, did all that lay in his power to incense the emperor against Firmus, being assisted by his kinsman Remigius, then *magister officiorum*.

Firmus, apprised of the danger that threatened him, and no longer able to bear the haughty and insolent behaviour of Romanus, and the officers of the army, resolved to arm in his own defence. Accordingly, having animated the other Moorish nations to shake off the yoke under which they had long groaned, he assumed the purple, and the other ensigns of royalty, with the title of king, a Roman tribune, who had taken part with him, laying his collar upon the head of the new king, instead of a diadem^r. Finding himself in a short time at the head of a considerable body of Moors, who flocked to him from all quarters, he ravaged the provinces of Africa and Mauritania without opposition, and even surprised Cæsarea, now Algier, the metropolis of Mauritania Cæsariensis, where he found a considerable sum belonging to the treasury, left in the hands of the magistrates of that city. The officers of the treasury sued the magistrates for the money which had been intrusted with them; but were ordered by the emperor to drop the prosecution, Clemens, bishop of the place, having prevailed upon him to issue that order, which saved his country from impending ruin^s.

Firmus revolts in Africa.

Takes Cæsarea, and other places.

^r Ammian. lib. xxx. p. 429. Oros. lib. vii. cap. 33. Zos. lib. iv. p. 744. ^s Cod. Theod. tit. 6. p. 389. Symmach. lib. i. epist. 58. p. 39.

*Theodosius
is sent a-
gainst him.*

*Firmus
pretends to
submit.*

*Theodosius
defeats
some na-
tions in al-
liance with
Firmus.*

*Firmus
pretends a-
new to
submit;*

The emperor was no sooner informed of the revolt of Firmus, than he dispatched Theodosius, the best general of his time against him, with the troops that were quartered in Pannonia and Upper Mœsia, and a detachment out of those that attended the court. Theodosius embarked at Arles in the latter end of the year 372, or the beginning of 373, and having a favourable passage, landed at a place called Igilgitanum in Mauritania Sitifensis. His first care, upon his arrival, was to arrest Romanus, who, by his haughty and arbitrary conduct, had forced the Moors to revolt. Firmus, in the mean time, hearing that so renowned a commander was sent against him, began to despair of success. He dispatched deputies to Theodosius, declaring, that he had been forced to revolt; that he did not pretend to justify what he had done, but, on the contrary, was ready to submit, and quit the ensigns of royalty, provided the emperor would forgive his past conduct. Theodosius, thinking it adviseable to admit of his submission and excuse, assured him of his pardon, upon his delivering up some of the chief men among the Moors, as hostages. This condition Firmus promised to fulfil; but as he delayed from day to day the execution of his promise, Theodosius, suspecting his sincerity, marched from Panchariana, the place of the general rendezvous, to Tubusuptius, in the neighbourhood of mount Ferratus, where Mascezel, brother to Firmus, lay encamped with a considerable body of Moors. He was there met by a second embassy from Firmus; but as the deputies brought no hostages, he would not admit them to his presence, but fell unexpectedly upon the Tyndenses and Masinissenses, two Moorish nations, commanded by Mascezel. Having defeated them with great slaughter, he ravaged the country, raised the castle of Petra, which had been lately built, and reduced another fortress, which he made choice of for a magazine, filling it with all sorts of provisions, that he might be enabled, if necessary, to penetrate farther into the country.

In the mean time Mascezel, having rallied his broken forces, ventured a second engagement, in which he was attended with no better success than in the former, great numbers of his troops being cut off, and he himself with difficulty escaping. In consequence of these disasters, Firmus delivered the promised hostages, and sent with them some bishops to intercede with Theodosius in his behalf. The Roman general received them with the utmost civility and respect. Upon their promising, in the name of Firmus, that the booty and prisoners he had taken, should be restored, and the Roman army supplied with provisions, he granted

granted a general pardon to him and his followers ; which so encouraged the Moor, that he came in person to wait on Theodosius ; and lamenting his folly and rashness, promised to make amends for both by his future conduct and fidelity. Theodosius received him in the most cordial manner, gave him all the encouragement he expected or desired, and dismissed him, extremely pleased with his reception. Firmus, at his departure, left some of his relations for hostages ; and two days after surrendered to the Romans a place called Icosium, with the prisoners, military ensigns, and the booty he had taken. From thence Theodosius advanced to Tipasa, where he received the ambassadors of the Mazices, a nation inhabiting the eastern parts of Mauritania Cæsariensis, who had joined Firmus in his rebellion. They came to submit in the name of the whole nation, and to implore pardon for their revolt ; but Theodosius returned no other answer, than that their perfidy deserved to be punished with the utmost severity.

From Tipasa he proceeded to Cæsarea, now Algier, which Firmus had taken in the beginning of the rebellion, and delivered up to be plundered by his soldiers. There he received intelligence, that Firmus was preparing again for war ; that he had never had any real intention of concluding a peace with the Romans ; and that he only watched an opportunity of falling upon them to advantage. Upon this intelligence, Theodosius, leaving at Cæsarea the first and second legions, to repair the fortifications, and secure it against any farther attempts of the enemy, marched to Sugabbari, a town of Mauritania Cæsariensis, where he surprised a Roman cohort, who had joined the rebels. Their tribunes he put to death ; but contented himself with condemning the common soldiers to the meanest offices in the army. From thence he advanced farther into the country.

Having reduced Gaionatis and Tingitanum, two places of great strength, he passed the mountain Ancorarius, and entering the country of the Mazices, gained a signal victory over them. They made at first a vigorous resistance ; but were at length totally defeated, and almost all put to the sword. Notwithstanding this victory, the Moors poured down upon him from all quarters in such multitudes, that he thought it prudent to retire, rather than to penetrate farther into the country, his army amounting only to three thousand five hundred. The enemy, apprised of his design, not only harassed him incessantly on his march, but by stopping up all the passes, cut off his retreat ; insomuch that the whole army must inevitably have perished, had not the Moors unexpectedly fled, and left the passes open, at the

but prepares for war.

Theodosius gains great advantages over his confederates.

sight of a great body of their own countrymen, who they mistook for a reinforcement coming to relieve Theodosius. The Romans having thus, by a happy mistake, escaped death or slavery, retired in good order to Muzucanum, and from thence to Tipata. There Theodosius, reflecting on the posture of his affairs, resolved to manage the war after another manner; and to try, whether he could, by menaces or promises, prevail upon the nations in alliance with Firmus to make a separate peace, and deliver him up to the Romans.

Firmus abandons his army, and flies to the Isastenses;

With this view he dispatched ambassadors to the several nations that had joined him; a circumstance which Firmus, who was well acquainted with the fickle temper of the Moors, no sooner understood, than, dreading the issue of such negociations, he abandoned his army; and taking the advantage of a dark night, retired privately to the mountains called Caprarienses, which were deemed inaccessible. The multitude, struck with amazement at his flight, soon dispersed; and Theodosius, seizing their camp, made himself master of the neighbouring countries without the least opposition, appointing such governors, as had given him evident proofs of their fidelity. He then marched in pursuit of Firmus, who had taken refuge in the country of the Isastenses. That warlike nation refusing to deliver him up, several battles were fought, in one of which Mazaca, the brother of Firmus, was taken prisoner; but died the same day of the wounds he had received. Evastus, a person of great authority among the Isastenses, and his son Florus, fell likewise into the hands of the Romans; and as they had been remarkably zealous in the cause of Firmus, they were both, by Theodosius's orders, burnt alive. The Romans, overpowered with numbers, were often reduced to great distress;

who are defeated by Theodosius.

but having at length utterly defeated the enemy in a battle which lasted from morning to night, some nations, that had joined the Isastenses, began to be weary of the war, and desert their alliance. Igmazen, prince of the country, finding himself abandoned by his allies, and in no condition to make head against the Romans with his own forces only, privately agreed with Theodosius to betray Firmus, and accordingly ordered him to be secured, while he was preparing to make his escape. But Firmus, to avoid the disgrace of the punishment, which he apprehended from the Romans, strangled himself while his guards were asleep, to the great grief of Igmazen, who had proposed to ingratiate himself with the Romans, by carrying him alive to their camp. However, he immediately sent the body to Theodosius, who received it with great joy, and soon after returned

Firmus strangles himself.

returned to Sitifis, which city he entered in triumph. The several Moorish nations, that had joined Firmus, sent deputies to sue for peace; which Theodosius granted, upon their delivering up some of their leading men, whom he sentenced to death¹. In this war Gildo, one of the brothers of Firmus, fought under the Romans, and gave signal proofs of his fidelity; but afterwards revolted under Honorius, and was attended with no better success than his brother.

In the following year, when Gratian was consul the third time with Equitius, many eminent persons of both sexes were cruelly racked and executed by Simplicius, vicar of Rome, who, being raised to that employment by the interest of Maximinus, put, under various pretences, all those to death to whom his patron bore the least enmity, and among the rest Aginacius, a patrician of an illustrious and ancient family, who had been consular or governor of Byzacene under Julian, and vicar of Rome in the present reign. He was accused of adultery; and though the informer could not support the charge, yet he was sentenced to death, and executed with Anephia, a lady of great distinction, who being accused of the same crime, had impeached Aginacius, hoping by that perfidy to ingratiate herself with Simplicius, and escape the danger that threatened her. The emperor passed the winter at Milan, as appears from the dates of several laws, but was again at Treves on the twenty-first of May, and the twentieth of June². From thence he marched into Germany; and after having ravaged the country bordering on the Rhine, returned to Basse, in the neighbourhood of which city he ordered a fort to be built named Robur: from this fort we find a law dated the tenth of July. While the emperor was there encamped, the Quadi, invading Pannonia, committed dreadful ravages, defeated two Roman legions, and subdued all the open country. The Sarmatians at the same time entered Mœsia, but were repulsed with great slaughter by Theodosius, afterwards emperor. The emperor was at Treves on the ninth of April³; but left that city soon after⁴. He was met on his march by ambassadors from the Sarmatians, who throwing themselves at his feet, earnestly entreated him not to give credit to the reports that had been circulated concerning the ravages and cruelties said to have been committed by their nation; they assured him that, upon examination, he would not find them guilty of the crimes urged against them by

Yr. of Fl.

2824.

A. D. 374.

U. C. 1172.

*Cruelties
exercised
at Rome by
Simplicius.*

*An embassy
from the
Sarmatians.*

¹ Ammian. lib. xxix. p. 393—408. Zos. lib. iv. p. 744. ² Cod. Theod. Chron. p. 93, 94. ³ Idem, p. 94. ⁴ Ammian. lib. xxx. p. 418.

their enemies. The emperor replied, that he would determine nothing for the present, but suspend his judgement till his arrival in those parts which had most suffered by their late irruption. Having dismissed the ambassadors, he pursued his march; and arriving in Illyricum, took up his quarters at Carnuntum, once a flourishing city, but ~~then~~ in decay (R). The emperor chose this place, as being most conveniently situated for the defence of the country, and continued there three months, making the necessary preparations for his intended expedition against the Quadi and Sarmatians.

*The people
of Illyricum
oppressed by
Probus.*

Probus the prefect was the only person against whom he shewed any resentment; for he, to satisfy the avarice of the emperor, had, according to Ammianus, oppressed the people committed to his care, killing, banishing, or condemning to dungeons, the most wealthy among them, that he might seize their estates. All the persons of rank in the country, dreading the avarice and enormous cruelties of their governor, had privately disposed of their effects, and abandoned their country. Valentinian made a strict enquiry into his conduct, and finding him guilty of extortion, and unheard-of barbarities, resolved to depose him; but was prevented by death from putting his design in execution.

*An account
of the fa-
mily of
Probus.*

Probus was descended from one of the most illustrious families in Rome, and reckoned amongst his ancestors the emperor Marcus Aurelius. He had embraced the Christian religion, with his whole family, and lived in great intimacy with St. Ambrose, the celebrated bishop of Milan. Probus was first proconsul of Africa in 358, afterwards four times prefect of Italy or Gaul, and in 371, Gratian's colleague in the consulship. He was no less famous for his wealth than his birth and employments; for he is said to have owned immense possessions in all the provinces of the empire.

*Faustinus
executed.*

Valentinian, during his stay at Carnuntum, caused Faustinus, nephew to Viventius, a few years before prefect of Gaul, to be first inhumanly racked, and afterwards publicly executed, for magical practices, and having answered one Nigrinus, desiring him in jest to make him a notary, & "Make me first emperor." From Carnuntum the emperor dispatched Merabaudus and count Sebastian, with a detachment of infantry, to lay waste the enemy's country, while he, with the main body of the army, advanced to Acincum, now Gran, or, as others maintain, Buda in Lower Hungary.

^y Ammian. p. 425.

^z Vide Baudr. p. 55.

(R) Most geographers take it to be the city of Hainburg on the Danube, in Austria, about thirty-three miles east of Vienna.

There

There he passed the Danube, and having ravaged the enemy's country to a great extent, returned to Acincum, when the autumn was already far advanced. Being desirous of convenient winter-quarters in that frozen climate, he proceeded from thence to Sabaria, now Servar; but that place not answering his expectation, he pursued his march along the Danube to Bregatio, which some suppose to be a village now called Bregnitz, and others a place in the isle of Schut, where the present city of Komare stands, or a little below that of Markelhaz ^a. There he gave audience to the ambassadors of the Quadi, come to sue for peace; but while he was reprehending them with great warmth, and threatening to extirpate their whole nation, he suddenly fell to the ground, as if his life and voice had failed him at once. He was conveyed into his chamber by his attendants, where he was seized with convulsion-fits, and violent contortions of all his limbs, in the agonies of which he expired on the seventeenth of November of this year 375, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, after having reigned near twelve years ^b. The body of the deceased emperor was embalmed, and sent to Constantinople, to be interred amongst the other Christian princes.

Valentinian ravages the country of the Quadi.

Yr. of Fl.
2825.
A. D. 375.
U C. 1173.

He dies suddenly.

As to his character, Ammianus taxes him with several vices. He was, according to that writer, naturally inclined to cruelty, punishing even the smallest faults with the utmost severity, and suffering his ministers, or rather encouraging them, to exercise the most shocking barbarities. He was sordidly covetous, using all possible methods to raise money. He had a great opinion of his own accomplishments and abilities, and therefore hated all who were eminent for learning, valour, skill in the military art, or any other accomplishment; and even such as had a genteel fancy in dress. He pretended to be a great enemy to cowards, and nevertheless, on several occasions, betrayed more fear than was becoming a man, who, from his infancy, had borne arms. His ministers, who were well acquainted with his temper, when he was in a passion, and they could by no other means appease him, used to pretend certain intelligence from the frontiers, that the Barbarians were in arms, and ready to break into the empire; expedients which never failed to allay his wrath, and make him appear, to use the expression of Ammianus, as mild as Antoninus Pius ^c. He suffered himself to be strangely imposed upon by his ministers, reposing an entire confidence in those who

His character.

Imposed upon by his ministers.

^a Vide Sans. & Baudr. p. 129, 130. ^b Ammian. lib. xxx. p. 427. Vict. Epit. Philost. lib. ix. cap. 16, p. 130. ^c Ammian. lib. xxx. p. 433. Marc. Chron.

deserved it the least ; whence the provinces were often oppressed, and the people reduced to beggary, while he, misled and deceived by those about him, believed they enjoyed peace and affluence ^d. Had he not been deceived by his ministers, says Victor, he would have reigned with great glory, and been ranked amongst the best princes. ~~He~~ was, even according to Ammianus, a writer not partial to him, or any of the Christian princes, endowed with many excellent qualities ; well acquainted with the military art, and no less with the art of governing ; careful in protecting the subjects of the empire against the incursions of the Barbarians ; an exact observer of military discipline ; enured from his infancy to hardships, and uninfluenced by favour in disposing of the great offices. Though he had many relations, who, upon his advancement, expected great preferments, yet he employed none of them, except his brother Valens, whom he assumed for his colleague, and with whom he reigned in perfect concord. In his entertainments he was splendid, but not profuse ; in his person comely, and well-shaped ; in his conversation agreeable ; of an extraordinary memory, and ready elocution ; knowing well how to accommodate himself to all times and occasions ^e. He suffered no places to be bought or sold during the whole course of his reign ; and though he was often mistaken in the choice of his officers and ministers, yet his intention was to prefer only the most deserving, and for that reason he neglected his own relations. He lessened the taxes, and eased his people, as far as the state of his affairs would allow. He was a stranger to debauchery, and unlawful pleasures, which he endeavoured to restrain by severe laws ^f.

*He adhered
to the or-
thodox
faith.*

As to his religion, in the great variety of opinions which at that time divided the world, he inviolably adhered to the orthodox faith ; but, avoiding all disputes, he allowed to the rest of his subjects, even to the Pagans, an entire liberty of conscience. He is condemned by the ecclesiastic writers, for suffering his brother Valens to persecute the orthodox Christians ; but some allege in his defence, that the condition of his affairs would not allow him openly to oppose Valens, since such opposition might have kindled a civil war, which, at that time, would have proved fatal to the empire. To conclude, he was endowed, according to Ammianus, with such excellent qualities, that had they not been allayed with a mixture of some vices, especially with that of cruelty, he would have been no-ways inferior to the excellent emperors Trajan and M. Aurelius ^g.

^d Vict. Epit. p. 345.

^e Ammian. p. 433.

^f Vict. p. 651.

^g Ammian. lib. xxxi. p. 432.

We shall now proceed to the history of the reign of Valens in the East, which, to avoid confusion, we have thought proper to relate separately, there being no other connexion, but that of time, between the reigns and transactions of the two princes. After the division of the provinces made at Medinæ, in the neighbourhood of Naissus in Dacia, in 364, Valens returned to Constantinople, where he enacted a law dated the twenty-sixth of December, forbidding the messengers of good news to exact, according to the abuse which then prevailed, or even to accept, any thing of the people; but allowing them to receive what persons of rank and fortune shall think proper to offer them ^b. Next year he set out for Syria, the Persians being in motion, with a design, as was apprehended, to break the peace which they had lately concluded with Jovian. Being informed, as he entered Bithynia, that the Goths were ready to invade Thrace, he dispatched messengers to his officers in those parts, cautioning them to be upon their guard, and pursued his march to Cæsarea in Cappadocia, where he was on the fourth of July, and continued there till the latter end of the summer. During his residence in that city, a dreadful earthquake damaged several cities in Sicily, Palestine, and especially in the island of Crete, where the shock was most violent ⁱ.

*The reign
of Valens
in the East.*

When Valens was upon the point of departing from Cæsarea, news were brought him of the revolt of Procopius, who, after having paid the last duty to the body of his kinsman Julian, had privately withdrawn into Chersonesus Taurica; but not trusting those Barbarians, and finding himself destitute even of the necessaries of life, he abandoned that inhospitable country, and returning in disguise into the territories of the empire, reached the city of Chalcedon undiscovered, where he was received by Strategius, his trusty friend, and carefully concealed at his country-house. From thence he went frequently in disguise to Constantinople; and finding the people were dissatisfied with the present government, on account of the cruelties practised by Petronius, whose daughter, Albia Dominica, the emperor had married, he resolved to improve that discontent to his own advantage. Having therefore seduced an eunuch of great wealth, named Eugenius, lately disgraced by Valens, and some of the officers who commanded the troops sent into Thrace against the Goths, and were then quartered at Constantinople, he boldly ventured to dis-

*Procopius
revolts.*

^b Cod. Theod. lib. viii. tit. 11. leg. 1. p. 602, 603.
Chron. p. 258.

ⁱ Hier.

and is acknowledged by the city of Constantinople.

cover himself, and lay before the people and soldiery the title he had to the empire, as being nearly related to Julian. At the close of his harangue, the officers, with whom he had tampered, proclaimed him emperor; and the rest following their example, saluted him with the title of Augustus, and carried him in triumph to the imperial palace, whither he was attended only by the dregs of the people. However, the next and the following days several persons of distinction joined him, and at length he was acknowledged by the whole city of Constantinople^k. This revolt struck Valens with such terror and dismay, that he thought of quitting the imperial purple, and resigning the empire; but being persuaded by his friends not to part with the imperial dignity, he detached some troops against his rival, hoping to crush him before he was in a condition to make any resistance. This detachment met Procopius at Mygdus in Phrygia, attended by a promiscuous multitude of fugitive slaves, deserters, and persons of desperate fortunes, who, upon the approach of the emperor's forces, put themselves in a posture of defence; but Procopius, distrustful their courage, while both parties were ready to engage, stepped boldly forward, as if he designed to challenge one of the adverse party to single combat; and taking Vitalianus, one of the officers, by the hand, mildly reprehended him and his fellow-soldiers, for assisting a Pannonian robber against one allied to the family of Constantine the Great.

He is joined by a party of the emperor's troops.

His speech made such a deep impression upon them, that they immediately joined his party, and with loud acclamations saluting him emperor, carried him in triumph to the imperial pavilion. This defection brought a very seasonable accession of strength to Procopius, who thereupon detached a strong party, under the conduct of Rumitalca, a tribune, to seize on Nice; which they took accordingly, without even the loss of a man^l. Valens, alarmed at the usurper's unexpected progress, dispatched Vadomarius, formerly king of the Alemans, to recover that important place, while he went in person to besiege Chalcedon, from which city one of his laws is dated the first of December^m; but he met with such vigorous resistance, that he was obliged to abandon the enterprize, the besieged insulting him from the walls as he retired, and reviling him with the nickname of Sabaiarius, that is, *Beer-drinker*, fabaia being a kind of small drink made of barley, common in Pannonia, where

Valens obliged to raise the siege of Chalcedon.

^k Ammian. p. 320. Zol. lib. iv. p. 737. Themist. p. 91. ^l Ammian. lib. xxvi. p. 325. ^m Cqd. Theod. Chron. p. 75, 76.

Valens was born. Rumitalca, who commanded in Nice, being informed of his retreat, sallied out with great intrepidity, and bearing all down before him, would have utterly defeated the emperor, had not Valens, upon timely notice of his approach, taken a different route by the lake Sunona, and the windings of the river Gallus^a. Thus was the emperor obliged to abandon Bithynia to the enemy, and retire with precipitation to Ancyra, where he continued waiting the arrival of the troops which Lupicinus was leading out of the East to his assistance. In the mean time Arintheus, one of his principal commanders, an officer of great prowess and reputation, meeting a party of the rebels, commanded by Hyperechius, formerly an apparitor, and scorning to enter the lists with such a contemptible enemy, commanded, with an air of authority, Hyperechius's own men to bring in chains their vile and despicable leader; a command which they obeyed accordingly, struck with the awful and majestic mien of that celebrated commander.

In the mean time Procopius, being informed that the money destined for the pay of the soldiers who served in the East, was lodged in the city of Cyzicus, hastened thither, laid siege to the place, and reduced it, though defended with great resolution and intrepidity by Serenianus, at that time comes domesticorum, who found means to make his escape; but was afterwards taken in Lydia, carried prisoner to Nice, and murdered by Marcellus, governor of the place^c. Procopius being now master of the Hellespont, appointed Hormisdas governor of that province, with the title of proconsul. He was the son of Hormisdas, brother to Sapor king of Persia, who had taken refuge in the court of Constantine the Great, and ever after served the Romans with great fidelity.

Procopius seizes on Cyzicus, and the treasure lodged there.

Procopius spent most part of the winter in endeavouring to draw over to his party the cities of Asia; but his designs were in great measure defeated by Clearchus, vicar of that province, and more by his own conduct; for having hitherto behaved with great moderation and humanity, he suddenly grew proud, haughty, and tyrannical, loading the provinces with exorbitant taxes, though he knew, that their aversion to Valens was chiefly owing to that prince's avarice. But nothing more prejudiced the people against him, than his commanding the house of Arbetio to be stripped of the moveables of inestimable value, and of the immense riches which that ancient and brave commander had ac-

He grows tyrannical.

^a Socrat. lib. iv, cap. 8. p. 216.

^c Zos. p. 328.

quired under Constantius. He exhibited this unseasonable proof of his indignation, though he had formerly lived in great friendship with him, upon his declining to visit him, on account of his great age and infirmities ^{p.} Valens, upon the arrival of the troops from the East, under the command of Lupicinus, left Galatia, whither he had retired from before Chalcedon, and marched into Lycia, in order to put the whole to the issue of a battle. As the soldiers of Procopius were greatly animated by the presence of Faustina, Constantius's widow, and her little daughter Constantina, whom Procopius carried about with him, and often exposed to the view of the army, Valens, to defeat that artifice, prevailed upon Arbeto, who had commanded the forces under Constantius, and was beloved by the soldiery, to join him, not doubting but the presence and interest of one of that prince's chief commanders would draw great numbers of the rebels over to his party. He was not mistaken in his conjecture; the presence of Arbeto, and the high opinion they all entertained of him, entirely turned the hearts of Procopius's men; a circumstance which Gomoarius, one of his chief commanders, being well apprised of, abandoned the tyrant, and submitted to Valens.

*Procopius
abandoned
by some of
his chief
officers.*

Yr. of Fl.
2816.
A. D. 366.
U. C. 1164.

*Defeated,
taken, and
put to
death.*

He afterwards advanced to Sardes, and from thence to Nicolia, a city of Phrygia, where he gave the rebels battle, the issue whereof continued doubtful, till Agilo, a German, one of Procopius's chief commanders, with many others, deserted to Valens; a defection which so disheartened Procopius, that, quitting his horse, he fled into an adjoining wood, attended by Florentius, and Barchalbas, a tribune. There they wandered about, till the moon shining out with great brightness, they began to apprehend they might be discovered. At length his companions, seizing him to save themselves, carried him to the emperor, who immediately ordered his head to be struck off, and sent it to Valentinian, then in Gaul ^{q.} Florentius and Barchalbas were likewise executed by the emperor's order. Such was the end of this usurper, in the forty-second year of his age, after he had borne the title of emperor about eight months.

Marcellus, governor of Nice, and kinsman to Procopius, hearing of his death, ordered Serenianus, who was a prisoner in the place, to be immediately dispatched, saving, by the death of one man, the lives of many, says Ammianus; for as he was remarkable for his cruelty, and had a

^p Ammian. p. 327. Eunap. cap. 5. p. 84. Themist. Orat. vii. p. 92—99.
^q Ammian. lib. xxvi. p. 329. Philost. lib. vii. cap. 5. p. 123.

great ascendant over Valens, whose countryman he was, it was feared, had he outlived the defeat of Procopius's party, he would have stimulated the emperor, too much inclined to revenge, and occasioned the destruction of many innocent persons^r. After this bold execution, Marcellus, informed that a body of Goths was marching to the assistance of Procopius, and not doubting but he should be able to draw them over to his own party, seized on the city of Chalcedon. There, being assisted by those whom poverty and despair had driven into rebellion, he assumed the purple, and caused himself to be proclaimed emperor. But Valens, upon the first intimation of his revolt, detached a party of chosen troops, who coming upon him unexpectedly, seized him, and having loaded him with chains, he was dragged to the public prison; whence he was taken out the next day, and, together with his accomplices, tortured to death^s.

Marcellus revolts;

but is taken, and tortured to death.

In the following year 367, Valens hearing that a body of three thousand Goths, come to the assistance of Procopius, had retreated upon the news of his death, but had not yet passed the Danube, he sent a strong detachment against them, who obliged them, notwithstanding the vigorous resistance they made, to lay down their arms, and surrender themselves prisoners^t. Athanaric, at that time king, or rather judge, of the Goths named Thervingi, dispatched ambassadors to Valens, earnestly intreating him to release the prisoners, and suffer them to return to their own country, since they had been sent by their prince, a friend and ally of the Romans, to the assistance of a Roman emperor. The ambassadors, after having delivered this message, produced a letter from Procopius to their master, wherein he assured him, that the empire belonged to him as the kinsman to Constantius, and the heir of the great Constantine's family. Valens returned no answer to the deputies; but sent Victor, then *magister equitum*, to complain in his name of Athanaric, for assisting a rebel against his lawful sovereign. The Goths replied, that they had considered Procopius as the kinsman of Constantine, and the heir of his family, adding, that it was not their business to examine whether he was, or was not a lawful prince; and that if they were deceived, the emperor ought to forgive them, since their counsels had been influenced by what appeared just and equitable. They could not, however, obtain the deliverance of their prisoners, Valens, who had

Valens resolves to make war upon the Goths.

^r Ammian. lib. xxvi. p. 325. ^s Ibid. p. 326, 327. ^t Zof. lib. iv. p. 740. Eunap. de Legation. p. 18.

no other enemy at that time to oppose, being desirous to humble that powerful nation ^u. This war was likely to prove dangerous, the Goths being then very powerful, and besides, elated with the great advantages they had gained over the neighbouring nations. Valens, being determined upon war, and informed of the strength and power of the enemy, made great preparations during the winter, with a design to fall upon the enemy early in the spring; but being told that the Goths, apprised of his design, were assembling a numerous army, in order to anticipate his hostilities, he took the field before the winter was over. Having sent strong detachments to guard the banks of the Danube, he encamped with the rest of the army in the neighbourhood of Marcianopolis, the metropolis of Lower Mœsia, where he raised Auxonius to the dignity of prefect, in the room of Sallustius Secundus, no longer able to discharge that office, on account of his great age.

In the beginning of the summer he left Marcianopolis, assembled his troops, passed the Danube at a place called Daphne, and spent the whole summer in ravaging and laying waste the enemy's country, without the least opposition, the Goths having retired, upon the approach of the Roman army, to the neighbouring mountains, called Serri, inaccessible to those who were not well acquainted with the country. In the beginning of the autumn he conducted his army to the Roman territories, and returned to Marcianopolis, where he passed the winter.

Yr. of Fl. 28: 7. A D. 367. U.C. 1165. The Isaurians, who had continued quiet since the year 359, now over-ran the neighbouring countries, plundering not only villages but towns, and advancing to Pamphylia and Cilicia, where they obtained an immense booty. Musonius, vicar of Asia, endeavoured to restrain them; but being unacquainted with the art of war, he was cut in pieces, with all his men. Musonius had taught rhetoric at Athens, from which employment he was raised to the dignity of proconsul at Achaia, and afterwards to that of vicar of Asia. However, the Isaurians were at length surrounded by the inhabitants of the countries which they had plundered, and their retreat being cut off, obliged to submit, and restore the booty they had taken. Their lives were spared, upon their promising to give no molestation to their neighbours for the future; and accordingly they observed their agreement till the year 376 ^w.

Great disorders committed by the Isaurian robbers.

^u Ammian. lib. xxvii. p. 340. Eunap. p. 18. Zof. p. 748. Jorn. Rer. Goth. cap. 23. p. 643.

^w Eunap. cap. 8. p. 125, 126.

From Marcianopolis the emperor marched early in the spring to Carpi, a village of Mœsia, with design to ravage the enemy's country; but he was obliged to encamp in the same place till the beginning of autumn, without ever being able to cross the Danube, which continued swelled beyond its usual boundaries all that summer. He therefore returned to Marcianopolis, where he took up his winter-quarters * (S).

Next summer he passed the Danube on a bridge of boats at Noviodunum, in Lesser Scythia, and penetrated far into the enemy's country, destroying all with fire and sword. Zosimus tells us, that the Goths falling frequently out of their woods and marshes upon the Romans, the emperor dispatched the servants who attended the army against them, promising a certain sum for each head they should bring. In consequence of this promise, such numbers of the enemy were killed in the woods and marshes where they lurked, that the rest, finding no-where a safe retreat, were obliged to submit †. Valens having attacked the Gruthungi, a warlike nation, at a considerable distance from the Danube, after several encounters, gained a signal victory over Athanaric. He then returned to Marcianopolis, with a design to winter there, and renew the war early in the spring. But in the mean while the Goths, weary of so destructive a war, which had lasted already three years, and reduced them to the utmost distress, sued for peace; which Valens at first refused to grant upon any terms, but was in the end, with difficulty, prevailed upon by the senate of Constantinople to accept their proposals ‡.

He invades anew the country of the Goths.

The Goths defeated, sue for peace, and obtain it.

Valens having approached the Danube, named Victor and Arintheus to treat with the Goths. After some conferences a peace was concluded upon the following terms: 1. That the Goths should not for the future pass the Danube, nor set foot on the Roman territories. 2. That the trade which they had been allowed by former treaties to carry on with the cities of the empire, should be restrained to two only, situated on the Danube. 3. That they should not claim nor expect the pensions that had been annually

Articles of the treaty.

* Amm. lib. xxxi. p. 460. † Zof. lib. iv. p. 741. ‡ Them. Orat. x. p. 133, 135.

(S) This year is remarkable for one of the most dreadful earthquakes that had ever been felt, by which the city of Nice was utterly ruined, and in that of Germa, in the Hellespont, only a few houses left standing (1).

(1) Socrat. lib. iv. cap. 11. p. 219.

paid them by other emperors; but nevertheless, that Athanaric's pension should be continued. When Valens and Athanaric were to meet, in order to ratify and sign the treaty, the latter could not be prevailed upon to pass the Danube, pretending that his father had obliged him solemnly to swear never to tread on Roman ground. On the other hand, Valens thinking it below the majesty of the empire to go to him, it was agreed, that the two princes should meet in boats in the middle of the river; where they accordingly ratified the peace to their mutual satisfaction ^a. In the course of this year dreadful disorders were committed in Syria by the inhabitants of a large village near Apamea, called Maratacupris, who, roving about the country, robbed all they met, and had even the boldness to enter some cities in the night-time, and plunder the houses of the most wealthy inhabitants. Valens sent a party of soldiers against them, with orders to set fire to their village, and put them all to the sword, without distinction of sex or age; a cruel order which was executed with the utmost rigour, the soldiers being, in express terms, commanded not to spare even the sucking children ^b.

*Severity of
Valens to
some rob-
bers.*

In the following year 370, Valens, leaving Constantinople, set out for Antioch; but he had scarce reached Nicomedia when he received news of the death of Eudoxius, the Arian bishop of Constantinople, in whose room the Arians, with his approbation, placed one Demophilus. The catholics too chose their bishop, and raised Evagrius to that see; but the emperor ordered a party of soldiers from Nicomedia, to drive him out. The Arians, thus countenanced by the emperor, raised a cruel persecution against the catholics, who had recourse to Valens, sending eighty ecclesiastics to lay their grievances before him; but the emperor, instead of redressing them, ordered Modestus, who had been raised to the dignity of prefect in the room of Auxonius, to put them all to death. Modestus, fearing the public execution of so many ecclesiastics might occasion great disturbances, embarked them all on board a vessel, pretending the emperor had ordered them to be sent into banishment; but when the vessel was at some distance from land, the mariners set fire to it, as had been privately concerted, saving themselves in their boat. The ship was driven, by a strong wind, into a harbour called by Socrates Dacidazus, and there consumed, with all who were in it. This cruelty, says that writer, was punished by heaven with a dreadful

*Valens
causes
eighty or-
thodox ec-
clesiastics to
be put to
death.*

^a Ammian. lib. xxxi. p. 341, 342.
367, 368.

^b Ibid. lib. xxviii. p.

famine, which obliged most of the inhabitants of Phrygia to abandon their country, and fly to other provinces for relief. Some unforeseen accident must have diverted the emperor from his intended journey to Antioch; for he was, as appears from the dates of several laws, on the tenth of June at Cyzicus; on the twelfth of December of this year, and during the months of January, February, and April, of the ensuing year, at Constantinople^c. He left this capital after the fifth of May, and proceeded to Syria, advancing slowly, and administering justice in all the cities through which he passed; a conduct which would have gained him the affections of the inhabitants, had he not, at the same time, established in every place the heresy of Arius, and betrayed an irreconcilable hatred to the catholics^d. He passed the winter at Cæsarea in Cappadocia, where, to his unspeakable grief, his only son Valentinian Galata died. This year the emperor divided Cappadocia into two provinces, appointing Tyana the metropolis of Cappadocia Secunda, as Cæsarea was of Cappadocia Prima. At the same time he divided Palestine into three provinces, Palæstina Prima, Palæstina Secunda, and Palæstina Salutaris. Cæsarea was the metropolis of the first, Scythopolis of the second, and Petra of the third. The latter city, with the greater part of Palæstina Salutaris, was dismembered from Arabia, as were several cities in the two other provinces from Phœnicia. The governor of Palæstina Prima was honoured with the title of consular; but those of the other two were only styled presidents^e. At what time Lycaonia, which had Iconium for its metropolis, was made a separate province, and those of Cilicia, Syria, and Phœnicia divided into two, and Arabia into three, we will not take upon us to determine. These divisions of provinces proved very burdensome to the people, and caused quarrels and disputes among the metropolitan bishops, as appears from the ecclesiastical historians, and the letters of St. Basil.

Valentinian, his only son, dies. Cappadocia divided into two provinces, and Palestine into three.

In the year 372, Valens left Cæsarea in Cappadocia early in the spring; for he was at Seleucia on the fourth of April, and on the thirteenth of the same month at Antioch. He repaired to Antioch to watch the motions of the Persians; for Sapor, laying claim to Armenia, which had formerly belonged to the kings of Persia, but not daring openly to invade it, left the Romans should espouse the cause of their allies, after having attempted in vain to allure the nobility over to his party, pretending great friendship for Arfaces

*Yr. of Fl. 2822.
A.D. 372.
U.C. 1170.*

Sapor begins new troubles in Armenia and Iberia.

^c Cod. Theodof. Chron. p. 87—89.

^d Zof. lib. iv. p. 742.

^e Hier. Quæst. Hebr. p. 212. Cod. Theod. tit. 4. p. 171. Notit. cap.

21. p. 3.

their king, he invited him to a banquet, during which he ordered the unsuspecting prince to be seized; and having put out his eyes, sent him in chains to the castle of Agabana, where he was soon after put to death^f. Sapor, having treacherously dispatched Arfaces, gave the government of Armenia to Cylax and Artabanes, both natives of the country, but inviolably attached to his interest. Then driving out Sauromaces, whom the Romans had created king of Iberia, he put Aspacuras in his place, cousin-german to Sauromaces, honouring him with a diadem, which the Romans had refused to the other. Olympias, the daughter of Ablavius, one of Constantine's chief officers, given by that prince in marriage to Arfaces, was no sooner informed of the captivity of her husband, than she took refuge with her son Paras in a strong fort called Artogerassa, where the king's treasures were deposited. Cylax and Artabanes were immediately ordered by Sapor to lay siege to the place; which they invested accordingly; but pitying the forlorn condition of the queen and young prince, they agreed with the besieged to abandon the Persians to their fury; who were accordingly, almost to a man, cut off, in a sally made by agreement in the night time, while the guards themselves in the camp were asleep, Cylax and Artabanes having given out, that the besieged had demanded and obtained a truce for two days, in order to consider on the terms that had been offered. The queen, thus delivered from the present danger, sent her son Paras to implore the assistance of the emperor, who caused him to be entertained for some time at Neocæsarea in Pontus, in a manner suitable to his rank and condition. However, not daring to assist him openly, at the request of the nobility of Armenia he charged Terentius, who commanded on the borders of that country, with the title of comes or count, to conduct him into his father's kingdom, which he suffered him to govern, but without the title of king, or any of the ensigns of royalty, lest the Persians should look upon his appointing him king as a breach of the peace.

*He seizes
and ruins
several
fortresses in
Armenia.*

Sapor was no sooner informed of what had passed in Armenia, than, transported with rage, he detached a strong body of troops into that kingdom, who, committing dreadful ravages, obliged Paras, who was not in a condition to oppose them, to take refuge, with Cylax and Artabanes, among the inaccessible mountains between the Roman territories and Lazica. The Persians, in the mean time, after having taken and burnt several fortresses, invested Artoge-

^f *Ammian. lib. xxv. p. 300. & lib. xxvii. p. 353.*

raffa, which, after several attacks, they took and destroyed, carrying away the wife and treasures of Arfaces. Sapor, finding he could not get Paras into his power, had recourse to his usual artifices, in which he seldom miscarried. By private messages to the young prince, whose cause he promised to espouse, he prevailed upon him to cut off the heads of Cylax and Artabanes, who, he said, were rather his governors than ministers, and send them into Persia^z. Valens, who had hitherto declined sending troops into Armenia, lest he should be charged with a breach of the peace, was no sooner informed of these proceedings, than he ordered Arintheus, one of the best commanders of his age, with a powerful army, into that kingdom, which by these means was preserved. The Persians not daring to send more troops thither, through fear of being overpowered by the Romans. Sapor complained to Valens for sending troops to the assistance of the Armenians, which, he said, was a manifest breach of the treaty concluded between him and Jovian. Valens, without regarding the complaints of the Persian king, ordered a reinforcement of troops to Arintheus, and at the same time dispatched Terentius, with twelve legions, into Iberia, to restore Sauromaces, driven out of his kingdom by the Persians. Terentius was met, as he drew near the river Cyrus, by ambassadors from Aspacuras, whom the Persians had created king of Iberia, desiring, that he and his kinsman Sauromaces might reign jointly, since he could neither resign nor take part with the Romans, his son being detained as a hostage in the Persian court.

Valens sends troops to the assistance of the Armenians,

The emperor being acquainted with his proposal, and willing to settle the affairs of Iberia without bloodshed, consented to a partition of the country, assigning to Sauromaces that part which lay south of the river Cyrus, and next to Armenia and Lazica, and the remainder, bordering upon Albania and Persia, to Aspacuras^b. This division highly incensed Sapor, who loudly complained, that the Romans, contrary to the treaty of peace, had sent troops into Armenia, and had, without his knowledge or consent divided Iberia. Being now resolved to make war upon the Romans, he assembled his forces, concluded alliances with the neighbouring princes, and spent the winter in vast preparations. However, he could not put himself in a condition to act this year; for we do not find that he attempted any thing, or even appeared in the field. Valens advanced to the banks of the Euphrates and the

Iberia divided into two kingdoms.

^z Ammian. lib. xxvii. p. 353—355.

^b Themist. Orat. xi. p.

Tigris; whence he returned in the latter end of autumn, without undertaking any thing which authors have thought worthy of notice. About this time a conspiracy was formed against Valens, but seasonably discovered^l: and this is all we find in history concerning it. Next year Sapor sent a considerable army towards the borders of the Roman empire, where they were opposed by Trajan, an officer of great experience, and Vadomarius, formerly king of the Alemans, at the head of a numerous and chosen body of troops. The Roman generals had orders not to attack the Persians first, that the emperor might not be charged with commencing hostilities; but the Persians falling upon them, they gained a complete victory. However, Valens readily consented to a truce; which was no sooner concluded than he returned to Antioch, and Sapor to Ctesiphon, for both princes had advanced as far as Mesopotamia, to support their respective generals^k.

The Persians defeated.

The conspiracy of Theodorus:

While Valens passed the winter at Antioch, many of all ranks and conditions were accused of attempting to learn, by magical practices and forbidden arts, the name of the person who was to succeed him in the empire. Some of them confessed the crime laid to their charge, and declared, that Theodorus, the emperor's second secretary, was the man whom the stars seemed to have destined to the empire. Theodorus was descended of an illustrious family in Gaul or Sicily, endowed with extraordinary accomplishments, and in every respect worthy of the empire, if he had not had the ambition of aspiring to it, and endeavouring to raise himself by unlawful means to that high station^l; for all authors agree that he countenanced the execrable practices of the magicians. Ammianus, who, it seems, was then at Antioch, or at least in that neighbourhood, gives us a very particular and distinct account of what passed on that occasion, which it would be too tedious to transcribe. Theodorus was found guilty, not only of magical practices, which were forbidden on pain of death, but of having conspired with others to take away the emperor's life; for which crimes he was beheaded^m.

who is beheaded.

Many innocent persons put to death.

No one would have complained, if only Theodorus and his accomplices had suffered; but innumerable innocent persons were on that occasion inhumanly racked, and afterwards either executed or exiled: a diligent search was made, not only after those who had been privy to the conspiracy, but after such as were only suspected of practising

^l Themist. Orat. xi. p. 148.
¹ Soz. lib. vi. cap. 35. p. 229.

^k Ammian. lib. xxix. p. 383
Ammian. lib. xxix. p. 389, & seq.

magic. Such numbers were daily accused and seized, that the public prisons could no longer contain them, and few of those who were apprehended, had the good fortune to escape death or banishment. Diogenes, formerly governor of Bithynia, was publicly executed; and Salia, treasurer of Thrace, expired at the officer's feet who was to examine him, overcome by the apprehension of the torture he was to undergoⁿ. Bassianus, whom some writers suppose to have been the son of Bassianus Cæsar, brother-in-law to Constantine the Great^o, was saved by the powerful intercession of his relations, who were persons of great distinction, but stripped of his estate and all his effects. The two brothers Eusebius and Hypatius, brothers-in-law to Constantius, who had been consuls, were accused of having aspired to the empire; and though the charge could not be proved, yet they were banished, and condemned to pay a large fine, but soon after recalled, and advanced to great honours. Entropius, proconsul of Asia, was accused of having been privy to the conspiracy of Theodorus; but the philosopher Pasiophilus, who was brought as an evidence against him, having suffered all the torments cruelty itself could invent, without laying any thing to his charge, he was dismissed, but deprived of his employment, which was given to Festus the historian, who discharged it for the space of five years with the most horrid barbarity. Alypius, formerly vicar of Britain, and employed by Julian in rebuilding the temple of Jerusalem, was accused with his son Hierocles, the disciple of Libanius, as a poisoner: the father was stripped of his estate, and banished; and the son condemned to death, but saved (as Ammianus writes), by accident.

But the most rigorous enquiries were made after the Pagan philosophers, who were, in general, addicted to the study of magic. The most considerable among them were publicly executed; namely, Hilarius, who was burnt alive, Patricius, Andronicus, and Cæranus: Maximus, the famous master of Julian, was carried to Antioch to be examined, and afterwards to Ephesus, where Festus ordered his head to be cut off, though he was then so ill that he must have ended his life in a few days, without the intervention of the executioner^p. Zonares writes, that the philosopher Iamblichus, by a draught of poison, prevented his falling into the emperor's hands^q. Valens expected, and greatly desired, to find Libanius in the number of the

Maximus and other philosophers put to death.

ⁿ Sozom. lib. vi. cap. 35. p. 694. ^o Cange Byz. Fam. ^p Eunap. cap. 5. p. 88, 89. ^q Zonar. p. 28.

guilty : nothing was alleged against him, though, as to magical practices, he owns he was not free from guilt ; but as to the conspiracy of Theodorus, he solemnly protests, that he was altogether a stranger^t. Diligent search was made, not only after magicians, but after all books treating of magic, which, wherever discovered, were committed to the flames, with those in whose possession they were found. These enquiries extended to all the provinces subject to Valens ; and from the most remote parts were daily brought to Antioch numbers of people to be tried as magicians, because books of magic had been found in their custody (T)

*Festus
practises
great cru-
elties.*

On this occasion Festus, proconsul of Asia, distinguished himself above the other ministers of the emperor's cruelty, torturing with the utmost inhumanity, and putting to death, without distinction of sex, age, or condition, such as were convicted, or only suspected, of having used any kind of charms or enchantments : he tortured the philosopher Cæranus till he expired, for no other crime but because in a letter to his wife he had used a proverbial expression, which looked like a charm : a woman was executed for pretending to cure agues by a charm, though she had before been sent for, with his knowledge and consent, to cure his own daughter. A young man being observed in a public bath to touch the marble with the fingers of both his hands, the one after the other, and then putting them to his breast, to repeat the seven vowels, which he fancied was an immediate remedy against a pain in the stomach, Festus caused him to be immediately seized, tortured, and put to death^u. At Antioch, a person being accused of having written a book of magic, found an opportunity of throwing it into the river before he was apprehended : but this expedient did not save him ; for though the book could not be produced against him, yet he was, after a short hearing, condemned, and publicly executed.

This year is likewise remarkable for the death of Parask king of Armenia, treacherously murdered by the Romans.

^t Lib. Vit. p. 56, 57.

^u Ammian. lib. xxix. p. 390.

(T) Ammianus tells us, that the officers themselves, out of the most diabolical malice, often conveyed privately among the other writings, some charm or enchantment ; upon which the persons, to whom they were supposed to belong, were immediately seized and condemn-

ed, and their estates confiscated. Hereupon persons of all ranks were filled with such terror, that they burnt their libraries, lest, amongst their other books, any should be found unknown to them, treating of forbidden arts.

He had submitted to the king of Persia, as we have observed above; but afterwards renewed, it seems, his alliance with the Romans, and was by them acknowledged king, since Ammianus gives him that title; but several persons, at the head of whom was count Terentius, having transmitted to court unfavorable accounts of his conduct and administration, the emperor sent for him, on pretence of consulting him about the prosecution of the Persian war. Upon his arrival at Tarsus in Cilicia, he was commanded to wait till farther orders; but being in the mean time informed that the emperor's design was to arrest him, and appoint another king of Armenia in his room, he resolved to make his escape, with the assistance of three hundred of his own subjects, who had privately provided horses for that purpose. They set out in the dusk of the evening; but were soon pursued and overtaken by a whole legion, sent to prevent their escape. At their approach, Paras faced about, and charged them with such resolution, that they fled with precipitation. After this effort, he travelled night and day till he reached the Euphrates, which he passed upon barrels joined together, and pursued his journey with extraordinary expedition. But in the mean time the emperor, having notice of his escape, dispatched a thousand archers, under the command of two principal officers, to bring him back. These being well acquainted with the country, to which Paras was altogether a stranger, getting through private roads before him, divided their forces, and seized on two passes, three miles distant from each other, through one of which they took it for granted he would pass. But being informed of his danger by a traveller, and conducted through bye-paths and thick woods, he escaped the ambuscade, and arrived safe in his dominions, where he was received with inexpressible joy, while the Roman officers, who had long waited for him, were derided and ridiculed upon their disappointment. This disgrace incensed them to such a degree against Paras, that, in order to hasten his ruin, they made the credulous emperor believe, that the young prince was a famous magician, and knew how to consume and waste a man's body by degrees, though at ever so great a distance. The emperor was so much alarmed at these insinuations, that though Paras, forgetting the late affront, continued faithful to the Romans, yet his death was resolved on, and orders were sent to Trajan, who commanded the Roman forces in Armenia, to dispatch him by treachery, if he could not by open force.

*Paras,
king of Ar-
menia, de-
tained at
Tarsus.
He makes
his escape.*

The manner which Trajan chose to put this cruel command in execution was no less base and inhuman than the command

Is treacherously murdered.

command itself. Having gained the young prince's confidence, by frequenting his table, and producing counterfeit letters from Valens, filled with the most tender expressions of kindness, he prevailed upon him to accept of an entertainment at his house, during which he was barbarously murdered by a ruffian hired for that purpose¹. The death of Paras gave great uneasiness to Sapor, who had hoped to gain him over to his interest. He was therefore no sooner informed of his fate than he dispatched ambassadors to Valens with proposals for an accommodation. The remaining part of this year was spent in negotiations, but without success, the emperor, who was then at the head of a numerous and well-disciplined army, being desirous of retrieving the glory of the Roman arms, and recovering the provinces given up by the treaty with Jovian. But in the mean time, Thrace being threatened with a general invasion of the Goths, he was obliged to conclude a peace with the Persians, but upon what terms we know not.

Gratian succeeds his father Valentinian.

Next year Valens was alarmed by an embassy from the Goths, who, being driven out of their own country by the Huns, desired permission to settle in Thrace. But before we speak of that embassy, and the memorable events attending it, we must take a cursory view of what happened in the West after the death of Valentinian, who, as we have related already, died at Bregetio on the seventeenth of November. He left two sons, Gratian, born in 359, and created emperor by his father on the twenty-fourth of August 367; and Valentinian, born in 371. As Gratian was at a great distance from the army when his father died, having been left, as we have observed, at Treves, the great officers of the court, uncertain what such an extraordinary and unexpected accident might produce, especially among the Gauls, who served in the army, and were then ravaging the country of the Quadi beyond the Danube, dispatched a messenger with intelligence of the emperor's death to Merobaudes their leader, who thereupon sent immediately out of the way, pursuant to his instructions, count Sebastian, an officer greatly beloved by the soldiery, and then marched back to the camp at Bregetio. Upon his arrival, it was resolved in a general council of all the chief officers, both civil and military, that Valentinian, the second son of the deceased emperor, then a child but four or five years old, should be declared his successor. He was therefore brought without delay from a village, named Murocincta, about a

¹ Ammian. lib. xxx. p. 412—415.

hundred miles distant from Bragetto, and upon his arrival proclaimed emperor, with the usual solemnity, the sixth day after the death of his father. This step they took to prevent any sudden attack from the enemy, or mutiny in the army. They hoped that Gratian, who was then seventeen years old, and had already given proofs of an extraordinary mild temper, and an uncommon understanding, would acquiesce in the motives which had induced them to prefer his brother to the empire without his knowledge or consent.

Yr. of Fl.
2325.
A. D. 375.
U. C. 1173.

Valentinian II. proclaimed emperor by the officers of the army.

Gratian at first complained of their taking such an extraordinary step before they had consulted him; but immediately confirmed their election, and ever after treated young Valentinian more like his child than his brother. The election being confirmed by Gratian, and soon after by Valens, the Western provinces were divided between the two brothers: Valentinian had for his share Italy, Illyricum, and Africa; and Gratian possessed Gaul, Spain, and Britain. This division was made, not by Gratian, who was yet too young, as Zosimus pretends, but by the great officers of the court. As they did not consult Valens, some misunderstanding arose between that prince and his nephews. Notwithstanding this partition, Gratian alone governed the Western provinces to his death, Valentinian not being capable of acting on account of his non-age, so long as Gratian lived. The first thing Gratian did after the death of his father, and the promotion of his brother, was to recall his mother Severa, who had been divorced and banished by Valentinian, and restore her to her former honours *.

In the following year, 376, Valens was consul the fifth time, and Valentinian the first. Gratian, being informed of the horrid cruelties practised by Maximinus both in Italy and Gaul, caused him to be publicly executed; and appointed Antonius, prefect of Gaul, in his room. Simplicius, who had been vicar of Rome in 374, and Doryphorianus, who had succeeded him in that office, underwent the same fate, being accused of the like crimes: the former was beheaded in Illyricum, and the latter put to a cruel death, at the instigation of Severa, says Ammianus, in Gaul, whither he was conveyed from the Tullian prison in Rome. As these three cruel and bloody magistrates had, with the utmost injustice, murdered a great number of senators, Gratian, by a declaration published this year, established the

Maximinus, and his accomplices, put to death.

* Ammian. lib. xxx. p. 433, 434. Zof. lib. iv. p. 746. Socrat. lib. iv. cap. 31. p. 249. * Eunap. Legat. p. 19. x Chron. Alex. p. 704. Ammian. lib. xxviii. p. 366.

The celebrated count Theodosius unjustly put to death.

Young Theodosius retires to his native country.

Gratian grants several exemptions to the clergy.

method of trying senators^y, which was read by Symmachus in the senate on the thirteenth of August^z. Maximinus, Simplicius, and Doryphorianus, had long deserved the fate which at length overtook them, and died unlamented; but the death of the renowned Theodosius, one of the greatest officers and best men of his age, is a stain on the character of Gratian never to be effaced. Of his glorious exploits in Britain and Africa we have already spoken in the reign of Valentinian; but, notwithstanding the eminent services he had rendered the empire, he was this year by an order from court beheaded at Carthage, after he had triumphed over Firmus, and with his prudence and abilities restored Africa to its former tranquility (U).

His son, named likewise Theodosius, who, being duke of Mœsia in 374, had, with a courage and conduct far above his years, defended that province against the incursions of the Barbarians, as we have related above, was obliged to yield to the storm, and retire to Spain his native country, where he lived in exile, till he was recalled by Gratian, and raised to the empire.

During these transactions in the West, the Goths, driven out of their own country by the Huns, approached the banks of the Danube, to the number of two hundred thousand men; and, being admitted by Valens into Thrace, they subdued that province. Gratian was on the twenty-seventh of February at Treves, where he had passed the winter, and on the twenty-eighth of July at Mayence, perhaps on some expedition against the Germans not mentioned in history; for Ausonius relates, that he took some Germans prisoners, and brought them with him into Gaul^a. He had returned to Treves on the seventeenth of September^b. By a law dated the fifth of March, and addressed to Cataphronus vicar of Italy, he grants many exemptions to the clergy.

^y Cod. Theodof. p. 96.

^z Symm. lib. x. ep. 2. p. 390, 391.

^a Auson. Consul. p. 378.

^b Cod. Theod. Chron. p. 97, 98.

(U) His death was owing, if St Jerom (1), Orosius (2), and St. Ambrose (3), are to be credited, to the malicious suggestions of certain persons at court, who, envying him the great reputation he had deservedly acquired, filled the

young prince's mind with jealousies and suspicions. He was, at his earnest request, baptized just before he died; so that his death was no less exemplary, than his life had been glorious (4).

(1) Hier. Chron. brof. Div. 3. p. 125.

(2) Oros. lib. vii. cap. 33. p. 219.

(3) Am-

(4) Oros. ibid,

A dreadful plague raged this year in most of the Western provinces, and swept off incredible numbers of people^c. The following year 378, when Valens was consul the sixth time, and Valentinian the second, the Goths, from Thrace, advanced into Macedon and Thessaly, committing everywhere dreadful ravages; they even approached Constantinople itself, plundered the suburbs, kept the city for some time blocked up, and, in the end gave the emperor a total overthrow. Valens himself perished on this occasion, as all authors agree, though they differ in their accounts of his death; for some write, that he was killed upon the spot; and others, that, being wounded in the field, and unable to fly, he was carried to a peasant's house, which his attendants fortified. But, the Barbarians, not suspecting the emperor to be there, set fire to it, and it was consumed with all that were in it, except a youth, who, having made his escape, first out of the flames, and afterwards from the enemy, gave the Romans an account of the emperor's unhappy end^d. Such was the end of Valens, after he had lived about fifty years, and reigned fifteen, four months, and some days^e (W).

*The Goths
block up
Constanti-
nople.*

Yr. of Fl.
2828.
A. D. 378.
U. C. 1176.

*The death
of Valens.*

He was a stranger to every branch of literature, and no better acquainted with the military art than with the liberal sciences. He did not even understand the Greek tongue, though he had reigned so many years in the East among the Greeks. He discovered no expedients himself; but, when they were proposed by others, had discernment enough to adopt the best and most proper^f. He was naturally indolent and inactive, an enemy to labour, and averse to business, which was owing to the indolent life he had led, free from trouble, till he was created emperor. He was ex-

*His cha-
racter.*

^c Ambr. in Luc. xxi. p. 203. Biblioth. Patr. tom. viii. p. 579;
^d Ammian. p. 462. ^e Idem, lib. xxxi. p. 463, 464. ^f Themist.
Orat. vi p. 11. & Orat. ix. p. 71.

(W) All authors agree, that neither his body, nor the least remains of it, were ever found; and that his memory was honoured by no funeral obsequies. Ecclesiastical writers look upon his death as a judgment from Heaven, for his persecuting with great cruelty the catholics, and his encouraging the

heresy of Arius, which flourished and increased in his reign, more than it had done under any of his predecessors. With him perished in the flames, according to the modern Greeks, his great-chamberlain, a zealous patron of the Arians, and an avowed enemy to the orthodox believers (1).

tremely timorous, and unwilling to expose himself to danger. To this disposition most authors ascribe the extraordinary deference which he always paid to his brother Valentinian^g. Themistius commends his chastity; and Ammianus, a writer not partial in his favour, does not reproach him with lewdness and debauchery. He was constant and faithful in his friendship, several instances of which are related by Ammianus. He raised such only of his relations as were persons of merit, and, in general, had regard to merit alone in the disposal of employments. He kept a watchful eye over his ministers, exacted military discipline with great rigour, not suffering his soldiers to do the least injury to those through whose countries they marched, and shewed himself on all occasions ready to redress the complaints of his injured subjects^h. He discharged the foreign guards, who had been employed by other princes as the ministers of their cruelty. He was thoroughly acquainted with the state of his finances, and therefore did not suffer himself to be imposed upon by those who managed his accounts. Themistius styles him the Father of the Provinces, on account of the great care he took in easing them of the heavy taxes with which they had been loaded by his predecessors. Ammianus owns, that he could not with more care have consulted the good of his own family than he did the welfare of all his subjects; and that the Eastern provinces had been under no prince happier than under him. However, all authors agree, that he had a strong inclination to avarice and cruelty, which, joined to his jealous and suspicious temper, induced him often to condemn innocent persons, and seize on their estates. The least suspicion of treason rendered him inexorable, says Ammianus, and his ears were open to all manner of accusations.

his issue.

He left two daughters, Carosa and Anastasia; but all we know of them is, that Procopius, who became famous in the latter end of the reign of Theodosius, married one of them, being styled by Zosimusⁱ and Sozomen^k, the son-in-law of Valens. What became of the empress Albia Dominica, after the death of her husband, we are not told. St. Chrysostom, who wrote about the year 381, observes, that the widow of an emperor, who had been banished by another prince, was then recalled by the mediation of many persons of distinction, who with much difficulty obtained that favour^l. Most writers take the empress, of whom he speaks

^g Vict. Epit. Theodor. Vit. Patr. p. 815.
Orat. x. p. 158.

^h Themist.

ⁱ Zof. lib. v. p. 786.

^k Soz. lib. iv.

cap. 9. p. 649.

^l Chryf. ad Vid. Jun. p. 463.

in that place, to have been the widow of the emperor Valens: but as to the cause of her disgrace and misfortune, we are quite in the dark. With the death of Valens, Ammianus Marcellinus ends his history (X).



C H A P. LXII.

*The History of the Eastern and Western Empire,
from the Death of Valens to the Division of
the Empire.*

GRATIAN, alarmed at the danger that threatened the Eastern provinces, harassed by the Barbarians, resolved to march in person to the assistance of his uncle, as soon as the season would permit. In the mean time he ordered part

(X) Ammianus Marcellinus was a native of Antioch, where his family made some figure (1). He served several years in the army, in quality of domesticus, which was then an honourable post. He attended Julian in his Persian expedition, and was at Antioch, or in that neighbourhood, when the conspiracy of Theodorus was discovered in the reign of Valens (2). His history was divided into thirty-one books, and comprised the reigns of all the emperors, from Domitian, where Suetonius ends, to the death of Valens; but of his thirty-one books, only the last eighteen, beginning after the death of Magnentius in 353, have reached our times. Though he was a Greek, he chose to write in Latin; but his Latin, in the opinion of Vossius, speaks him both a Greek and a soldier (3). Eutropius wrote his abridgement

of the Roman history in the reign of Valentinian and Valens, and inscribed it to the latter, having undertaken it at his request. He attended Julian in his expedition into Persia (4). He seems to have been of the senatorial order; for, at the head of his work, he is distinguished with the title of clarissimus, which was peculiar to senators. In the reign of Valentinian, and before the year 376, died, according to St. Jerom, Aquilius, or Acilius Severus, a native of Spain, who wrote the history of his own life in prose and verse, under the title of Catastrophe. He was descended from another Severus, to whom Lactantius inscribed two books of his letters. St. Jerom places him among the ecclesiastic writers (5); but his work has been long since lost.

(1) Ammian. lib. xix. p. 144.

(3) Voss. Hist. Lat. lib. ii. cap. 9. p. 201.

(5) Hier. Vir. Illustr. cap. 111.

(2) Idem, lib. xxix. p. 387.

(4) Eutrop. p. 589.

The Lentienſes paſs the Rhine, and break into Gaul.

of the forces in Gaul to march into Illyricum, and, joining the troops quartered in that province, to enter Thrace, and reinforce the army which Valens had ſent thither. This meaſure the Germans, called Lentienſes, whoſe country bordered upon Rhætia, no ſooner underſtood, than, in violation of the treaty which they had but lately concluded with Gratian, they paſſed the Rhine upon the ice, to the number of forty thouſand men; and, entering Gaul, committed dreadful ravages in the neighbourhood of that river. In conſequence of this invaſion the emperor recalled the troops from Illyricum, and ſent them, reinforced with thoſe that were left in Gaul under the conduct of count Nannianus, and Mallobaudes, king of the Franks, who ſerved in the Roman army in quality of comes domeſticorum, to drive back the Lentienſes, whoſe numbers encreaſed daily, the Romans, who guarded the banks of the Rhine having, through fear of the Barbarians, deſerted their ſtations. The two generals, though at the head of a handful of men, gave them battle in the neighbourhood of Argentaria, where the preſent city of Colmar ſtands. The Romans at firſt gave ground, being overpowered with numbers; but, after a ſevere conflict, gained a complete victory, and made ſuch a dreadful havock of the enemy, that, out of ſuch a prodigious multitude, ſcarce five thouſand made their eſcape, thirty thouſand of them being killed upon the ſpot, and the reſt either ſlain in the purſuit, or taken priſoners. Their king Triarius, the chief author of the war, was in the number of the ſlain ^m.

They are utterly deſeated by the Romans.

They ſubmit to Gratian.

After this victory, Gratian paſſed the Rhine at the head of his army; and, entering the enemy's country, enclorſed them among the barren mountains, to which they had fled with their families; and by theſe means reduced them in a ſhort time to ſuch diſtreſs, that they were forced to ſubmit to the terms the conqueror thought fit to preſcribe; one of which was, that they ſhould deliver up their youth to ſerve in the Roman army. The Romans were greatly reinforced by this new acceſſion of ſtrength, and at the ſame time that inconstant and faithleſs nation was diſabled from raiſing freſh diſturbances in the emperor's abſence. In this expedition, Gratian gave ſignal proofs of his courage, prudence, clemency, and generoſity; which gained him the eſteem and affection of his troops ⁿ. He immediately wrote to Valens, acquainting him with the victory, and entreating him not to hazard a battle till he had joined him, which he aſſured

^m Ammian. lib. xxxi. p. 453, 454. Viſt. Epit. Hier. in Chron.
ⁿ Ammian. lib. xxxi. p. 455.

him would be very soon: but Valens, jealous of the reputation of his nephew, which he thought eclipsed his own, and desirous of equalling his exploits against the Germans, resolved to give battle before his arrival, that he might enjoy, without a rival, the glory of the victory, which he looked upon as certain.

In the mean time Gratian, having provided for the security of Gaul, began his march, and with great expedition advanced to Arbor Felix, now Arbon, on the lake of Constance, and from thence to Lauriacum, now Lork, in Austria, on the Danube, between the Traun and the Ens. There he embarked part of his troops on the Danube, and marched by land with the rest to Bononia in Lower Dacia, and from thence to Sirmium, where he remained but four days, though he was then ill of an intermitting fever. From Sirmium he pursued his march along the Danube to a fort in the same province, called Castra Martis. In his march, some of his men, who had straggled from the army, were intercepted, and cut off, by the Alans. From Castra Martis, he dispatched Richomeres, his comes domesticorum, to acquaint Valens of his arrival: but Valens, hastening the battle, that his nephew might have no share in the victory, was utterly defeated, and perished, with two-thirds of his army, in the manner we have already related. The day after the engagement, the Goths, informed by a deserter, that Valens had left many persons of great distinction in Adrianople, and that the imperial treasure was lodged there, invested the place; but being repulsed with great slaughter, they abandoned the enterprize; and marching towards Perinthus or Heraclea, laid waste that fertile country, then advanced to Constantinople, hoping to make themselves masters of that stately metropolis: but the Saracens, whom Mavia their queen had sent to the assistance of the Romans, and who were more formidable in sudden onsets than regular engagements, having in several sallies cut off great numbers of the Goths, the rest raised the siege, and retired from the neighbourhood of that city.

The remaining part of this year they spent in ravaging Thrace, Scythia, Mœsia, and even Illyricum, as far as the Julian Alps, which part that province from Italy^p. The neighbouring Barbarians, namely the Quadi and Sarmatians, entered the Roman territories at the same time, putting all to fire and sword, and surpassing the Goths themselves in the horrid cruelties they practised^p. St. Jerom

Gratian marches to the assistance of his uncle.

Valens gives battle, and is defeated and killed before his arrival. The Goths besiege in vain Adrianople and Constantinople.

Dreadful ravages committed by the Goths, and other Barbarians.

^p Ammian. p. 456—458. & lib. xx. p. 160.
iv. p. 751.

^p Zof. lib.

*All the
Goths put
to the
sword in
the East.*

gives us a pathetic account of the calamities suffered at that time by the subjects of the empire. The cities of Illyricum which suffered most on this occasion, were Petavio and Murfia; the former is said to have been betrayed to the Barbarians by Valens, whom the Arians had attempted to raise to that see ⁹. As there were great numbers of Goths, who served in the Roman armies, quartered in the forts and cities of Asia, Julius, who commanded in that province, apprehending they would join their countrymen, by private letters sent to the governors of the cities where they were quartered, ordered them all to be massacred at the same time. This inhuman order was put in execution without the least noise or disturbance, and Asia delivered from the danger it had just reason to apprehend; for Zosimus assures us, that the Goths only wanted an opportunity to revolt, and treat the Romans as they were treated by them ^r.

*Gratian
sends for
Theodosius,*

We left Gratian on the frontiers of Thrace, ready to enter that province, and join Valens; but he no sooner heard the news of his death, and of the great loss the Romans had sustained in the fatal battle of Adrianople, which were brought to him by Victor, who had had the good fortune to escape the general slaughter, than he retreated to Sirmium, to deliberate on the most proper measures to be taken in so critical a conjuncture. After a short stay at Sirmium, he marched, at the head of all the forces he could assemble, to Constantinople, to secure that metropolis. In the mean time, reflecting how many brave officers had perished in the present war, and how much he stood in need of an able and faithful general, he sent for Theodosius, who, after having given signal proofs of his courage, conduct, and experience, in military affairs, had, upon the death of his father, retired to Spain, his native country. Theodosius obeyed the emperor's command; and, quitting his retirement, proceeded to Illyricum, where he was received by Gratian with the greatest demonstrations of kindness and esteem, and soon after sent, at the head of a considerable army, against the Sarmatians, who were in full march to join the Goths: but Theodosius, falling upon them, cut the greater part of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to repass the Danube. From Constantinople the emperor returned to Sirmium, where he passed the winter. He no sooner saw himself, by the death of Valens, master of the East, than he recalled, and restored to their sees, the orthodox bishops, who had been banished by Valens; and,

*who gains
a complete
victory
over the
Sarmatians.
Gratian
recalls the
banished
bishops.*

⁹ Ambros. epist. 1. p. 167.
p. 469.

^r Zos. p. 751. Ammian.

by an edict, granted entire liberty of conscience to Christians of all denominations, except the Manichees, the Photinians, and the Eunomians, whom he would not suffer to have any churches. This edict put a period to the persecution which the Arians had raised, and carried on with great cruelty, against the Catholics, during the reign of Valens. Gratian, notwithstanding his zeal for the orthodox faith, did not for the present meddle any farther with religious affairs, through fear of raising new disturbances, which, in the present distracted state of the empire, might have been attended by dangerous consequences. This law, granting liberty of conscience to all Christians, seems to have taken place only in the East, where the Catholics did not enjoy it before; for by another law enacted this year, and addressed to Flavianus vicar of Africa, he absolutely condemns the Donatists, orders their churches to be delivered to the catholics, and declares, that he will suffer no other doctrine to be taught or held, except that which is agreeable to the gospel, to the faith of the apostles, and to the tradition of the church.

He condemns the Donatists.

While he resided at Sirmium, surrounded on all sides by the Barbarians, he named Ausonius and Olybrius consuls for the ensuing year. He wrote to Ausonius, who had been his preceptor, a most condescending letter, acquainting him with his promotion, and at the same time presented him with the consular robe, that which the emperors wore when they triumphed¹. As Valens died without issue male, Gratian, by his death, became sole master of the empire; but not thinking himself equal to so great a burden, especially at so critical a conjuncture, when the Goths, Hunns, Alans, Sarmatians, and Quadians, had made irruptions into the empire on one side, and the Alemans and other German nations were ready to invade it on the other, he resolved to take a colleague capable of easing him of part of his burden, and extricating the state from the difficulties under which it laboured. Valentinian shared indeed the title, but not the authority, of emperor, he being then but seven, or at most eight years old. Without any regard, therefore, to his own relations, or rather regarding those, to use the expression of Themistius, as his nearest relations, who were best qualified for so great a trust, he determined to assume Theodosius for his partner in the supreme power; a person of extraordinary accomplishments, no less admired on account of his exemplary piety, than for

He raises the post Ausonius to the consularship.

¹ Auson. Conf. p. 381.

his prudence, his experience in war, and the glorious exploits he had already performed.¹

Yr. of Fl. Pursuant to this resolution, he declared him emperor at Sirmium on the nineteenth of January of the ensuing year
2727.
A D. 379
U. C. 1122. 379, while Ausonius and Q. Clodius Hermogenianus Olybrius were consuls. It was with the utmost difficulty that

*He raises
Theodosius
to the em-
pire ;*

Gratian prevailed upon him to accept what others sought with so much ambition, and employed the most unlawful means to attain. He refused what others looked upon as the greatest happiness, in such manner as evidently shewed that he accepted it by constraint². After Gratian had, to the general satisfaction both of the people and soldiery, raised him to the empire, he committed to his care the East, Thrace, and the rest of the provinces which had been governed by Valens, reserving only Gaul, Spain, and Britain ; for Italy, Illyricum, and Africa, were ruled by his brother Valentinian³.

*and com-
mits the
Eastern
provinces
to his care.*

*Birth, edu-
cation, and
employ-
ments of
Theodosius.*

Theodosius, whom Gratian raised to the empire, was, according to most authors, a native of Cauca in Galicia, which city still retains the same name ; but Marcellinus, in his chronicle, supposes him to have been born in Italica, near Seville, the birth-place of the emperor Trajan ; and both that writer and Claudian rank him among the great men of the Ulpian family, from which Trajan sprung⁴. Theodosius resembled that prince, according to Victor, both in the features of his face and the virtues of his mind ; but was a stranger to the vices of Trajan, such as drunkenness, incontinence, and ambition⁵. He was the son of Thermantia and the celebrated Theodosius, who conquered a new province in Britain, defeated Firmus in Africa, and was deservedly esteemed the greatest commander of his age⁶. The emperor himself was born in the year 346, so that he was advanced to the empire in the thirty-third year of his age⁷. He served under his father in Britain, when he was very young⁸ ; and being soon after created duke of Mœsia, he gained a memorable victory over the Sarmatians in 374, being then only eighteen years old⁹.

*He with-
draws to
Spain.*

After the death of his father he withdrew to Spain, and led a retired life, employing his time partly in reading, and partly in works of agriculture, till he was recalled by Gra-

¹ Themistius. Orat. xiv. p. 182.

^u Pacat. p. 253, 254.

^w Theod. lib. v. cap. 6. p. 711. Zof. p. 746.

^x Marcel. Chron.

p. 78. Claud. p. 40.

^y Vict. p. 546, 547.

^z Ammian.

lib. xxviii. p. 368.

^a Theod. lib. v. cap. 710.

^b Zof.

p. 760.

^c Ammian. lib. xxix. p. 410.

tian in 373, and declared emperor ^d. He was then married to Flaccilla, called by most of the Greek writers Placilla, and by some Placidia; and had by her at least three children; namely, Arcadius, born about the year 377, during his father's retirement; Honorius, born in 384, and a daughter named Pulcheria, born before the year 379.

The joy which Theodosius's promotion gave to all the subjects of the empire, was equal to the high opinion they entertained of his justice, integrity, moderation, and abilities in war; and indeed, though commendations from the pen of a poet are of no great weight, yet we cannot help thinking with Claudian, that the empire, without the assistance of Theodosius, would never have recovered its former lustre, but become a prey to the Barbarians ^e. After the promotion of Theodosius, Gratian set out for Gaul, upon intelligence that the Germans were in arms, and ready to invade that province ^f. He was at Aquileia in the beginning of July, and in the latter end of the same month at Milan ^g, where he contracted a great intimacy with St. Ambrose, to whom he ever after shewed the highest respect and veneration. It was at his request that St. Ambrose wrote, though unwilling to engage in religious debates, his treatise on faith, in which he proves the divinity of the Son, and another demonstrating the divinity of the Holy Ghost. The pious emperor was so well pleased with these two pieces, that he immediately ordered a church to be delivered to the Catholics, which he had sequestered at Milan, with a design to give it to the Arians, out of complaisance to his mother-in-law Justina. At the same time, revoking the law by which he had granted, the preceding year, liberty of conscience to all sects, he published another, forbidding all heretics, especially the rebaptizers, to preach their tenets, or to hold assemblies, in any part of the empire. This law is dated from Milan, the third of August of the present year 379, and was, no doubt, owing to the zeal of St. Ambrose. Gratian left Milan soon after; and passing through Rhætia, the province of the Sequani, and Germania Prima, repaired to Treves, where he passed the winter ^h. This year we find the Lombards first mentioned in history.

Gratian returns to Gaul.

The Lombards.

We left Theodosius at Sirmium, where he had been declared emperor on the nineteenth of January. He was surrounded by multitudes of Barbarians, who, after

^d Ambros. Sermo de Divers. p. 125. ^e Claud. Consul. Hon. cap. 4. p. 40, 41. ^f Socr. lib. v. cap. 6. p. 260.
^g Cod. Theod. Chron. p. 100. ^h Idem. ibid.

The deplorable state of the Eastern provinces.

the defeat and death of Valens, ravaged the neighbouring countries without restraint. Dacia, Thrace, and Illyricum were already lost. The Goths, the Taifali, the Alans, and the Hunns, were masters of the greatest part of these provinces, and had ravaged and laid waste the rest: the Armenians, Iberians, and Persians, were likewise in arms, and ready to take advantage of the present distracted state of the empire ^l. The few soldiers who had survived the late defeat, struck with terror, kept within the cities and fortresses of Thrace, without even daring to look abroad, much less to make head against the victorious enemy. Gratian probably assisted the new emperor with some troops; it is at least certain, that he left with him two officers of great distinction, namely, count Ricomer, a Frank, and Majorianus, who commanded the troops of Illyricum under Gratian, and was by Theodosius raised to the post of general both of the horse and foot. Both these officers distinguished themselves under Theodosius, and gained great advantages over the Goths ^k.

The chief cities in the East send deputies to Theodosius.

Theodosius, leaving Sirmium soon after the departure of Gratian, repaired to Thessalonica, the capital of East-Illyricum. During his residence in that metropolis, the chief cities of the East sent deputies, congratulating him upon his accession to the sovereign power, and imploring his protection. At the head of the deputies from Constantinople was the celebrated orator Themistius, who, in a speech which he pronounced on that occasion, intreated the emperor to confirm the privileges granted to that great metropolis by his predecessors. The emperor received them in a most obliging manner, promising to redress the evils of which they complained ^l. Having reinforced his army with new levies, and made other preparations for war, he took the field, probably about the end of June; for on the seventh of July he was at Scupi in Dardania, and on the tenth of August at a place called Vicus Augusti, the situation of which is unknown to geographers. Several battles were fought this year, of which we can scarce give any account; for our surest guide, Ammianus Marcellinus, fails us here; and other authors are so obscure in their accounts, so inconsistent with each other, and often with themselves, that we cannot depend upon any thing they relate. All we know for certain is, that part of the Goths submitted to Theodosius, and the rest withdrew from Thrace. In this particular at least, all authors are unanimous. The

^l Themist. Orat. xvi. p. 207. Orat. xiv. p. 180—183.

^k Sidon. Car. p. 312.

^l Them.

emperor, having thus restored Thrace to its former tranquillity, returned in the latter end of the autumn to Thessalonica, and took up his winter-quarters.

In the following year, 380, the two emperors were consuls, Gratian the fifth time, and Theodosius the first. The former, after having passed the winter at Treves, from which place we find two laws, dated the sixth and fifteenth of February, set out early in the spring for Italy, and was on the fourteenth of March at Aquileia, and at Milan on the twenty-fourth of April. From Milan he advanced to Sirmium, and continued till the end of the summer, partly in the neighbourhood of that city, and partly in Pannonia^m. Theodosius was seized in the month of February of this year with a dangerous malady; and this was what obliged

Gratian to quit Gaul, and hasten into Illyricum, lest the neighbouring Barbarians should embrace that opportunity to break into Thraceⁿ. As the Goths were still in arms, and threatened to pass the Danube, Gratian, during the illness of his colleague, proposed and concluded a treaty of peace with them, which, however advantageous to their nation, was confirmed by Theodosius upon his recovery^o.

Gratian returns to Illyricum, and concludes a treaty with the Goths.

Theodosius, during his sickness, demanded with great earnestness the sacrament of baptism; which he received with exemplary piety from the hands of Ascolus bishop of Thessalonica, after having carefully informed himself of the faith that prelate professed. Finding him both orthodox in his belief and blameless in his manners, the pious emperor immediately sent for him to court; was baptized by him; and from that instant, the violence of the malady abating, he began to recover^p. Soon after his recovery,

Theodosius, being seized with a dangerous malady, is baptized.

the emperor gave a signal proof of his zeal for the orthodox faith, by the famous law dated from Thessalonica the twenty-eighth of February of the year 380. In that law Theodosius declares, that all his subjects, without exception, shall adhere to the faith which the church of Rome had received of St. Peter, which was taught by Damasus bishop of that city, and by Peter bishop of Alexandria, a man of great sanctity; that is, that they shall acknowledge and confess the divinity of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; that those who held this doctrine should be deemed Christian catholics; but, on the contrary, such as rejected it should be treated as heretics and infamous persons, their conventicles should not be called churches,

His zeal for the orthodox faith.

^m Cod. Theod. Chron. p. 102—104.

ⁿ Jornand. Rer. Goth.

cap. 27. p. 619.

^o Prosper. Chron.

^p Ambros. Epist. 21. p. 229.

Soz. p. 707. Aug. Civit. Dei, lib. v. cap. 26. p. 64.

and they themselves should undergo those punishments, which were due to their wickedness, from the imperial authority, and divine justice, it being a crime, and a sacrilege, to depart from the true faith through contempt, or even out of ignorance. This is the memorable law which was addressed to the people of Constantinople, and to the prefect Eutropius, with orders to publish it in all the provinces, and cause it to be every-where observed by the subjects of the empire. To this law St. Austin, no doubt, alluded, when he wrote that Theodosius, upon his accession to the empire, by a law replete with mercy and justice, curbed the fury of the wicked, and relieved the church, long oppressed by the protection given by Valens to the Arians. Besides this, the emperor published several other laws this year, tending to the reformation of manners; one forbidding all capital trials during the forty days preceding Easter, that is, during Lent; another prohibiting, under severe penalties, widows to marry during the time of mourning for their deceased husbands, which was by this law extended from ten months to a whole year; a third implying, that informers should be punished with death, if they were found to have informed thrice, though their accusations had always proved true. By a law dated the sixteenth of November, the emperor declares it unlawful to beg the estates of persons condemned for treason; adding, "Whereas the importunity of such petitioners often wrests from the prince what he ought not to grant, his rescript in their favour shall not be valid; and such as shall by these means have obtained the confiscated estates, shall be punished as transgressors of the laws." Under other princes, the estates of persons condemned for treason were frequently granted to those who had accused them; an indulgence that proved an encouragement to informers: but this, and the other laws of Theodosius, restrained these vile practices. By former laws, the estates of such as had been banished, or executed, fell to the treasury; but Theodosius, by two laws of this year, dated the seventeenth of June, orders the estates of the former to be divided between the treasury and the criminal, or his children; and those of the latter to be left entirely to their children or grandchildren. In cases of treason, only one sixth of the criminal's estate was allotted to his children, whether he was banished or executed.

Notwithstanding the treaty which the Goths had concluded with Gratian, that prince had no sooner left Illyricum to return to Gaul, than they passed the Danube, under the conduct of Fritigern, Alatheus, and Saphrax; and, breaking into Thrace and Pannonia, advanced as far as

Ma-

*Several
laws of
this year.*

*The Goths
re-enter
Thrace.*

Macedon, destroying every thing with fire and sword [†]. Zosimus relates, that they laid waste Thessaly and Epirus, and penetrated as far as Achaia, without the least opposition [†]. Theodosius, having in the mean time assembled his troops, took the field; and coming up with the enemy on the frontiers of Macedon, declined an engagement with forces so much superior to him in number; but harassed them, by cutting off their parties, and intercepting their convoys. The Goths, apprised of his design, attacked the Roman camp in the night, made themselves masters of it, cut most of the troops in pieces, and would have taken the emperor himself prisoner, had he not saved himself by flight, while the Goths were plundering the tents. Such is the account of Zosimus. But Idatius [‡], Marcellinus [†], Gregory Nazianzen, who was then at Constantinople [§], and Philostorgius [¶], an Arian writer, and consequently not partial to Theodosius, assure us, that the emperor gained a complete victory over the Goths; and that, upon his return to Constantinople, he entered that metropolis in triumph. Jornandes, who omits no opportunity of celebrating the exploits of his Goths, takes no notice of their pretended victory over Theodosius. Besides, Gregory Nazianzen describes his triumphal entry into Constantinople, of which he was an eye-witness; and adds, that he well deserved that honour, for having checked the fury of the Barbarians, who, confiding in their numbers and natural fierceness, had ventured to engage a commander of his superior talents. The next consuls were Fl. Syagrius and Fl. Eucherius, uncle, as is supposed, to Theodosius. Gratian was this year, as appears from the dates of several laws, at Milan on the twenty-ninth of March; at Aquileia on the twenty-second of April, and eighth of May; and at Treves on the fourteenth of October. He returned to Aquileia on the twenty-sixth of December, and passed the winter in that city ^{*}. As to the affairs in the East, Theodosius continued at Constantinople, at least to the nineteenth of July. At that metropolis he published a law dated the tenth of January, forbidding heretics of all denominations to hold assemblies in cities, and commanding the churches throughout the empire to be immediately given up to the Catholics. The execution of this law was committed to Sapor, one of the greatest generals of his time, with orders to drive out the heretics in every province, and put the Catholic pastors

*Theodosius
defeats the
Goths.*

*All the
churches
delivered
up to the
Catholics.*

[†] Jorn. Rer. Goth. cap. 27. p. 649.

[†] Marcell. Chron.

[¶] Philost. lib. ix. cap. 19. p. 133.

105.

[‡] Zos. p. 756.

[§] Idat.

[§] Greg. Naz. Car. i. p. 20.

^{*} Cod. Theod. Chron. p. 104.

in possession of the churches the sectaries had usurped. Sapor did not meet with the least difficulty in the execution of his commission, except at Antioch, where the Catholics were divided among themselves ^γ.

Yr. of Fl.
2729
A. D. 381.
U. C. 1129.

*Athanasius
recurs to
Theodosius,
dies, and
is interred
at Constantinople.*

*The second
œcumenical
council.*

*Several
laws of
Theodosius
against
heretics.*

At this period Athanasius, the most powerful of all the Gothic princes, who had maintained a three years war with Valens, being expelled by a faction, took refuge in the Roman territories, notwithstanding his pretended oath never to tread on Roman ground; and, coming to Constantinople, was received with great marks of friendship by Theodosius, who went out to meet him, and attended him, and his numerous retinue, into the city. But Athanasius died soon after his arrival; and Theodosius caused him to be buried after the Roman manner, with such pomp and solemnity, that the Goths, who had attended him in his flight, astonished at the magnificence of the funeral, returned home, resolved never to molest the Romans; nay, out of gratitude to the emperor, who had thus honoured the memory of their deceased prince, they undertook to guard the banks of the Danube, and prevent the Romans from being attacked on that side ^z. Immediately before the death of Athanasius the philosopher Themistius pronounced his fifteenth oration in the palace before the emperor, in which he observes, among other things, that Theodosius, who was then in the third year of his reign, had granted innumerable favours, but had not condemned one person to death ^a. The pious emperor, desirous to heal the divisions that rent the church, and to redress the abuses which prevailed in the state, summoned this year, in the month of May, the second general or œcumenical council, which was held at Constantinople by all the bishops of his dominions ^b. While the council was assembling, the emperor published a law, dated the second of May, depriving such as had renounced the Christian religion to embrace Paganism, of the right of disposing of their effects by will ^c. By another, dated the eighth of the same month, he extends that penalty to the Manichees, whose estates he declares confiscated, unless their children should embrace the true religion; in which case they were to enjoy the inheritance of their parents. In a council held before the emperor on the twenty-ninth of June, Theodosius declared, that the respect due to the priesthood not suffering bishops to be summoned as witnesses, they were

^γ Cod. Theod. Chron. lib. vi. tit. 5. leg. 6. p. 117, 118. Theodoret. lib. v. cap. 2. p. 706.

^z Zos. lib. iv. p. 758, 759. Oros.

lib. vii. cap. 34. p. 220.

^a Themist. Orat. xv. p. 185—190.

^b Socr. lib. v. cap. 8. p. 264.

^c Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. 7. leg. 1.

p. 293.

by the laws exempted from the obligation of appearing in courts of judicature. By an edict, dated the nineteenth of July, he forbids the Eunomians and Arians to build churches, either in the cities or in the country; and declares the places where they shall have preached, or performed any other function, confiscated. All these laws are dated from Constantinople; but two others of the twenty-first of July, from Heraclea in Thrace, whither the emperor had advanced against the Barbarians who were still in arms. Zosimus tells us, that having demanded assistance of Gratian, that prince furnished him with a considerable body of troops, commanded by Baudo or Bauto, and Arbogastes, who were both Franks, but experienced officers, and greatly attached to the empire. The former was father to Eudoxia the wife of Arcadius, and maintained a correspondence by letters with Symmachus^d. We shall have occasion to speak of the latter hereafter. Upon the arrival of these commanders, the Goths, who were ravaging Macedon and Thessaly, retired with precipitation into Thrace; but not being able to subsist in that province, which they themselves had laid waste the preceding year, they were forced to submit to Theodosius. The emperor gained a complete victory over the Scyri and Carpodacæ, who had, jointly with the Hunns, made an irruption into the empire, and obliged them to pass the Danube. We find the Scyri frequently mentioned amongst the northern Barbarians; but no farther notice is taken of the Carpodacæ in history. This campaign ended in September; for on the fifth of that month the emperor was at Adrianople, and on the twenty-eight at Constantinople^e.

The Scyri and Carpodacæ defeated by Theodosius.

In the following year, 382, when Antonius, called also Antoninus, and supposed to have been father-in-law to Theodosius, was consul with Syagrius, the neighbouring Barbarians broke into Italy, but were soon repulsed by Gratian, who passed the greatest part of this year at Milan, or in that neighbourhood, watching their motions. From some laws published in the month of September of this year, it appears, that the emperor was forced to raise new levies, and demand extraordinary subsidies for the defence of Rhætia and Illyricum. As Rome was infested by multitudes of beggars, Gratian, by a law dated the twentieth of June, ordered Severus, prefect of the city, to seize those who were capable of earning their livelihood by labour, and to bestow them upon those who shall have informed against

A law of Gratian against beggars.

^d Zof. lib. iv. p. 757. Symm. lib. iv. epist. 15, 16. p. 150. ^e Cod. Theodof. Chron. p. 105, & seq.

*He causes
the altar of
Victory to
be remov-
ed out of
the senate.*

them, either as slaves, if they were such by condition, or to be employed the remaining part of their lives, if they were free-born, in tilling their grounds, and in other works of agriculture. By another law, dated the eighteenth of August, he suspended, for the space of thirty days, the execution of all criminals, reckoning from the day they received sentence. He ordered the altar of Victory, which stood in the place where the Roman senate assembled, to be removed, and declared the revenues belonging to it confiscated^f. At the same time he declared void and null all the privileges and exemptions granted by other emperors to the Pagan pontiffs, or to the Vestal virgins, ordering the officers of the revenue to confiscate the lands, which, for the future, should be bequeathed to them or their temples. The Pagan senators sent deputies, at the head of whom was Symmachus, to prevail upon the emperor to revoke these laws; but Gratian would not admit them to his presence^g.

*Laws of
Theodosius
against
heretics.*

The heretics received no less severe treatment in the East from Theodosius, than the Pagans in the West from Gratian; for, by a law dated the last of March, he declared such of the Manichees, as were then known by the names of Encratitæ, Saccofori, and Hydroparastatæ, that is, the Continent, the Sack-bearers, the Water-drinkers, guilty of death, and likewise against such as, in the celebration of Easter, differed as to the day from other Christians. As the Goths had been driven out of Macedon, and shut up in Thrace, where they could not subsist, Theodosius, not willing to drive them to despair, received their deputies in a very kind manner; and as they could not return to their own country, which was subject to the Hunns, upon laying down their arms, he allowed them to settle in Thrace and Mœsia, which two provinces were almost entirely unpeopled, by the frequent incursions of the neighbouring Barbarians and the late wars. The emperor exempted them from all the tributes and taxes that were paid by the other subjects of the empire^h. This was in all likelihood one of the articles on which they submitted. Great numbers entered into the Roman service; but formed a separate body, and were commanded by officers of their own nation, a circumstance which proved the source of many evils; but as they were well acquainted with the avarice, injustice, and cruelty of the Roman officers, they insisted upon continuing united, in order to secure themselves against the

*The Goths
submit to
Theodosius.*

^f Cod. Theod. lib. x. tit. 16. leg. 10. p. 298.
11. p. 195. Symm. lib. x. ep. 54. p. 455, 456.
xvi. p. 199.

^g Ambros. ep.
^h Themist. Orat.

insults they had reason to apprehend when dispersed among the Roman troops.

The next consuls were Fl. Merobaudes the second time, and Flavius Saturninus. Gratian was, from the twentieth of January of this year 383, to the second of May, at Milan; at Padua on the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth of the same month; and at Verona on the seventeenth of June^l. This year is remarkable for a dreadful famine that raged in Rome, but more on account of the disturbances raised in the state by Maximus, which terminated the life and reign of the excellent emperor Gratian (Y). That usurper, seeing Theodosius raised to the empire, says Zosimus, while he could not attain to any considerable employment, urged by jealousy and envy, began to encourage the aversion of the Roman soldiers to Gratian, whom they considered as too great an encourager of foreigners; inasmuch that, in the end, they revolted, declared Maximus emperor, and, with the usual solemnity, bestowed on him the purple and diadem. He pretended, that he was allied to Theodosius, and that it was with his participation and consent he had assumed the sovereignty^k. Orosius styles him a man of courage, and worthy of the empire, had he attained it by lawful means^l; and Sulpitius speaks of him as a person who, except this usurpation, deserved in every other respect to be esteemed and commended^m. Gregory of Tours relates, that before his usurpation, he had gained several signal victories in Britainⁿ.

Maximus revolts in Britain.

His character.

Maximus at first was supported only by a small number of the inhabitants of this island; but others flocking to him from all parts of Britain, he found himself, in a very short space, at the head of a powerful army, which he immediately transported into Gaul. Landing at the mouth of the Rhine, he prevailed upon the neighbouring provinces to revolt from Gratian, and join him, not so much by force of arms, as by art and address^o; extending, says Gildas,

He passes over into Gaul.

^l Cod. Theod. Chron. p. 108, 109. ^k Zos. p. 760. ^l Oros. lib. vii. cap. 34. p. 320. ^m Sulp. Sev. lib. ii. cap. 7. p. 290. ⁿ Greg. Tur. Hist. Franc. lib. i. cap. 43. p. 30. ^o Zos. lib. iv. p. 760.

(Y) That usurper, named Magnus Clemens Maximus, was, according to Zosimus, a native of Spain, brought up, says Pacatus, in the family of Theodosius as a servant, and employ-

ed in the meanest offices (1). Zosimus pretends, that he served in Britain with Theodosius, who, as we have observed already, attended his father into this island in the year 368.

by lies and perjuries, the empire which he had acquired by wickedness and rebellion^p. Gratian was then at war with the Germans called Juthongi; but he no sooner heard of the arrival of the usurper in Gaul, than he marched to Treves, to put a stop to his farther progress. On his route, great part of his troops, corrupted by the emissaries of Maximus, abandoned him, to join the usurper. However, thinking himself still a match for Maximus, he left Treves, went in quest of his enemy, and offered him battle^q. Gratian's army was commanded by Merobaudes, and count Balio, an officer of tried valour and fidelity^r. Some authors write, that a battle was fought near Paris; but Zosimus tells us, that the two armies continued for five days together in the presence of each other, without any action, except a few skirmishes, in which no great advantage was gained on either side; but that, at length, the troops of Gratian, provoked at his shewing so much favour, and giving the preference, to foreigners, as if he chiefly relied on their courage and fidelity, shamefully deserted him. Gratian, finding himself betrayed and abandoned, fled to the Alps, attended only by three hundred horsemen; and, having reached Lyons, after he had been refused admittance into other cities, was taken prisoner, and soon after put to death^s. Thus died Gratian, in the flower of his age, having lived only twenty-four years, and three or four months, and reigned, from the time he had been created emperor, sixteen years, and one day; but, from the death of his father only seven years, and nine months^t. He married in 374, or 375, Constantia, the posthumous daughter of the emperor Constantius, and had by her a son, and other children^u; but they all died, it seems, before him^v, as did likewise his wife Constantia, whose body was brought this year to Constantinople, according to Idatius, and the chronicle of Alexandria, on the thirty-first of August, and interred on the second of December. Gratian was, not long before his death, married to his second wife Læta^x, to whom, as well as to her mother, by name Pissamine, Theodosius allowed a yearly pension, to support them according to their rank, which they employed in relieving the poor of Rome, when that city was besieged by Alaric

Yr. of Fl.
273¹.
A. D. 383.
U. C. 1131.

*Gratian
abandoned
by his army,
and put to
death at
Lyons.*

^p Gild. Excid. Brit. cap. 10, 11, p. 117. ^q Socrat. lib. v. cap. 11. p. 270. Soz. lib. vii. cap. 13. p. 720. ^r Prosp. p. 267. Ambros. Ep. 56. p. 320, 321. ^s Oros. lib. vii. cap. 34. p. 220. Hier. Chron. p. 26. Ambros. Psal. lxi. p. 746. ^t Socr. lib. v. cap. 11. p. 270. Marcell. Chron. ^u Aug. Civit. Dei, lib. v. cap. 25. ^v Theodor. lib. v. cap. 12, p. 722. ^x Soz. lib. vii. cap. 13. p. 721.

in the year 408^y. The death of Gratian was no sooner known at Milan, than St. Ambrose, who had lived in great intimacy with him, and was deeply affected with the loss of such an excellent and inimitable prince, as he styles him, went from that city to demand his body of Maximus, in the name of Valentinian. But the usurper refused it, pretending, that the transporting of his ashes would serve only to renew the grief of the soldiery^z. However, they were afterwards brought to Milan, and interred near the tomb of Valentinian II.

All writers, whether Christians or Pagans, agree, that he was endowed with every good quality necessary in a prince, extolling unanimously his modesty, his justice, his moderation, and desire of doing good, in which he seemed to place his chief happiness. Ammianus Marcellinus, though a zealous Pagan, maintains, that he would have equalled the greatest princes of antiquity, had he lived longer; but, at the same time, censures him, for being too much addicted to hunting, and other diversions^a; which may be justly attributed to his youth; and for which he would, in all likelihood, have made ample amends by applying seriously to business in his riper years. St. Ambrose, Theodoret, Rufinus, Ausonius, and even Zosimus himself, give us a great idea of his piety, in which he surpassed all his predecessors, Constantine himself not excepted. St. Ambrose, in his answer to a letter the emperor had written to him, styles him Most Christian^b. The laws he enacted in favour of the catholics, are instances of his zeal for the orthodox faith.

His character.

Maximus was no sooner informed of the death of Gratian, than he took his son Flavius Victor for his colleague in the power he had usurped, and gave him, though then only an infant, the title of Augustus. The usurper fixed the seat of his empire at Treves, and extended his wings, to use the expression of Gildas^c, over Spain and Britain, being master, according to Zosimus^d, of all the countries, which Gratian, in the division of the western provinces, had reserved for himself. We do not find that he put any of Gratian's favourites to death, except Merobaudes, the consul of this year, and Balio, or, as some style him, Vallio, one of the best officers of his age: their only crime was their inviolable attachment to Gratian, by whom they had been

Maximus declares his son Victor his colleague.

Puts Merobaudes and Balio to death.

^y Soz. lib. vii. cap. 13. p. 721. Zof. lib. v. p. 815.
Pfal. lxi. p. 849. ^a Ammian. lib. xxvii. p. 344.
de Fid. p. 110. ^c Gild. Excid. Brit. cap. 10. p. 117.
p. 766. ^d Zof.

^z Ambros.
^b Ambros.
^d Zof.

raised to the greatest offices in the state^c. Merobaudes received orders from the tyrant to dispatch himself; an order with which he complied, to avoid a more ignominious death^f. As Maximus had brought over with him into Gaul the flower of the British youth, and the Roman soldiers quartered in the island, the country remained by that means exposed to the incursions of the Scots and Picts, who, meeting with little opposition, over-ran the northern parts, committing dreadful ravages (Z). Of Ausonius, who was preceptor to Gratian, we shall speak in our note (A). Theodosius,

^c Pacat. p. 267. Ambros. Ep. 56. p. 320.

^f Pacat. *ibid*.

(Z) The Romans at different times sent over troops to drive them back into their own country; but they constantly returned, and continued harassing the Roman provinces till the arrival of the Angles and Saxons, who made themselves masters of that part of the island which is now known by the name of England, about the middle of the fifth century (1). Those Britains who attended Maximus into Gaul, never returned to their native country; but are supposed to have settled in Armorica, which was allotted to them by Maximus, and, from its new inhabitants, called Britannia, now Bretagne (2).

(A) Decius, or rather Decimus Magnus Ausonius, was a native of Bourdeaux. He studied rhetoric under his uncle Arborius at Toulouse, where Arborius taught about the year 325, before he was invited to Constantinople by Constantine: he studied likewise at Bourdeaux under Minervius, Nepotianus, and Staphylus, pro-

fessors of grammar and rhetoric (3). When he had finished his studies, he first pleaded at the bar, and afterwards taught grammar and rhetoric; which profession he followed for the space of near thirty years, till he was by Valentinian I. appointed preceptor to his son Gratian in 367, whom he attended into Germany the following year 368 (4). He had, soon after, some employment at court, with the title of comes or count, and was, by degrees, raised to the first offices in the state. He wrote verses on all the emperors who had reigned till his time, and likewise consular tables, extending to the year 382, or 383 (5). But the latter work has been long since lost, and of the former only a small part has reached us. His poem on the Moselle was greatly esteemed by Symmachus (6), and is still looked upon by the best judges as his master-piece (7). The emperor Theodosius, who had a particular esteem for him, wrote to

(1) Gild. cap. 11. p. 117. (2) *Idem*, *ibid*. Usser, p. 199, 200.

(3) Vossius in Clar. Urb. p. 208. Epist. p. 457. Idyl. p. 367. Profess. Burdeg. Car. 12. 25. p. 156, 169.

(4) Idyl. 32. p. 367. Epist. 4. p. 428. (5) Auson. p. 136, 199, 375. (6) Sym. lib. i. Epist. 8.

p. 9. (7) Vide Baillet, p. 472.

dofius, who had remained this year at Constantinople, of the neighbourhood of that metropolis, was no sooner informed of the death of Gratian, than he assembled all his forces, with a design to march against the usurper, and prevent him from seizing on Italy and West-Illyricum, belonging to young Valentinian. But, in the mean time, Maximus having assured him by deputies, that he had no design upon the dominions of Valentinian, but that he would suffer him peaceably to reign in Italy, Africa, and Illyricum, Theodosius deferred his journey to the West^a. Not long after, Maximus sent his great chamberlain to Theodosius, not to make an apology, says Zosimus^b, for the murder of Gratian, but to propose an alliance against the common enemies of the empire; and, in case he rejected that friendly offer, to denounce war against him. Theodosius, not thinking the glory that might accrue from revenging the death of Gratian a sufficient motive for entering into a war, which he foresaw would be attended with great evils, and perhaps with the ruin of the empire, the neighbouring Barbarians being ready to invade it on all sides, embraced the proposals of Maximus; and, acknowledging him for his colleague, sent Cynegetus, then comes largitionum, and afterwards prefect of the East, into Egypt, with orders to proclaim Maximus there, and to cause his image to be raised in Alexandria. In the beginning of the present year 383, that is, on the sixteenth, or, as others assert, on the nineteenth of January, Theodosius declared his son Arcadius emperorⁱ. The ceremony was performed with extraordinary pomp at the palace of Hebdomon, distant seven miles from Constantinople. Arcadius was then about six years old; for at the time of his death, which happened on the first of May 408, he was, according to Socrates, in the thirty-first year of his age^k. Valentinian II. who possessed the western provinces of Illyricum, with Italy and Africa, while Maximus held Gaul, Spain, and Britain, was at this time but twelve, or at most thirteen years old; and the great disturbances which his mother

Maximus proposes an alliance with Theodosius,

who acknowledges him for his colleague.

Arcadius declared emperor.

^a Themist. Or. xviii. p. 220.
Marcell. Prosp. Chron.

^b Zos. lib. iv. p. 764.
ⁱ Idat.
^k Socr. lib. vii. cap. 23. p. 332.

him with his own hand, demanding his works (8). Ausonius and Symmachus lived in

great intimacy, as appears from their letters to each other (9).

(8) Auson. p. 1. (9) Vid. Auson. Oper. Symmach. Epist.
Baillot. Jugemens des Sçavans.

Justina raised, by warmly espousing the cause of the Arians, give us room to believe, that she reigned in her son's name. Under her Probus, who had been consul in 371, and prefect of Illyricum and Italy in 368, had the chief direction of affairs¹; but, in all matters of moment, the young prince had recourse to Theodosius²; and Orosius styles Theodosius sole emperor, after the death of Gratian, of the Western, as well as the Eastern provinces³.

The next consuls were Richomer and Clearches. The former was of the royal blood of the Franks, had been comes domesticorum under Gratian, and was left by that prince with Theodosius, when created emperor. This year Proculus, count of the East, being accused of extortion, and several outrages committed by his orders at Daphne near Antioch, was ignominiously deposed, and obliged to conceal himself, till the rage of the multitude was appeased⁴. Icarius, the son of Theodorus, who had conspired against Valens, was appointed count of the East in his room; which office he discharged with great rigour and severity, not sparing even the public magistrates, whom he put to the rack, in defiance of the laws, says Libanius, which had been but lately published. At this period, a famine, attended, as usual, with a dreadful plague, raged in Antioch, and most other cities of Syria. The plague soon ceased; but the famine continuing, Libanius, in the name of the people of Antioch, had recourse to Icarius, entreating him to relieve the poor, who had flocked from all parts to that metropolis, and were daily perishing in great numbers with hunger. But Icarius, without being in the least affected with their calamity, returned no other answer, than that they were abhorred, and justly punished, by the gods. Theodosius, resolving to extirpate the idolatrous worship of the Pagan gods, enacted several laws, forbidding all his subjects, on pain of death, or perpetual banishment, to offer sacrifices to idols; to consult aruspices, or diviners of what denomination soever; or to practise any of those ceremonies, which have been forbidden by his Christian predecessors (B).

Theodosius

¹ Soz. lib. vii. cap. 13. p. 720.

² Oros. lib. vii. cap. 35. p. 220.

³ p. 471.

⁴ Ambros. ep. 11. p. 195.

⁵ Liban. Vit. p. 63. & Orat. xx.

(B) Zosimus tells us, that Theodosius proclaimed war against the gods; that he attacked them in their temples; that he proceeded with such se-

verity against those who worshipped them, that no one dared to own he believed there were gods, or could, with safety, lift up his eyes to heaven, and adore the

A famine
in Syria.

The cruelty
of Icarius.

Laws
against
idolatry.

Theodosius passed most part of this year at Constantinople, where he enacted a law, denouncing death to those who should marry their own nieces, or even the nieces of their wives; and ordered strict search to be made for the Eunomian, Macedonian, Arian, and Apollinarian bishops and clergy, who were expelled from the city. It was at this æra that he received a solemn embassy sent by the king of Persia, to solicit, or rather to buy, a peace, with rich presents, and to excuse, by his submission, all the evils, which, till that time, the Romans had suffered from the Persian nation. They had lost their great king Sapor II. who died about the year 379, after having lived and reigned seventy years. The ambassadors were sent by Sapor III. his successor. Orosius writes, that a treaty was concluded between the Persians and Romans, in virtue of which the whole East enjoyed a profound tranquility at the time he was composing his history; that is, about the year 416 P. The articles of this treaty are not recorded by any historian; but from a law of Theodosius, dated the fourteenth of June 387, and addressed to Gaddanes, satrapa or governor of Sophene, it appears, that the authority of the Roman emperors was acknowledged in that province, which, by most geographers, is placed in the south of Armenia, and is reckoned, by some historians, one of the five provinces which Jovian surrendered to the Persians. While the Persian ambassadors were at Constantinople, a second son was

Yr. of Fl.

2731.

A. D. 384.

U C. 1132.

A solemn embassy sent to him by the king of Persia

with whom he concludes a treaty.

p Oros. lib. vii. cap. 35. p. 220.

the stars that shine there (1). Libanius writes, that, on a certain occasion, standing in need of the assistance of the gods, he had recourse to their altars; but, not daring to implore their protection, or shed a tear before their statues, he only lamented his unhappy condition (2). It was on occasion of the above-mentioned laws, that Libanius made his famous speech in defence of the temples, wherein he inveighs with great acrimony against the monks; blames the conduct of Constantine the Great; extols Julian; and ends

his speech with threatening, that the country people, who were more attached to the religion of their ancestors, than the inhabitants of the cities, will, if farther provoked, take arms, and defend them by force (3). The attachment of the country people, or inhabitants of villages, called by the Latins pagani, to their idols and temples, gave rise to the denomination of paganus or pagan, which began about this time to be given to all who worshipped idols (4).

(1) Zos. p. 758.
temp. p. 10—63.

(2) Lib. Vit. p. 63.

(3) Idem, Orat. pro Lib. Vit. p. 63.

(4) Zos. p. 758.

*Honorius
born.*

born to the emperor in that city on the ninth of September. Theodosius gave him the name of Honorius, to honour, says the poet Claudian, the memory of his brother^q, distinguished him with the title of nobilissimus, or most noble, and named him consul for the year 386^r.

*The Sar-
mations de-
feated by
the troops
of Valenti-
nian.*

The Sarmatians having made an irruption into the dominions of Valentinian, he dispatched one of his generals against them, who repulsed them with great slaughter, and took many prisoners, who were sent to Rome, to be either massacred in the shews of gladiators, or destroyed by wild beasts. The emperor, in the letter which he wrote to the senate, acquainting them with the success that had attended his arms, bestowed the highest encomiums on the general who commanded on that occasion^s. Valentinian himself continued the whole year in Italy; during the months of March and April he was at Milan; at Aquileia in the month of September; and again at Milan in October, and the two remaining months of the year^t. By a law, dated the twenty-second of March, which was this year Good-Friday, he commanded all the prisoners, who were not charged with the enormous crimes mentioned in the law, to be released in honour of the approaching great festival.

*Prætexta-
tus dies.*

This year died Vettius Agorius Prætextatus, a person greatly extolled, as one of the most deserving men of his age, by Ammianus Marcellinus, who wrote his history about this time, by Zosimus, Symmachus, Libanius, and, in general, by all the Pagan writers; for he was not only a Pagan himself, but augur, high-pontiff of Vesta and the Sun, and the head of the Pagan superstition. About this time Symmachus was appointed prefect of Rome, in which employment he acquitted himself with great reputation, and procured a law from the emperor, moderating the expences of the new consuls, prætors, and quæstors. The consuls used, agreeably to a custom which then prevailed, to send rich presents to their friends, and to all persons of distinction; and the prætors and quæstors to expend immense sums in the public sports, which they were bound to exhibit. The value of the presents to be given by the consuls, and the sums to be laid out in the public shews by the two other magistrates, were fixed by this law, and those declared infamous who should solicit an exemption from it^u.

*Symmachus
made pre-
fect of
Rome.*

A famine being apprehended in Rome, in consequence of the scarcity of corn in Africa, which used of late years

^q Claud. de Ser. p. 194. ^r Socr. lib. v. cap. 12. p. 271. Theoph. p. 59. ^s Symm. lib. x. ep. 61. p. 461. ^t Cod. Theod. Chron. p. 112. ^u Symm. ep. 21. p. 492. & cod. Theodor. tit. 5. p. 382. 384.

to supply that metropolis, Theodosius, at the request of Symmachus, delivered the Roman people from the danger that threatened them, by sending great plenty of grain from Egypt and Macedon. For this seasonable supply, Symmachus returned thanks, not only to Theodosius, but to count Ricomer, and likewise to Rufinus, who, it seems, made already some figure in the emperor's court. The great power he afterwards acquired does not redound to the honour of Theodosius. Valentinian passed the first six months of this year at Milan, and the rest either at Aquileia or Verona. Though he enacted several excellent laws in favour of the church, yet he suffered his mother Justina to persecute and oppress the Catholics, because they would not yield the great church of Milan to the Arians, whom she countenanced and protected*. Theodosius continued all this time at Constantinople, where a dangerous conspiracy was formed against him; but discovered a little before it was ripe for execution. Most of the conspirators were apprehended, tried, and sentenced to death; but Theodosius generously pardoned them, and would not allow any enquiries to be made after their accomplices, though some persons, in whom he reposed great confidence, were suspected*.

Theodosius supplies Rome with corn.

He forgives those who had conspired against him.

Not long after died at Constantinople the emperor's daughter Pulcheria, who was soon followed by the empress Flaccilla her mother, to the great grief of Theodosius, who was a no less tender father than husband. The empress died at Scotunium in Thrace, where she was drinking the waters for the recovery of her health; but her body was brought to Constantinople, and interred with extraordinary pomp and magnificence. The next consuls were Honorius, styled in the fasti, nobilissimus puer, and Evodius, perhaps the prefect of Gaul under Maximus. Theodosius continued at Constantinople till the third of September, when he is supposed to have left that metropolis, in order to march against the Greuthongi, who were ready to pass the Danube, and invade the empire, under the conduct of Odotheus, whom Claudian honours with the title of king†. The Barbarians were attacked, and totally defeated, by the two emperors Theodosius and Arcadius, who returned to Constantinople with an incredible number of captives, and entered that city in triumph on the twelfth of October.

The death of Pulcheria, and her mother the empress Flaccilla.

Theodosius gains a great victory over the Greuthongi. He marries Galla.

The emperor, soon after his return to Constantinople, married to his second wife Galla, sister to Valentinian II.

* Socr. lib. v. cap. 11, * Themist. Orat. xix. p. 237. † Claud. conf. Mon. 4. p. 55.

and daughter to Valentinian I. by the empress Justina. He had by her a son called Gratian, who died before his father, and a daughter named Galla Placidia, of whom we shall have frequent occasion to speak in the reign of her brother Honorius, and her son Valentinian III.² Valentinian was at Milan on the eighteenth of January; at Ticinum or Pavia on the fifteenth of February; at Aquileia on the twentieth of April; at Milan during the months of June and July; at Aquileia on the third of November; and again at Milan on the eighteenth of the same month, and on the third of December³.

The next consuls were the emperor Valentinian the third time, and Eutropius, who had been præconsul of Asia, and afterwards præfect of the East. In the beginning of this year, 387, Theodosius published a law, addressed to all the cities of the East, enjoining the magistrates to honour the solemnity of Easter, by setting at liberty such as, on the approach of that great festival, they should find in their prisons, unless they had been confined for very enormous crimes. It was on this occasion that the emperor uttered those memorable words; "I wish it were in my power to restore life to the dead^b." Theodosius, finding the treasury exhausted, and being on the other hand obliged to celebrate, according to custom, the fifth year of the reign of his son Arcadius, to which he added, it seems, the solemnity of the tenth year of his own reign, though he was then only in his ninth, an extraordinary tax was laid on the people to defray that expence^c; for we are told, that on such occasions, each soldier received five pieces of gold^d. Most cities submitted cheerfully to this burden; but the people of Antioch complaining of it as an unreasonable oppression, crowded to the house of Flavianus their bishop, as soon as the edict was published, to implore his protection; but not finding him they returned to the forum, and would have torn the governor of the city in pieces, had not the officers who attended him, with much difficulty, restrained the enraged multitude till he made his escape. Being prevented from venting their fury upon him, they fell upon the emperor's statues, broke some of them, and dragged others, with the statues of his two sons, Arcadius and Honorius, of the late empress Flaccilla, and of his father Theodosius, through the chief streets of the city, uttering the whole time most injurious and abusive reflections against their persons. Having demolished most of the emperor's

*A sedition
at An-
tioch;*

² Philost. lib. x. cap. 7. p. 139.

³ 15—117.

⁴ 2211. p. 326.

^b Chryl. tom. i. Orat. vi. p. 84.

^c Ammian. p. 314, 315.

^d Cod. Theod. Chron. p.

^e Liban. Orat.

statues, they set fire to the house of one of the principal citizens, to whom they bore some hatred; and would have committed other disorders, had they not been dispersed by a body of archers, who, by wounding only two of the rabble, struck terror into all the rest. The governor, hearing the archers were come, shewed himself to the multitude, and, with an air of authority, commanded them to disperse, and retire to their houses. Thus was the sedition quelled, and the city restored by noon to its former tranquillity.

*which is
appealed,
and the
authors of
it punished.*

The two persons, who had been wounded by the archers, being taken, informed against their accomplices, who were all by different ways put to death by the governor of the city: some were beheaded, others exposed to the wild beasts in the theatre, and some burnt alive; he did not even spare the children who had insulted the emperor's statues; and caused several persons to be executed who had been spectators only of the injuries offered. While the cruel governor was proceeding with inexorable severity against the unhappy Antiochians, almost without distinction of guilty or innocent, a report was spread, that a body of troops was ordered to plunder the city, and put all the inhabitants to the sword, without distinction of sex, age, or condition. Hereupon the populous metropolis of Syria was at once turned into a desert, the citizens abandoning, in the utmost terror and confusion, their dwellings, and retiring with their wives and families to mountains and deserts. As that report proved groundless some returned to their native country; but the far greater part, dreading the cruelty of the governor, and the resentment of the emperor, kept themselves concealed in the neighbouring cities, or amongst the rocks and mountains (C). In the mean time

*The cruelty
of the go-
vernors to-
wards the
citizens of
Antioch.*

* Chrys. Homil. iii. p. 49. Theod. lib. v. cap. 19. p. 731. Lib. p. 397.

(C) To those who returned, and zeal of the preacher, joined St. Chrysostom preached some to the apprehension they were of those inimitable homilies, under of the effects of the emperor's indignation, wrought which have reached our times, a great change in that licentious and are wonderfully adapted to and dissolute people, as appears induce them to repentance, and not only from St. Chrysostom to make them consider the danger that threatened them, as himself (2), but from Sozomen drawn down from heaven by men (3), and even from Libanius (4). their sins (1). The eloquence

(1) Vide Chrys. Hom. ii. p. 22. Hom. xi. p. 127. Hom. vi. p. 86. Mon. ix. p. 54. (2) Idem, p. 169. (3) Soz. lib. vii. cap. 23 p. 741. (4) Lib. Orat. xiv. p. 493.

*Theodosius
highly pro-
voked a-
gainst the
city of An-
tioch.*

Theodosius being informed of what had passed at Antioch, and particularly of the insults offered to his statues, and to those of his father, of the late empress, and of his children, was provoked to such a degree, that, in the first transports of his fury, he commanded the city to be laid in ashes, and the inhabitants, without distinction of sex or age, to be massacred. This order shews that he was naturally choleric, and apt to enter into the most violent measures. He was the more incensed, as he had distinguished Antioch by particular marks of favour. He designed to reside there occasionally; and with that view had built a magnificent palace at Daphne, and another in the old city, besides several other structures, with which he had at a great expence embellished that metropolis^f. But nothing incensed him so much against that ungrateful city, as their having outrageously insulted even the dead, that is, his father, and the empress Flaccilla. However, as his wrath was soon appeased, he revoked the order he had given, and contented himself for the present with causing the public baths, the theatre, and the circus to be shut up, with degrading the city from the rank of a metropolis, and subjecting it as a common village to its rival Laodicea^g. A certain quantity of bread was daily distributed among the poor, as at Rome and Constantinople; and of this bounty too the emperor thought fit to deprive them.

*Appoints
judges to
try and
punish of-
fenders.*

These punishments Theodosius inflicted on the Antiochians in general; but at the same time he dispatched Cæsarius, magister officiorum, and Ellebichus, magister militum, or general, with power to try and punish those who had been concerned in the late riot. As the judges approached the city, all the people went out to meet them, and were received, especially by Ellebichus, in a very obliging manner, which, in some degree, allayed their fears. Next morning the two commissioners, having placed guards in the several quarters of the city to restrain the people from assembling, summoned all the members of the senate or public council, examined them concerning the late riot, heard with great patience what they alleged in their own defence, and in that of their fellow-citizens; and after various enquiries dismissed them, highly satisfied with the treatment they had received, especially from Ellebichus, who could not refrain from tears when they, throwing themselves at his feet, implored his protection. The compassion and good-nature he shewed on this occasion revived

^f Theod. lib. v. cap. 18. p. 731. & cap. 19. p. 733.
Orat. xii. p. 137. Lib. Orat. xvii. p. 197.

^g Chryf.

the whole city ; their fears began to subside, and joy appeared in every countenance.

But the scene soon changed ; for Ellebichus having caused great numbers of persons of all ranks to be seized in the night, upon private informations, repaired early next morning to the place where justice was usually administered ; and, ordering the prisoners to be brought in chains before his tribunal, sentenced such of them to death as owned their crime, and ordered those who denied it to be cruelly racked, without shewing the least pity or compassion, as if he had changed his nature. Those who had seen him the day before could scarce persuade themselves that he was the same man ; for, not satisfied with causing persons of the first quality to be racked and tortured like so many slaves, he uttered dreadful menaces against the whole city, threatening to put the inhabitants, without distinction of age, sex, or condition, to the sword, unless they redeemed themselves, and their children, from impending ruin, by a timely discovery, not only of the authors and ringleaders of the late treasonable and wicked attempts, but of all who had been any way concerned in them. St. Chrysostom, who was an eye-witness of all that passed, gives us a lively, but dreadful description of this scene of horror, which he compares to that of the last day, when all distinction of birth, wealth, and rank, will cease, and every one be punished or rewarded according to his deserts^b. Multitudes were dragged in chains from every quarter of the city to the tribunal of the inexorable judges, who, unmoved with their tears, and deaf to the intreaties of their relations, after a short hearing, either sentenced them to death, or ordered them to be racked till they owned themselves guilty, and discovered their accomplices. St. Chrysostom mentions a lady of the first quality, who seeing her son apprehended by an officer on horseback, seized his bridle, and suffered herself to be dragged in that manner through the streets to the tribunal, where, with her hair dishevelled, and bathed in tears, she threw herself at the feet of Ellebichus ; but he, deaf to all intreaties, pursued his enquiries with such rigour, as threw the whole city into the utmost confusion. St. Chrysostom, who, with some others of the sacerdotal order, was admitted into the hall where the criminals were examined and tortured, exerted all his eloquence to move the judges to compassion ; and was seconded by the hermits, who were very numerous in the neighbourhood of Antioch, where they led a retired life

Ellebichus, one of the judges, proceeds with the utmost severity,

St. Chrysostom and the hermits obtain a respite for such as were condemned,

^b Chryf. Orat. xiii. p. 147—150. & Orat. xxii. p. 252.

amongst

amongst the adjacent mountains; but quitting their solitude, they had thronged to the city on this extraordinary occasion, to comfort with their presence the disconsolate citizens, and try whether they could raise any sentiments of humanity or commiseration in the hearts of their judges.

Macedonius, an anchoret, universally esteemed and revered for his sanctity, distinguished himself above the rest; for meeting Ellebichus and Cæsarius on horseback in the forum, laying hold of one of them by his garment, he commanded them both, with an air of authority, to dismount. As neither of them knew him, they were not a little surprised that a person, in appearance so mean and contemptible, should dare to speak in such a style; but they were no sooner informed who he was, than dismounting from their horses, they threw themselves at his feet; when the holy anchoret addressing them in the Syriac tongue, "The emperor (said he), however distinguished by his imperial dignity, is still a man; and therefore ought to consider his nature as well as his rank. Those whom he commands are of the same nature with himself, and the images of the Supreme Being: let him therefore take care not to provoke the Almighty, by destroying the living images of the divine nature, for an affront offered to the inanimate representations of his body. Other statues may be easily raised in the room of those that have been demolished; but he, notwithstanding his boasted power, is not able to make the least reparation for a single life which he has once taken away¹." We are told, that both Ellebichus and Cæsarius heard these words with the greatest respect and veneration, and immediately acquainted the emperor with the transaction. The judges having, at the request of the ecclesiastics and hermits, agreed to suspend the execution of the criminals, till the emperor's further pleasure was known, those who had been found guilty were conducted, under a strong guard, to the public prison, and the rest dismissed. Amongst the former were the senate or council, that is, all the chief men in the city, whose estates were immediately seized, together with their houses and effects, their wives and children being driven out by the officers of the revenue, and obliged to lie in the streets, their friends and nearest relations fearing, lest, by harbouring them, they should be involved in the ruin of their husbands and fathers².

The hermits having obtained of the judges a reprieve for the criminals, did not doubt but they should prevail upon

¹ Chryf. Orat. xiii. p. 193, 194. Theod. lib. v. cap. 19. p. 731.
² Idem, p. 512.

the emperor to pardon them. For this purpose they resolved to repair to Constantinople, and throw themselves at the prince's feet; but Ellebichus and Cæsarius, affected with their zeal, and unwilling they should expose themselves to the fatigue and inconveniencies of so long a journey, advised them to draw up a memorial in behalf of the unhappy citizens, and undertook to present it to the emperor. The hermits followed their advice, and leaving the memorial in their hands, returned the same day to their mountains and deserts¹. Upon their departure it was agreed between Ellebichus and Cæsarius, that the former should remain at Antioch, and the latter carry the memorial to the emperor. Accordingly Cæsarius pursued his journey with such expedition, that the sixth day about noon he reached Constantinople, distant about five hundred miles from Antioch². In the mean time Ellebichus caused those who had been condemned to be removed from the public prison to a more convenient place, allowing them the liberty of taking the air in the gardens belonging to the building, and seeing their friends and relations.

They draw up a memorial in behalf of the Antiochians.

The Antiochians, dreading the effects of the emperor's resentment, had deputed, a few days after the riot was committed, Flavianus, bishop of the place, to intercede with Theodosius in their behalf. Flavianus had met Ellebichus and Cæsarius on the road, who acquainted him with the commission they were going to execute at Antioch. The holy bishop, on hearing it, burst into tears; but nevertheless pursued his journey, still hoping he should be able to soften the emperor into compassion. The day after his arrival at Constantinople, he appeared at court; but stood at a distance from Theodosius, silent, and bathed in tears, as if he dared not look up, or approach him. But the emperor no sooner observed him, than he flew to him, not to upbraid him for undertaking the defence of the rebellious city, but to justify his own conduct, and complain of the ungrateful return the Antiochians had made for the many favours he had heaped upon them. Flavianus, bursting into tears, answered, that the severest punishment he could inflict was too mild and gentle for the enormous crimes they had committed, and their undutiful return to so indulgent a prince; but at the same time affirmed, that to forgive one's enemies was a duty incumbent upon every Christian; that, from his pardoning such enormous offences, great glory would redound to the religion he professed; that the

Flavianus, bishop of Antioch, recurs to the emperor in their behalf.

¹ Chrys. Orat. xvii. p. 195.
² Lib. p. 513.

² Lib. Orat. xxii. p. 518. & Orat.

Jews, Greeks, and Barbarians, would admire and extol the purity of its morals. He added, that now an opportunity offered of making himself a lasting instance to all posterity of humanity and good-nature; and seasonably reminded him of the order he had issued this very year, commanding all prisoners to be released against the solemnity of Easter, and of the memorable words he uttered on that occasion; namely, "I wish it were in my power to recal the dead from their graves, and restore them to life."

*Theodosius
grants them
a general
pardon,*

This admirable speech, which is related at large by St. Chrysostom, made so deep an impression on the mind of the emperor, that he could not refrain from tears, nor forbear exclaiming, that he pardoned the ungrateful city, and restored the inhabitants, however guilty, to his favour. Such is the account of St. Chrysostomⁿ. But Libanus^o and Theodoret^p tells us, that the emperor, though greatly moved by the speech of Flavianus, did not grant a general pardon till the arrival of Cæsarius; who, presenting the memorial of the hermits, and at the same time pleading with great energy in favour of the unhappy city, which, he said, had been already sufficiently punished, prevailed upon him to grant a general pardon. He therefore wrote a letter to the citizens of Antioch, shewing, that it was not without reason he had treated them with so much severity, after they had, in such an outrageous manner, insulted his deceased father and wife. He added, that as his anger, however just, was soon appeased, he pardoned all without exception, whether condemned to death or banishment, restored to the inhabitants their estates, their shows, baths, theatres, and territory, and to their city the privileges and rights of a metropolis. He concluded with expressions of the deepest concern for the death of those who had been condemned by the governor, and executed without his knowledge. This letter the emperor delivered to Flavianus, that he might have the honour of carrying the joyful tidings to the disconsolate city; but the holy bishop, impatient to put a period to the affliction of his people, yielded that honour to another, whom he thought capable of performing the journey with more expedition. It is more easy to conceive than express the joy which the arrival of the messenger caused in Antioch. St. Chrysostom, to whom we refer our readers, describes at large what passed on this occasion, and concludes with these words: "Let the Pagans be ashamed, or rather instructed; and learning our

*and restores
to the city
all its pri-
vileges.*

ⁿ Chryf. Orat. xx. p. 326—333.
^p Theod. lib. v. cap. 19. p. 733.

^o Lib. Orat. xxii. p. 519.

philosophy of an emperor, and a bishop, renounce their errors, and embrace a religion which encourages and produces such eminent virtues ⁹."

While these things passed in the East, the boundless ambition of Maximus raised much greater disturbances in the West. That usurper, not satisfied with the provinces which had been governed by Gratian, passed this year the Alps, with a design to seize on Valentinian's share also; and meeting with no opposition, marched to Milan, where Valentinian usually resided. The young prince, not finding himself in a condition to oppose him, fled first to Aquileia, and from thence, being closely pursued by Maximus, to Thessalonica, with his mother Justina, and the prefect Probus, to implore the protection and assistance of Theodosius ¹. That pious prince, in a letter addressed to Valentinian, in answer to one he had received from his mother Justina, told him, that he was not at all surprised at the progress Maximus had made, nor at the ill success that attended his affairs, since the tyrant had protected, and he persecuted the orthodox faith; for Valentinian had not only embraced the doctrine of Arius, but persecuted the orthodox prelates, and driven several of them from their sees, at the instigation of his mother Justina, a most zealous Arian. Soon after, Theodosius removed from Constantinople, attended by several members of that senate, to Thessalonica, in order to console the young prince, who had taken refuge in his dominions. Upon his arrival, he repaired to the palace where Valentinian was lodged; and after having assured him, that he was resolved to employ all the forces of the East in his defence, he prevailed upon him to renounce the Arian impiety, as the only obstacle to the success which they might expect from Heaven. Suidas relates the discourse which Theodosius made on that subject. Zosimus writes, that in a great council held at Thessalonica, all the counsellors to a man were of opinion, that war should be immediately declared against Maximus; but that Theodosius, foreseeing and dreading the evils inseparable from a civil war, sent first ambassadors to the tyrant, seriously exhorting him to restore to Valentinian the usurped provinces, and content himself with Gaul, Spain, and Britain, which had been yielded to him at first ¹.

Maximus would not, it seems, hearken to any proposals; for this very year he besieged Aquileia, which he reduced,

*Maximus
invades the
dominions
of Valenti-
nian; who
flies to
Theodosius;*

*who in-
duces him
to renounce
the doctrine
of Arius.*

⁹ Chrys. Orat. xx. p. 234.

lib. v. cap. 14. Soz. lib. vii. cap. 14. p. 721.

p. 766.

¹ Zof. lib. iv. p. 667. Theod.

¹ Zof. lib. iv.

*Maximus
reduces se-
veral ci-
ties.*

*Theodosius
marches a-
gainst him.*

*The army
of Maxi-
mus de-
feated.*

*Theodosius
gains a se-
cond vic-
tory.*

notwithstanding the vigorous resistance of the inhabitants, as he did Quaderna, Bononia, Mutina, Rhegium, Placentia, and several other cities in Italy; being in the ensuing year acknowledged at Rome, and in all the provinces of Africa¹. Theodosius finding a war inevitable, spent the remaining part of this, and the first months of the following year 388, when he was consul the second time with Cynegius, in making the necessary preparations for carrying it on with vigour. His army consisted chiefly of Goths, Hunns, Alans, and other Barbarians, whom he enlisted in the service, to prevent their raising commotions on the frontiers. He appointed Promotus, general of the horse, and Timasius of the infantry. Having committed the government of the Eastern provinces to such persons as he knew would, in his absence, consult the welfare of his subjects, and maintain the public tranquillity, he departed from Thessalonica in the beginning of the summer, marching with great expedition through Illyricum, with a design to surprise Maximus, who had not yet taken the field, but continued, without the least apprehension of danger, in Aquileia. Andragathius, one of the usurper's generals, a man of great courage and experience, had been appointed to guard the passes of the Julian Alps; but a report being spread, that Theodosius designed to pass the Ionian sea, and invade Italy, he was ordered to quit those passes, and to man what ships he could with the utmost expedition, in order to intercept the emperor in his passage. Thus was Maximus deprived of the assistance of that excellent commander, and of the flower of his troops, who were employed in manning the fleet which Andragathius assembled, pursuant to his orders, on the coast of the Ionian sea. In the mean time Theodosius, entering Pannonia, advanced to Sciscia, now Seiffeg, before the enemy had the least intimation of his approach. However, the general who commanded the troops of Maximus in that neighbourhood, having assembled them with incredible expedition, attacked Theodosius as he was passing the Save; but his army was defeated, and himself drowned in the river.

From Sciscia the emperor advanced to Petovia, now Pettau, on the Drave; where he was opposed by Marcellinus, the brother of Maximus, at the head of an army much more numerous than his own. However, the emperor offered him battle, which he readily accepted; but was entirely defeated, though his men fought with extraordinary courage and resolution. We are not told, that Maximus was present at either

¹ Ambros. ep. 17. p. 215. Pacat. p. 275. Zos. p. 769.

of these battles: but he must have at least advanced to support his generals; for both Pacatus^u and St. Ambrose^w write, that, after his forces were twice defeated, he fled, with the troops that attended him, and with the remains of his shattered army, to Aquileia, whither Theodosius pursued him, having detached Arbogastes before to invest the place, and prevent the tyrant from making his escape. Zosimus relates, that the emperor, arriving soon after, took the town by assault^x; and Socrates affirms, that it was delivered up to him by the soldiers of Maximus^y. However, it is certain, that the tyrant was seized, according to some, by his own men; according to others, by the soldiers of Theodosius, who had entered the place, and dragged in chains to the emperor, encamped about three miles from the city. Theodosius reproached him with the death of Gratian, and his unbounded ambition, which had excited him to murder one brother, and drive the other out of his dominions. As Maximus was, or at least pretended to be, touched with remorse for the crimes he had committed, and publicly owned he had no claim or title to the power he had usurped, Theodosius began to behold him with an eye of compassion; a circumstance which those about him observing, and fearing he might pardon him, they removed him out of the emperor's sight, and, without waiting his orders, struck off his head. He was executed at a place about three miles distance from Aquileia, on the twenty-seventh of August, according to Socrates; or on the twenty-eight of July, as Idatius maintains.

Maximus taken,

Yr. of Fl.
2736.
A. D. 387.
U. C. 1136.

and beheaded.

Maximus had left his son Victor, whom he had declared Augustus, in Gaul, to awe the inhabitants of that province during his absence. Against him Theodosius dispatched Arbogastes, who took him prisoner, after having dispersed the troops that attended him, and put him to death^z. Zosimus calls him a youth; but all other writers style him an infant. Andragathius, hearing of the defeat and death of Maximus, as he was cruising in the Ionian Gulf, threw himself headlong into the sea, and was drowned, choosing that kind of death, to prevent a more ignominious fate, which, as Gratian had been seized and murdered by him, he had reason to apprehend. Orosius writes, that he was overcome in battle^a; and St. Ambrose says, that he had joined Maximus before his defeat, and perished soon after^b. Thus ended a war, which at first threatened the empire with

Victor the son of Maximus taken in Gaul, and put to death.

^u Pacat. p. 270—275.

^w Ambr. p. 214.

^x Zos. p.

770. ^y Socr. lib. v. cap. 14. p. 273.

^z Zos. lib. iv.

p. 770. Vict. p. 545. Prosp. p. 515.

^a Oros. lib. vii cap.

35. p. 220.

^b Ambros. ep. 17. p. 214.

*Theodosius
uses the
victory
with great
clemency
and mode-
ration.*

the most horrid calamities; and the glory which Theodosius acquired by his victory was greatly heightened by his moderation and clemency; for, immediately after the death of Maximus, he published a general amnesty, and was so far from persecuting the friends and relations of the usurper, that he would not even suffer them to be reproached with their rebellion. No man was banished, says Pacatus, no man's estate was confiscated; and those who deserved, and would have suffered, the most cruel death under any other prince, were dismissed by Theodosius, without anger. Those who had with most warmth espoused the tyrant's cause, were allowed to return unhurt, continues the same author, to their wives and children, to enjoy their estates unmolested, and with them the same rank, dignity, and honours, by which they had been distinguished before the rebellion. The wife and daughters of Maximus had been taken, and confined in a public prison, by some of the emperor's officers; a circumstance which the humane prince no sooner knew than he ordered them to be set at liberty, settled a considerable pension upon them, and charged one of their kinsmen to take care, that no one injured or insulted them^d. But what St. Ambrose, and Zosimus himself, ex-rol most in Theodosius, was his not only restoring to Valentinian his own share, when no one was in a condition to dispute the possession of the whole empire, but his generously relinquishing Gaul, Spain, and Britain, which, before the revolt of Maximus, had been held by his brother Gracian. He was satisfied, says Ambrose, with the good he had done, without reaping any advantage from it for himself, though no one could have blamed him, had he retained some of those provinces, considering the immense charge he had been at in restoring the young prince to the quiet possession of the rest. As Justina the mother of Valentinian died about this time, Theodosius, during the three years he continued in the West, governed in the name of that prince, who was, at the death of his mother, scarce seventeen years old, and consequently not yet equal to so great a charge^e.

*Disturb-
ances rais-
ed in Con-
stantinople
by the A-
rians.*

While Theodosius was pursuing the war in Illyricum, a report was spread at Constantinople, that his army was cut off, and he himself in great danger of falling into the hands of the usurper. In consequence of this report, the Arians, whom he had provoked, by driving them from their churches, rising in the night-time, set fire to the house of Nectarius, the orthodox bishop of Constantinople, who pe-

^c Pacat. p. 281.
lib. ii. cap. 17. p. 185.

^d Ambr. epist. 17. p. 215.

^e Ruffin.

rished in the flames, and committed several other disorders. But intelligence of the entire defeat of the usurper being brought soon after to that metropolis, the Arians, dreading the effects of the emperor's indignation, had recourse to the clemency of Arcadius, whom Theodosius had left at Constantinople; and the young prince not only forgave them himself, but prevailed upon his father to confirm the pardon which he had granted ^f. The emperor was at Aquileia on the twenty-second of September; but on the tenth of October at Milan, where he seems to have passed the winter ^g. Being informed, while he resided in that city, that the Christians had burnt a synagogue of the Jews, and a temple of the Pagans, at Callinicum in Mesopotamia, he condemned the bishop of the place to rebuild the synagogue at his own expence, and ordered those who had been concerned in either of those riots, to be punished with the utmost severity: but St. Ambrose, thinking a prince, who had lately overlooked much greater disorders in the Arians, ought not to exert so much rigour against an orthodox bishop, and his people, wrote to him from Aquileia in their favour; and, upon his return to Milan, persuaded the emperor, by a speech which he pronounced in the great church, to revoke the order he had given ^h.

Theodosius pardons them, at the request of his son Arcadius.

About the end of this year, the senate of Rome dispatched deputies to Theodosius, earnestly entreating him to restore to its former place the altar of Victory, which had been removed by Gratian. The emperor seemed at first inclined to grant their request; but was afterwards persuaded by St. Ambrose to deny it. However, Symmachus, the chief of the deputies, a man universally esteemed for his eloquence, and greatly beloved by the Pagans, on account of his zeal for the ancient religion of the Romans, in a panegyric which he pronounced soon after on Theodosius, renewed the same request in the name of the senate; which provoked the emperor, that he immediately ordered him to be put that instant into a chariot, in order to be conveyed into banishment, forbidding him, under the severest penalties, ever to come within a hundred miles of Rome ⁱ. The emperor's indignation seemed the more just, as Symmachus had been but very lately pardoned, when accused by his enemies of treason, in having pronounced a panegyric during the war on the usurper Maximus. However, as Theodosius was never more ready to pardon, than when he

A deputation from the senate of Rome, for restoring the altar of Victory.

Their request rejected, and Symmachus banished, but recalled.

^f Socr. lib. v. cap. 13. p. 272. Soz. lib. vii. cap. 14. p. 722, 723.
^g Cod. Theod. lib. xv. tit. 14. leg. 6. p. 409. & leg. vii. p. 410.
^h Ambros. Apol. 17, 18. Vit. p. 83, 84. ⁱ Socrat. lib. v. cap. 14. p. 273. Prosp. de Promiss. lib. iii. cap. 18. p. 149.

seemed most provoked, the friends of Symmachus no sooner spoke in his behalf, than the emperor recalled him, restored him to his former rank, and, to convince the world, that he retained no resentment against him, raised him two years after to the consular dignity.

Several laws of this year, especially against heretics.

Yr of Fl.
2839.
A. D. 389.
U. C. 1187.

Theodosius goes to Rome.

This year Theodosius enacted several laws against heretics, one dated the second of March, forbidding them, especially the Apollinarians, to hold assemblies, to have bishops or clergy, to live in cities, to appear at court, or to present any petition to the emperor^k. The same prohibition was renewed by another law, dated the fourteenth of June^l. By another enacted two days after, all public disputes concerning religion were forbidden under the severest penalties. A law, dated the twenty-ninth of February, declares all marriages between Jews and Christians unlawful, and subjects the contracting parties to the punishments due to adultery; another, addressed to Cynegius, prohibits any one to marry his brother's wife, or his own wife's sister. Theodosius, who was at Milan on the twenty-second of May, left that city soon after, and repaired to Rome with young Valentinian, and his son Honorius, whom he had sent for from Constantinople, after the defeat of Maximus. He entered that metropolis in triumph on the thirteenth of June; and a few days after Latinus Pacatus Drepanius, an orator of Gaul, pronounced his panegyric in the senate, the emperor himself being present. The orator takes notice of his liberality towards the people on that occasion, of his affability and condescension, not only in viewing the rarities of the city, but in entering the houses of private persons, which gained him the hearts of the Roman people^m. The poet Claudian tells us, that at Rome he received ambassadors from the king of Persia, to treat about a peace between the two empiresⁿ.

Endeavours to abolish idolatry in that metropolis.

The conversion of the senate and people of Rome to the Christian religion was owing, according to Prudentius, to Theodosius's journey; not that he used any violence, says that writer, for he indifferently raised Pagans and Christians to the first employments in the state; but so great was the force of his example, that few, either in the senate, or among the people, were so attached to their errors, as to withstand it. Prudentius mentions several illustrious families, converted, on this occasion, to the true religion; namely, the families of the Paulini, of the Bassi, of the Annii, and of the Gracchi, at that time the most ancient and noble

^k Cod. Theod. lib. xv. tit. v. leg. 14. p. 130.
lib. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 15. p. 131.
cap. 17. p. 185.

^l Cod. Theod.
^m Soz. p. 273. Ruf. lib. ii.

ⁿ Claud. p. 176.

family in Rome. The people, continues that writer, flocked to the Lateran church, to receive the sacred sign of the royal chrism, and to the Vatican, to visit the ashes of the father of the faith; meaning, we imagine, St. Peter, who was then supposed to have planted the faith in Rome. The idols, says St. Jerom, were pulled down; their temples abandoned; and the gods, once so much revered, left in their niches alone, or attended only by mice or owls: the Capitol, (continues the same writer) formerly so much frequented, is now turned into a desert; the other temples are covered with dust, and filled with cobwebs; the whole city crowds to the tombs of the martyrs; and the people, passing by those ancient temples, behold them with joy ready to fall, and bury the gods under their ruins. Rome forsakes Jupiter, and his temples, despises his ceremonies, and is ashamed of the worship formerly paid him *. Theodosius, however, would not suffer the statues of the gods, many of which were the work of the best artificers of antiquity, to be destroyed; but ordered them to be removed from the places where they had been adored, to the public squares, where they served as ornaments to the city †. Theodosius remained only three months at Rome. In that short time he not only seriously applied himself to the suppression of idolatry, but with indefatigable care laboured to reform many abuses, which had long prevailed in the city ‡. He enacted a law, dated the seventeenth of June, ordering all the Manichees to be expelled the city, and declaring them incapable of receiving legacies, or leaving any thing by will even to their children. Theodosius left Rome on the first of September, was at a place called Valentia on the third of the same month, and on the sixth at Forum Flaminii, now Ponte Centesimo on the Topino, not far from Fuligno in the duchy of Spoleto, where he enacted a law forbidding the execution of criminals during Lent §. From thence he pursued his journey to Milan, where he published an edict, dated the twenty-sixth of November, commanding the heretic bishops and clergy to be driven out of the cities, and their suburbs.

Theodosius leaves Rome.

From this law, and several others of the ensuing year, it appears, that Theodosius passed the winter in that city, while Valentinian marched into Gaul, to oppose the Franks, who were preparing to invade that province; but all we know of this expedition is, that Valentinian had an interview with Marcomir and Sunno, two chiefs of the

Valentinian concludes a peace with the Franks.

* Hier. ep. 7. p. 54. & in Jov. lib. ii. cap. 18. p. 95. † Prud. in Sym. lib. i. p. 220. ‡ Cod. Theod. lib. xii. tit. 16. leg. 1. p. 612. & lib. xvi. tit. 9. leg. 18. p. 139. § Ibid. p. 220, 221.

Franks; that they delivered hostages; and that the emperor, on the eighth of November, was at Treves, where he went into winter-quarters^s. This year is chiefly remarkable for the destruction of the celebrated temple of Serapis at Alexandria, which, according to the description Ammianus Marcellinus gives, surpassed in grandeur and wealth all the temples in the world, that of Jupiter Capitolinus alone excepted^t; Theodoret calls it the greatest, and, without exception, the most beautiful temple in the universe^u. Theodosius, who had hitherto spared that stately edifice, ordered it to be levelled with the ground on the following occasion: Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, having obtained of the emperor an old temple, formerly consecrated to Bacchus, but at that time ruined and forsaken, with a design to convert it into a church, the workmen, in clearing away the rubbish, found among the ruins several obscene figures, which the bishop, to ridicule the superstition of the heathens, caused to be exposed to public view. This step provoked the Pagans to such a degree, that they flew to arms, and falling upon the Christians, cut great numbers in pieces, before they were in a condition to oppose their fury. At length the Christians took arms in their defence, and being supported by the few soldiers who were quartered in Alexandria, repelled force by force.

The Pagans rise against the Christians in Alexandria.

Several Christians massacred, and put to cruel deaths.

Thus a civil war was kindled within the very walls of the city, and no day passed without some bloodshed. The Pagans, when tired with fighting, or overpowered with numbers (for the Christians were much more numerous), retired to the temple of Serapis; and thence, falling out again unexpectedly, seized on such of the Christians as they met, and, dragging them into the temple, either forced them by the most exquisite torments to sacrifice to their idol, or, if they refused, to rack them to death. As they expected to be soon attacked by the emperor's troops, they chose a philosopher, named Olympus, for their leader, with a resolution to defend themselves, their temple, and their religion, to the last extremity. In the mean time Evagrius, governor of Egypt, and Romanus, who commanded the troops in that country, having attempted in vain to persuade the Pagans to quit the temple, and retire to their dwellings, sent a distinct account of the whole to the emperor, who, extolling and envying the happiness of such as had chosen rather to die, than renounce their religion, and offer sacrifice to the idols, would not suffer their death to be revenged on

^s Oros. lib. vii. cap. 35. p. 220.

^t Ammian. lib. xxii. p. 234.

^u Theodor. p. 735.

those, at whose hands they had obtained the crown of martyrdom. However, at the same time he ordered the temple of Serapis, and all the other temples in Alexandria, which gave occasion to frequent disturbances, to be demolished, charging Theophilus, bishop of the place, who had solicited his order, to see it put in execution, and commanding Evagrius and Romanus to follow his directions. The Pagans no sooner knew that the emperor had been informed of the cruelties they had committed, than they abandoned the temple, and dispersed, some of them retiring privately to their own houses, others withdrawing from the town, and either concealing themselves in the neighbouring cities, or flying to more distant countries. Among the latter was their leader Olympus, who concealed himself in the night on board a vessel, which was ready to sail for Italy. Helladius and Ammonius, two grammarians, under whom Socrates, the ecclesiastic historian, had studied at Constantinople, withdrew from Egypt, and took refuge amongst the Barbarians. The former used to boast of his having killed, during that tumult, nine Christians with his own hand *.

Theodosius orders the famous temple of Serapis, and all the temples in Alexandria, to be pulled down.

The temple, thus abandoned by the Pagans, was delivered to Theophilus, who, with the assistance of the people and soldiery, reduced it in a short time to a heap of ruins, leaving nothing undemolished but the foundations, which could not be removed, on account of the extraordinary weight and size of the stones. The celebrated statue of Serapis, the principal god of the Egyptians, was broken in pieces, and the limbs of that pretended divinity carried first in triumph by the Christians through the city, and then thrown into a large fire kindled for that purpose in the amphitheatre. As the Egyptians ascribed the overflowing of the Nile, to which was owing the fertility of their country, to the benign influence of their god Serapis, they concluded, that, now he was destroyed, the river would no longer overflow, and consequently that a general famine would ensue; but when they observed, that the Nile, on the contrary, swelled to a greater height than had been known in the memory of man, and thereby produced an immense plenty of provisions, many of the Pagans, renouncing the worship of the idols, adored the God of the Christians †. Not only the statue of Serapis, which was lodged in the temple, but all the other statues of that pretended deity, were by the zealous Christians carefully

The statue of Serapis broken in pieces.

* Soc. lib. vii. cap. 15. p. 724. Ruf. lib. ii. cap. 22. p. 187. Soz. p. 726. † Ruf. lib. ii. cap. 27. p. 190. Socr. lib. v. cap. 16. p. 274.

fought for, ignominiously dragged through the streets, and consumed in the flames; insomuch that in the great city of Serapis, as Alexandria was frequently styled, not the least trace was left of that idol, or of the worship, which for so many ages had been paid him. In the room of the temple of Serapis was built a church, and a martyrium, says Rufinus¹, meaning perhaps a burying-place for those who had perished during the late disturbances.

*All the
temples
throughout
Egypt de-
molished.*

Theophilus, who was a prelate no less active than zealous, not satisfied with demolishing the temple of Serapis, encouraged the people, supported by the governor of the province, and the commander of the Roman troops, to level with the ground all the other temples, oratories, chapels, and places destined for the worship of the idols throughout Egypt, causing the statues of the gods to be either burnt or melted down. Of the innumerable statues with which that superstitious province was filled, he is said to have spared but one, representing an ape, in order to expose the Pagan religion to ridicule. Theodosius not only approved of what Theophilus had done, but commended his zeal, and returned him public thanks for the pains he had taken, in clearing that province from the abominations to which it had been so long addicted². Soon after, he enacted a law, prohibiting, on pain of death, the subjects of the empire to offer any kind of sacrifice to idols; and declaring the estates confiscated of those who should burn incense before them³.

*A law a-
gainst un-
natural
lust.*

In the following year 390, when Valentinian was consul the fourth time with Neoterius, Theodosius published a law, dated at Verona, the third of September, commanding all who professed a monastic life to withdraw from the cities, and retire to the deserts, pursuant to their institution. But this law he revoked by another, dated the seventeenth of April 392. By a third, published at Rome on the fourteenth of May, he commanded those who should be found guilty of unnatural lust to be burnt alive in the sight of the whole people. This year an obelisk, twenty-four cubits in height, was raised in the circus at Constantinople, and a column before the church of St. Sophia, on which was a statue of Theodosius in silver, weighing seven thousand four hundred ounces⁴. Valentinian seems to have continued all this year at Treves, or in the neighbourhood of that city.

*One against
apostates.*

By a law, dated the ninth of March, the emperor declared those who should renounce the Christian religion, after hav-

¹ Ruf. lib. ii. cap. 27. p. 190.
² Ibid. tit. 10. leg. 10. p. 271.

³ Ibid. p. 189. ⁴ Cod. Theod.
⁵ Marcell. Chron.

ing been baptized, not only incapable of giving or receiving the least thing by will, but of being, as infamous persons, witnesses to any private or public deed; adding, that he would have confined them to the deserts, had he not believed it a greater punishment for them to live among men, without being looked upon as men. By another law, dated the ninth of the same month, he commanded the heretics to be banished the cities.

In the course of this year Theodosius set out for Constantinople, leaving the entire management of affairs in the West to Valentinian, now in the twentieth year of his age. On his arrival at Thessalonica, he found the province of Macedon in great confusion; for the Barbarians, who, at the instigation of Maximus had revolted, and concealed themselves among marshes and woods, after the defeat of that usurper, taking advantage of the emperor's absence, sallied out of their fastnesses in the night, and seizing whatever came in their way, retired with their booty before day. As it was a more difficult task to find them out than to conquer them, the emperor took that province upon himself; and, without discovering his design to any one, made choice of five persons in whom he could confide, to attend him, ordering each of them to take three spare horses, that they might shift as often as there was occasion. Thus attended and disguised, he ranged about the country, receiving from the peasants such refreshments as their cottages could afford. At length he arrived at a small inn, kept by a woman advanced in years, who received him with extraordinary civility, which induced him to remain there that night. In the same inn lodged a person, who, declining to converse with the rest, and seeming desirous to conceal himself, gave the emperor no small jealousy. Having, therefore, after he was retired to his chamber, called for the mistress of the house, and asked her who that person was, she answered, that who he was she knew not; but that, ever since the news of the emperor's return from the West, he had lodged at her house, going out in the morning, and continuing abroad all day, but returning at night to his lodging, for which he honestly paid her. Upon this information the emperor ordered him to be seized and examined; but he refusing to declare whom he was, the emperor at last discovered himself, ordered the man to be put to the rack, and forced him to own, that he was employed as a spy by the Barbarians, who lay concealed among the woods and bogs, to give them intelligence, from time to time, of the

Theodosius returns to the East.

The Barbarians infect the province of Macedon.

How discovered by Theodosius.

motions of the emperor's army, and to inform them what places lay most convenient for their incursions. Upon this confession the emperor caused his head to be struck off, and, returning early next morning to the army, led his soldiers to the place where he had learned from the spy the Barbarians were lodged; and falling upon them suddenly, cut great numbers of them in pieces. Timalius, who, together with Promotus, commanded on this occasion under Theodosius, imagining most of the Barbarians were destroyed, advised the emperor to allow his soldiers some time to refresh themselves after so warm and fatiguing a service, that they might with more vigour pursue the rest, who could not make their escape. The emperor, following his advice, founded a retreat; but while his men were refreshing themselves, without the least apprehension of danger, the Barbarians, attacking them when they were quite unprepared, and most of them overcome with wine, or asleep, made a dreadful havock, and would have either killed or taken the emperor himself, had he not been seasonably rescued by Promotus, at the danger of his own life. However, Theodosius having rallied his dispersed forces the next day, attacked the Barbarians again with such success, that few of them escaped the general slaughter^d.

The emperor in great danger. He gains a complete victory over the Barbarians. Theodosius endeavours to suppress Arianism in the East.

Theodosius, upon his return to Constantinople, made it his chief study to suppress idolatry and Arianism, ordering the temples, still standing, to be pulled down, and the Arians to be driven out of the cities, lest they should infect their fellow-citizens with their pestilent doctrine^e.

During his residence in the West he had used all possible means to extirpate idolatry; but, upon his return to the East, the Pagans began to conceive new hopes, and the senators of Rome, who continued still attached to the superstition of their ancestors, sent a deputation to Valentinian, at the head of which was the celebrated Symmachus, intreating him to restore to their priests the temples and privileges which they had enjoyed till the reign of Gratian. Valentinian, who was then in Gaul, received the deputies in a very obliging manner; but could not be prevailed upon, either by them, or by the Pagan ministers in his court, to grant their request^f. The Barbarians, threatening to pass the Alps towards Rhætia, and invade Italy, the emperor resolved to quit Gaul, and hasten to Milan, in order to make head against them. Desirous of being baptized before he engaged in a war, he dispatched from Vienne an

Valentinian refuses to restore to the temples their ancient privileges.

^d Zos. lib. iv. p. 770—773.

^e Ruff. lib. ii. cap. 19. p. 185.

^f Ambros. Sermon. de Divers. p. 114. Symm. lib. iii. ep. 63. p. 130.

Cros. lib. vii. cap. 35. p. 220.

express to St. Ambrose, bishop of Milan, for whom he had an extraordinary esteem and veneration, inviting him into Gaul, to administer that sacrament. The prelate, upon the receipt of the emperor's letter, instantly departed; but before he reached Vienne, he received the melancholy news of the death of that unfortunate prince, inhumanly murdered, as most authors agree, by Arbogastes.

He was a Frank by nation, and owed his preferment to Gratian. After that prince's death, the soldiery, by whom he was highly esteemed, for his experience in military affairs, his liberality and disinterestedness, raised him without the consent either of Valentinian, who was then a child, or of his mother Justina, to the post of general; in which command he acquitted himself with great fidelity and moderation, while Theodosius continued in the West; but upon the departure of that prince for Constantinople, he acted more like a sovereign than a minister or officer, arrogating to himself the power of controlling the young prince, and governing the court with absolute authority. He discharged all the officers in the army attached to Valentinian, and put Franks, in whom he could confide, in their room, disposing at the same time of the civil employments, without the emperor's consent or knowledge, and bestowed them upon persons of his own faction. Valentinian, unable to brook such a shameful servitude, resolved to discharge Arbogastes; and accordingly, seeing him one day at court, he threw him a paper, containing an abrogation of his command. But Arbogastes, having perused it, tore it in pieces with great contempt, and threw it on the ground, telling the emperor, with the utmost arrogance, that as he had not received his authority from him, it was not in his power to divest him of it. After this insult, Arbogastes, convinced that Valentinian would not suffer such an outrage to pass unrevenged, resolved to anticipate him, and accordingly deprived him of his life. Authors disagree as to the manner of his death: Zosimus writes, that while Valentinian, attended by a small guard, was diverting himself in the neighbourhood of Vienne, Arbogastes assaulted him unexpectedly, and stabbed him with his sword ^(M).
He

*Arbogastes
pretends to
control the
young
prince.*

Yr. of Fl.
2842.
A. D. 393.
U. C. 1190.

*He is dis-
charged,
but refuses
to resign
his post,
and causes
Valentinian
to be mur-
dered.*

§ Oros. p. 220. Zos. p. 776. Socr. p. 93. Soz. ibid.

(M) According to Philostorgius, he was strangled while he was taking his diversion on the banks of the Rhone, by assassins, whom Arbogastes had hired for

that purpose. The same author adds, that after they had strangled him, they tied his own handkerchief about his neck, and hung him upon a tree,

He died in 392, on the fifteenth of May, after having lived only twenty years and some months, and borne the title of emperor sixteen years, and about six months, though he cannot be said to have reigned till the death of Gratian, who died eight years and nine months before him^b. St. Ambrose tells us, that when he found himself unexpectedly attacked by the assassins, the only words he uttered were, "Alas! my poor sisters!"

His character.

The funeral ceremonies were performed with great solemnity; and his body was sent to Milan, and interred near that of his brother Gratian, on which occasion St. Ambrose pronounced an oration in praise of the deceased prince, who, according to him, and most other writers, would have equalled, if not eclipsed, the glory of the best emperors, had he been suffered to live longer, being of a lively genius, valiant, sober, liberal, sincere in his friendship, impartial in the administration of justice, and, in disposing employments, guided by merit alone^k. Zosimus, though prejudiced against all Christian princes, owns that his death was a public loss^l. He had persecuted the catholics in his mother's life-time, or rather, she had persecuted them in his name; but, after her death, he proved a most zealous patron of the orthodox faith, discountenancing the Arians and other sectaries, as much as he had favoured them before he was capable of distinguishing truth from falsehood. His two sisters, Justa and Grata, continued at Milan, and embraced, after his death, a life of celibacy. His sister Galla, who was married to Theodosius, died two years after in childbed.

Eugenius is set up by Arbogastes in his room.

After the death of Valentinian, Arbogastes might have easily seized on the sovereignty; but not willing to appear guilty of such a treacherous and inhuman murder, he chose

^b Epiph. p. 177. Philost. p. 144.
p. 112.

^k Socr. lib. iv. cap. 31. p. 250.

^l Ambr. Serm. de Divers.
^l Zos. lib. iv. p. 776.

tree, that the world might be induced to believe that he had laid violent hands on himself; for his guards were at some distance, and out of sight (1). St. Jerom (2), Orosius (3), Ruffinus (4), Epiphanius (5), Socrates (6), and Sozomen (7),

agree, that he was strangled; but the two latter writers suppose this to have happened in the palace, and the eunuchs of the court, gained over by Arbogastes, to have been the authors of his death.

(1) Philostorg. lib. xi. cap. 1. p. 145.

(2) Hier. ep. 3 p. 26.

(3) Oros. lib. vii. cap. 5. p. 220.

(4) Ruff. lib. ii. cap. 37. p. 191.

(5) Epiph. de Mens. & Pond. 20. p. 177.

(6) Socr. lib. v. cap.

25 p. 294.

(7) Socr. lib. vii. cap. 22. p. 739.

to confer it on Eugenius, and to reign in his name ^m. Eugenius had formerly taught grammar, and afterwards rhetoric, and was generally esteemed on account of his eloquence. Ricomer, at the request of Symmachus, had taken him under his protection, and upon his return into the East with Theodosius, recommended him to Arbogastes, by whose interest he was raised to the post of secretary ⁿ. Zosimus maintains, that Arbogastes, reposing an entire confidence in Eugenius, and judging him capable of the most daring resolutions, imparted the design he had formed of murdering Valentinian, and raising him to the empire after his decease; that Eugenius rejected at first the proposal with horror; but was at length prevailed upon to adopt the measures of his patron; by whose interest, after the death of the young prince, he was proclaimed emperor. The usurper, though a Christian, was greatly favoured by the Pagans, who knew he only bore the title of emperor, while the whole power was lodged in Arbogastes, who pretended a great attachment to their religion. The aruspices, who began to appear again, assured him, that he was destined to the empire of the whole world; that he would soon gain a complete victory over Theodosius, who was as much hated as he was beloved by the gods; and that his power and authority would have no other bounds but those of the Roman empire ^o. Though Eugenius seemed to favour the Pagans, yet, in the very beginning of his reign, he wrote to St. Ambrose, who did not answer his letter till he was pressed by some of his friends to recommend them to the new prince; and then he treated him in his letters with all the respect due to an emperor ^p.

During these transactions in the West, some disturbances happened in the court of Theodosius at Constantinople: Rufinus, not satisfied with the consular dignity, to which he was preferred this year, notwithstanding the report of his having been the author of the death of Promotus, killed by the Barbarians, began to aspire to the prefecture of the East, which was held by Tatianus, whom he accused of oppression in his government. Proculus, the son of Tatianus, and prefect of Constantinople, was charged with the same crime. Theodosius appointed judges to try them; but, as Rufinus was at the head of that commission, and the other judges dreaded his resentment, they were both declared guilty: the father was deposed, and confined to

*Tatianus,
and his son
Proculus,
accused at
the instiga-
tion of
Rufinus.*

^m Oros. lib. vii. cap. 35. p. 220. Claud. Conf. Hon. 3, 4. p. 35. 41.
ⁿ Soc. lib. v. cap. 25. p. 293. Zos. p. 775. Philost. p. 146. Symm. lib.
iii. ep. 60, 61. p. 129. ^o Soz. lib. vii. cap. 27. p. 740. ^p Amb.
ep. 5. p. 20.

*Tatianus
banished,
and his son
executed.*

Lycia, his native country; and the son sentenced to death. Theodosius sent him his pardon; but the messenger, corrupted by Rufinus, did not acquaint the proper officers with the emperor's order, till the execution was over¹. How just soever the punishment inflicted on Tatianus might be, his countrymen the Lycians, who had no share in his crimes, ought not to have had any in his disgrace and misfortunes: nevertheless Theodosius, at the instigation of Rufinus, a declared enemy to the Lycians, enacted a law, declaring their whole nation infamous, depriving them of the employments they held at that time, and rendering them for ever incapable of any preferment². This unjust law was afterwards revoked by Arcadius, who restored the Lycians to their former condition, ascribing the base treatment they had received, not to their demerit, but to the hatred of Rufinus.

*Eugenius
sends deputies
to
Theodosius;*

The affair of Tatianus and Proculus was not yet ended, when news of the death of Valentinian, and the usurpation of Eugenius, were brought to Constantinople. A few days after, ambassadors arrived from the usurper, who, without even mentioning of Arbogastes, demanded an audience in the name of Eugenius; and, being admitted to the emperor's presence, proposed an alliance between him and their master. Theodosius received them in a very courteous manner, amused them with fair words, and dismissed them loaded with rich presents³. At the head of this embassy was Rufinus, an Athenian, attended by several bishops sent by Eugenius to divert the emperor from engaging in a civil war. As Theodosius charged Arbogastes with the murder of Valentinian, the bishops endeavoured to clear him from that false, as they styled it, and groundless aspersions⁴. Theodosius began his military operations; but, as he considered more in the assistance of Heaven than the number of his troops, or the bravery of his generals, he visited all the churches of his capital, attended by several bishops, and a great crowd of people, imploring the favour and protection of the Almighty. The military preparations, to which Theodosius applied himself with indefatigable pains, did not divert him from publishing several laws in favour of orthodoxy and the Christian religion.

*who pre-
pares for
war.*

*His piety.
His laws
against he-
resy.*

In the following year Theodosius was consul the third time, with Abundantius, who was, as appears from a law of the preceding year, general both of the horse and foot. It was at this period he abrogated the ancient law of trea-

¹ Zos. lib. iv. p. 774.
p. 278, 279.

² Cod. Theod. lib. ix. tit. 28. leg. 9.
³ Zol. p. 776.

⁴ Ruf. p. 191.

son, denouncing death against those who uttered seditious words against the prince. "If such words (says Theodosius in his law of this year) proceed from levity, they are to be despised; if from folly, to be pitied; if from malice, they are to be forgiven *." In the beginning, or, as some assert, in the end, of this year, that is, on the fifteenth of January, or twentieth of November, the emperor declared his second son Honorius, Augustus. The ceremony was performed with great solemnity in the palace of Hebdomon, near Constantinople †.

Yr. of Fl.
2843.
A. D. 393.
U. C. 1191.

*Honorius
declared
Augustus.*

Eugenius had gained considerable advantages over the Franks; but leaving Gaul this year, he repaired to Italy; which he had scarce entered, when he was addressed by a deputation from the Roman senate, intreating him to restore to the temples the revenues, of which they had been deprived by Gratian, and to re-establish the celebrated altar of Victory. Eugenius received them kindly, but could not be prevailed upon to comply with their request. The senate soon after sent a second deputation, to solicit the same favour; which was denied them a second time. But when by a third embassy they renewed their request, Eugenius yielded to their importunity, restoring the Pagan religion and temples to their former lustre, and suffering the ancient ceremonies and sacrifices to be renewed in the senate of the metropolis of his empire ‡. The following year 394, Arcadius being consul the third time, and Honorius the second, Theodosius leaving Constantinople, pursued his march through Dacia, and the other provinces between Thrace and the Julian Alps, which separate Italy from Noricum, with a design to force the passes of those mountains, and invade Italy, before the army of Eugenius was in a condition to oppose him. Upon his arrival at the Alps, he found the passes guarded by Flavianus, prefect of Italy, at the head of a considerable body of Roman troops, who fled after a short resistance. Flavianus was killed at the first onset. Theodosius, having thus opened himself a passage over the Alps, was met, as he descended those mountains, by Eugenius, at the head of a very numerous army, drawn up on the banks of the river Frigidum; which Sanfon and others suppose to be the river Vipao or Wibach, in the county of Gorice, about thirty-six miles from Aquileia. The army of Theodosius was no less numerous than that of the enemy, being reinforced by several bodies of Armenians, Iberians, Arabians, Goths, and other Barbarians

*Eugenius
gains con-
siderable
advantages
over the
Franks.*

*Eugenius
restores the
Pagan ce-
remonies.*

Yr. of Fl.
2844.
A. D. 394.
U. C. 1192

*Theodosius
forces the
passes of
the Alps.*

* Cod. Theod. lib. ix. tit. 4. leg. 3. p. 42.

† Philost. lib. xi.

cap. 2. p. 146. Soz. lib. vii. cap. 24. p. 741. Claud. Conf. Hon. 3. p. 35, 36. ‡ Amb. Vit. p. 85. ep. 15. p. 210.

*The two
armies
engage.*

beyond the Danube. The Roman troops were commanded by Timasius, and Stilicho, who had married the emperor's niece; and the foreign auxiliaries by Gainas, Saul, Bacurius, and Alaric the Goth, whose name is famous in history. Of Gainas, who was of the same nation, and Saul, who was likewise a Barbarian, we shall have frequent occasion to speak in the reigns of Arcadius and Honorius. Bacurius was a native of Armenia^y, or, as Rufinus asserts, of Iberia; and, he is styled by that writer king of Iberia^z. Among the Romans he was comes domesticorum, that is, captain of the guards, and universally esteemed, not only for his courage and experience, but for the mildness of his temper, his affability and good-nature even to his enemies. Rufinus, the ecclesiastic historian, who lived in great intimacy with him while he was duke of Palestine, calls him a man of great integrity, a pious and zealous Christian, a worthy companion of Theodosius, a man endowed with every good quality of the mind, and by few equalled in the perfections of his body. Under these leaders the army of Theodosius advanced into the plain; but the emperor, unwilling to expose the Romans, ordered the foreign auxiliaries to begin the action, which they did with great vigour and resolution; but were soon put in disorder by the regular and well-disciplined troops of Eugenius, headed by Arbogastes, who signalized himself in a very particular manner. Bacurius, however, having rallied the Barbarians, led them back to the charge; and being supported by Timasius and Stilicho, renewed the combat, which lasted till night, when both armies retired to their respective camps. Bacurius, on this occasion, distinguished himself above the other commanders, killing great numbers of the enemy with his own hand; but being at length surrounded on all sides, he was slain, after having defended himself for a long time with incredible bravery. Of the Goths, and other auxiliaries, above ten thousand were killed; but of the Romans, who supported them, only a small number.

Eugenius concluding he had gained the battle, and that the army of Theodosius was totally defeated, allowed his men to retire to their tents, and refresh themselves, that they might be the better able to pursue the enemy next morning. In the mean time Theodosius was advised by his generals not to hazard a second engagement, but to retire in the night, repass the Alps, and defer the decision of the war till another campaign; against which time he

^y Zos. p. 777.
p. 192.

^z Russ. lib. i. cap. 10. p. 166. lib. ii. cap. 33.

might with ease recruit his army, and renew hostilities with fresh vigour. But the emperor, without regarding their remonstrances, having assembled his troops by break of day, led them in person against the enemy; and entering their camp by surprize, put great numbers to the sword, and obliged the rest to save themselves by a precipitate and disorderly flight ^a. Arbogastes behaved on this occasion with great intrepidity; but in spite of his utmost efforts, his troops, quite disheartened, and concluding, from the extraordinary violence of a storm, which blew full in their faces, that heaven fought against them, either fled, or, throwing down their arms, submitted to Theodosius, who received them into favour; but at the same time commanded them to apprehend, and deliver up the usurper. They no sooner received this order, than they flew to the rising ground, where Eugenius had posted himself to behold the battle, and was still waiting the event. When he observed them marching hastily towards him, he concluded they brought him news of the victory. As they approached he asked them, whether they had, pursuant to his orders, secured Theodosius. They answered, that they despised the commands of a tyrant and usurper, whom they were come to seize, and deliver to their lawful sovereign; and loading him that instant with irons, dragged him, stripped of all the ensigns of majesty, to the emperor; who reproached him with the murder of Valentinian, with the calamities he had brought upon the empire by his unjust usurpation, and with putting his confidence in Hercules, in defiance of the only true God; for on his chief standard he had displayed the image of that fabulous deity. Eugenius begged earnestly for his life; but while he lay prostrate at the emperor's feet, his own soldiers struck off his head, and carrying it on the point of a spear, shewed it to those who, remaining in his camp, had not yet submitted to Theodosius. At that sight they were all thunderstruck; but being at the same time informed, that Theodosius was ready to pardon them, they threw down their arms, and submitted ^b.

*Eugenius
defeated.*

*Eugenius
taken, deli-
vered up to
Theodosius,
and put to
death by
his own
men.*

Arbogastes, the chief author of the death of Valentinian, and the evils attending it, despairing of pardon, fled to the mountains; but finding that diligent search was made after him, he laid violent hands on himself. The children of Eugenius and Arbogastes, who had attended their parents in this war, having great reason to expect the

*Arbogastes
lays violent
hands on
himself.*

^a Zof. p. 778. ^b Ambr. Vit. p. 86. Claud. Conf. Hon. 4. p. 41. Ruffin. p. 192. Theod. p. 740. Socr. lib. v. cap. 25. p. 294. Chron. Alex. p. 710.

same treatment, took sanctuary in different churches: but the pious emperor, not satisfied with pardoning them, embraced that opportunity to convert them from Paganism, which they professed, to the Christian religion, appointing proper persons to instruct, and convince them of their errors; which they had no sooner renounced, than he took the converts under his protection, put them in possession of their paternal estates, and raised them to considerable employments ^c. The emperor, immediately after his victory over Eugenius, sent for his son Honorius, whom he had left at Constantinople, under the care of Rufinus, who was thereby vested with almost an unlimited power. Before the arrival of the young prince, Theodosius had removed from Aquileia to Milan, where he received him and Serena, who came with him, in the great church, and committed them both to the care of St. Ambrose ^d. Serena was daughter to Honorius, the emperor's brother. A few days after, he declared his son Honorius emperor of the West, assigning him Italy, Gaul, Spain, Britain, Africa, and West Illyricum, and appointing Stilicho his first general, and prime minister ^e. With this declaration he dispatched Stilicho to Rome; on which occasion Serena, whom Theodosius had married to that general, and who accompanied her husband to Rome, shewed a great desire, says Zosimus, to see the statue of Cybele; but she was no sooner admitted into the temple than she snatched from the goddess a necklace of inestimable value, saying, it became better the niece of an emperor than a senseless statue. An old Vestal, who was present, transported with zeal, could not forbear uttering dreadful imprecations against Serena, her husband, and her children; but Serena caused her to be driven out of the temple, and punished for her arrogance. At the same time her husband Stilicho commanded the thick plates of gold, with which the gates of Jupiter Capitolinus were covered, to be taken off, and conveyed to his palace. The Roman senate sent deputies to congratulate Theodosius on his late victory, and to solicit the consulship of the ensuing year for the two brothers Olybrius and Probinus. The emperor granted their request, exhorting them at the same time with great zeal to renounce the errors in which they had been brought up, and yield to the force of that truth which now generally prevailed. This year is remarkable for dreadful earthquakes, which were felt almost every day

Yr. of Fl.
2844.
A. D. 394.
U.C. 1192.

*Honorius
declared
emperor of
the West.*

^c Ambr. ep. 16. p. 211. Oros. p. 210, 221.
cap. 16. p. 295. Ruff. lib. ii. cap. 34. p. 192.
p. 773.

^d Socrat. lib. v.
^e Zof. lib. iv.

in most provinces of the empire, from the beginning of September to the end of November; for excessive and incessant rains, which laid whole countries under water; and such a darkness as had not happened in the memory of man^f; all which the writers of those times interpret as prognostics of the great loss the Roman empire was to sustain in the approaching death of the great Theodosius.

Theodosius, having restored tranquility in the West, was preparing to return to Constantinople, when he was seized with a dropsy, occasioned by the great fatigues he had undergone in the late war^g. As soon as he perceived himself in danger, he made his will, by which he divided the empire, bequeathing the East to his eldest son Arcadius, and the West to Honorius. He likewise confirmed the pardon which he had granted to all those who had borne arms against him, and remitted a tribute, which had proved very burdensome to the people, charging his sons and successors to see his will duly executed with respect to these two points^h. He died at Milan on the seventeenth of January of the year 395, two days before he had ended the sixteenth year of his reign, being then at most in the fiftieth year of his age. St. Ambrose pronounced his funeral oration, in which he supposes him to enjoy the rewards promised in the gospel to a religious and virtuous life. His body was embalmed, and conveyed from Milan to Constantinople, where it was interred by Arcadius with extraordinary pomp and magnificence on the ninth of Novemberⁱ.

As for the character of Theodosius, all authors, whether Pagan or Christian, Zosimus alone excepted, agree, that he was endowed in an eminent degree with every virtue becoming a prince, without the alloy of one single vice. Not to mention the ecclesiastic historians, and the two great luminaries of the church, St. Ambrose and St. Austin, who may perhaps be thought prejudiced in his favour, as he was a most zealous patron of the orthodox faith, Themistius, Symmachus, Pacatus, and Victor the younger, though greatly attached to the ancient religion of the Romans, which Theodosius discountenanced above all his predecessors, and endeavoured to suppress, propose him as the pattern of an excellent prince; the eminent virtues that shone in him overcoming the prejudice which his zeal for the Christian religion, and aversion to the superstitious ceremonies of the

Theodosius divides the empire between his two children.

Yr. of Fl.
2845.
A. D. 395.
U. C. 1193.

Theodosius dies.

His character.

^f Mar. Chron. Amb. Sermon de Diversis. iii. p. 116. ^g Socr. lib. v. cap. 26. p. 295. ^h Ambr. Sermon de Diversis. iii. p. 117. ⁱ Zos. lib. iv. p. 779. Socr. lib. vi. cap. 1. p. 500.

Pagans, raised against him among those who, in spite of his utmost efforts, continued obstinate in their errors^k. Theodosius was naturally choleric, and apt in the first transports of his passion to issue orders that favoured of cruelty. But, as he was soon appeased, we have but one instance of their being put in execution before he had time to revoke them; namely, the horrid massacre of the inhabitants of Thessalonica, who had murdered in an insurrection Botericus, the emperor's lieutenant in Illyricum, because he refused to release a chariot-driver, who had been imprisoned for offering violence to a woman of some distinction.

When the report of this outrage came to the emperor's ears, he ordered all those, who had been concerned in the murder or riot, to be put to death; but, at the intercession of St. Ambrose, and other bishops assembled in a synod at Milan, where the emperor then was, he revoked his orders, and pardoned them. Some time after, his ministers representing, that the Thessalonians had been encouraged to this sedition by the too great indulgence he had shewn to the inhabitants of Antioch; and that, if he suffered the murder of his lieutenant to pass unpunished, his officers for the future would be in continual danger of their lives, and himself disturbed and alarmed with daily insurrections; his wrath was again inflamed to such a degree, that, forgetful of the promise he had made to St. Ambrose, he immediately ordered a body of troops to march to Thessalonica, and revenge on the inhabitants the death of his lieutenant. The soldiers, entering the city, pursuant to their orders, surrounded the people, while they were assembled to behold the Circensian games; and, attacking them sword in hand, without regard to sex, age, or condition, without distinction of guilt or innocence, cruelly massacred, in the space of three hours, above seven thousand persons, many of whom were strangers come to Thessalonica to celebrate the sports.

When news of this massacre were brought to Milan, St. Ambrose wrote to the emperor, who had left that city, upbraiding him with his cruelty, representing the enormity of his crime, and exhorting him to atone for it by a sincere submission and repentance. This remonstrance the emperor received with humiliation; and, returning a few days after to Milan, repaired, according to his custom, to the great church, to perform his devotions. But St. Ambrose, meeting him at the door, denied him entrance, telling him,

The massacre of Thessalonica.

An instance of his submission to the discipline of the church.

^k Vide Sym. lib. iii. Ep. 81. p. 137. Ep. 13. p. 65. Vict. Epit. p. 546, 547.

that

that he was cut off from the communion of the faithful, and unworthy to appear amongst them, till he had expiated or public a crime by as public a repentance. To this the emperor readily submitted; and, returning to the palace with tears in his eyes, performed all the duties of an open penance, as enjoined by the canons of the church, and the custom of those times. He continued in that state for the space of eight months; and to make some amends for his crime, as well as to prevent himself and his successors from being guilty of the like cruelty for the future, he enacted a law, or rather enforced the observance of an ancient law, importing, that all criminals should enjoy a respite of thirty days, betwixt the time of pronouncing their sentence and their execution¹ (F).

CHAP.

¹ Theodor. lib. iii. cap. 17. Zoz. lib. iii. cap. 24. Niceph. lib. xii. cap. 40. Amb. Epist. 28. Aug. de Civit. lib. v. cap. 26. &c.

(F) Among the writers who flourished under Theodosius, the celebrated orator Symmachus deserves, both on account of his birth and eloquence, to be mentioned in the first place. He was the son of L. Aurelius Avianus Symmachus, prefect of Rome. He himself was high pontiff of the Pagans, quæstor, prætor, corrector, or governor, of Lucania and Bruttium; proconsul of Africa, prefect of Rome, and consul (1). He was esteemed the most eloquent orator of his time; but, his speeches not meeting with the applause he expected, he applied himself entirely to the writing of letters (2). His speeches have been long since lost; but his letters have reached our times, and are divided into ten books. They were carefully preserved by his amanuensis, and one of

his friends, named Elpidius, and published after his death by his son (3). Prudentius, who wrote against him, while he was living, on occasion of his endeavouring to persuade the emperor to restore the altar of Victory, extols his eloquence, and compares it to a golden spade made use of to dig up ordure (4). Macrobius compares his elegant and florid style, as he terms it, to that of Pliny the younger, and equals him, in that respect, to the best writers of antiquity (5).

The Latin poet Rufus Festus Avienus is supposed to have flourished under Theodosius, because he inscribed a work to Probus, the consul, whom most writers take to be the celebrated Probus, who died not long before the year 395 (6). St. Jerom, in his comments on the Epistle to Titus, writes, that the

(1) Sym. lib. ix. Epist. 41. p. 31. Cod. Theod. tit. 6. p. 386. (2) Sym lib. iv. Ep. 29. p. 159. & lib. viii. Ep. 68. p. 335. (3) Idem, lib. iii. p. 101. & lib. v. Ep. 83, 84. p. 220. (4) Prud. in Sym. lib. i. p. 223. & lib. ii. p. 225. (5) Macr. lib. v. cap. 1. p. 364. (6) Voss. Hist. Lat. lib. ii. cap. 9. p. 202.

C H A P. LXIII.

*The History of the Eastern and Western Empire,
from the Death of Theodosius the Great to the
taking of Rome the first Time by the Goths.*

THEODOSIUS divided, as we have observed above, the empire, at his death, between his two sons Arcadius and Honorius; but, as they were too young to govern, Arcadius being but eighteen years old, and Honorius not

phenomena of Aratus had been lately translated by Avienus (7); which work, together with his translation of Dionysius's description of the world, and a third poem by the same author on the sea-coasts, has reached our times. To the same Avienus or Avianus are generally ascribed the fables of Æsop in Latin verse, and the whole history of Livy in iambics; but the latter laborious performance, which is mentioned by Servius, has been long since lost (8). Victor, the historian, who closes his history with a kind of panegyric on Theodosius, is thought to have lived in his time, and to have written soon after the death of that prince (9). The name of Sexrus Aurelius Victor is common to him with another historian, who flourished in the reign of the emperor Valens; but from him he is distinguished by the surname of *junior*, or *the younger*: in several manuscripts he is styled *Victorius* or *Victorinus*, and under both these

names he is quoted by Paulus Diaconus (1). He wrote the Roman history; but what has reached our times is but an abridgment of his work, and thence called Victor's epitome (2). The *Notitia*, or state of the provinces of the empire, published by Surita, with the Itinerary of Antoninus, is supposed to have been written in the time of Theodosius; for mention is made there of the provinces of Arcadia in Egypt, and Honorius in Pontus, so styled from that prince's two sons, and no notice is taken of several other provinces formed by Arcadius after the death of his father (3). The five books of Flavius Vegetius Renatus on the military art, are addressed to the emperor, by whose order the author undertook that work (4). But that prince is sometimes named Valentinian, and sometimes Theodosius (5).

The philosopher Themistius flourished under Theodosius, and was no less esteemed by the Greeks than Symmachus by

(7) Hier. in Tit. i. p. 248.

Hist. Lat. lib. ii. cap. 18. p. 221.

Epit. p. 531.

lib. i. p. 13. & lib. ii. p. 30.

(8) Voss. Poet. Lat. p. 56.

(1) Idem *ibid.*

(3) Vide Noris. Epoch. p. 298, 302.

(5) Idem, p. 13.

(9) Voss.

(2) Vict.

(4) Veg.

not yet eleven, he committed the former to the care of Rufinus, and the latter to that of Stilicho^m. Rufinus was a native of Arcadius.

^m Oros. lib. vii. p. 221. Ambr. Serm. de Divers. p. 137. Zol. p. 780.

the Latins. Gregory Nazianzen styles him the king of eloquence; and adds, that he excelled in every thing, but most-ly in the art of speaking (6). When he was very young, he wrote comments on Aristotle for his private use; but nevertheless they were published, and met with great applause (7). His comments on Aristotle, and his notes on Plato, were extant in the time of Photius, who styles them an useful work (8). He first taught the philosophy of Pythagoras, of Plato, and of Aristotle; but preferred the latter (9). He had an incredible number of disciples; and a philosopher of Sicyon in Peloponnesus, who had studied under Iamblichus, sent him all his at once (1). In the year 355, Constantius created him senator of Constantinople, and wrote a letter in his commendation to the senate of that city (2). Two years after, that prince caused a statue to be erected to his honour (3). Julian wrote frequently to him in the time of his disgrace; and, being created Cæsar, answered by a long letter that which Themistius had written from Constantinople, encouraging him to answer the mighty

expectations the world entertained of him (4). Upon the accession of Jovian to the empire, Themistius was deputed to the new prince by the senate of Constantinople, to congratulate him in their name; on which occasion he pronounced, or intended to pronounce, the oration which has reached our times (5) with several discourses pronounced by him before Valens, who heard him at least once every year (6). He was with that prince in 369, when he concluded a peace with the Goths, to which the philosopher pretends to have greatly contributed (7). He attended Valens into the East, and in the Persian war in 372 (8). Theodosius raised him, in 384, to the dignity of prefect of Constantinople, and once had some thoughts of committing to his care the education of his son Arcadius (9). It is evident from his writings that he professed Paganism, though he was no fanatic.

Eunapius, who composed the lives of the sophists of the fourth century, was a native of Sardes, the metropolis of Lydia; but studied at Athens, for five years, under Proerpes, professor of eloquence in that city. He re-

(6) Gregor. Nazienz. ep. cxxxix. p. 865. (7) Idem. Orat. xxvii. p. 333. Orat. xxiii. p. 294, 295. (8) Phot. cap 73, p. 164. (9) Idem. Orat. xxiii. p. 298. & Orat. Const. p. 22. (1) Idem. Orat. xxiii. p. 295. (2) Orat. Const. p. 18. (3) Themist. Orat. iv. p. 54. (4) Julian. ad Themist. p. 479. (5) Themist. Orat. v. p. 69. (6) Idem. Orat. x. p. 129. (7) Idem. ibid. p. 133. & Orat. xiii. p. 166. (8) Idem. ibid. (9) Themist. Orat. xvii. p. 215.

native of Eause in Gasconyⁿ. He appeared first at court in the reign of Theodosius, who, being pleased with his uncommon address and extraordinary qualities, raised him, about the year 390, to the post of *magister officiorum*, to the consular dignity in 392, and the same year to that of prefect of the East, leaving him at Constantinople, vested

ⁿ Claud. in Ruf. lib. i. p. 12, 13.

turned afterwards to Lydia, and taught rhetoric. He applied himself likewise to the study of physic, and to that of magic, under Chrysanthus, who had married his cousin. He was initiated in the mysteries of Eleusina, and blindly attached to all the ceremonies of the Pagan superstition (1). By Chrysanthus he was induced to write the lives of the sophists; which work he begins with the life of Plotinus, who flourished in the middle of the third century. From Plotinus he proceeds to the lives of Porphyrius, of Iamblichus, and his disciples, who were all addicted to the study of magic, as evidently appears from the account he gives us of them (2). He completed the history of the emperors, which consisted of fourteen books, and extended from the beginning of the reign of Claudius, the successor of Gallienus, where the history of Dexippus ended, to the death of Eudoxia, the wife of Arcadius; that is, from the year 268 to 404 (3). His life of the emperor Julian was rather a panegyric than a history (4). Some fragments of this history are still to be

found in Suidas (5), and in the abstracts of Constantinus Porphyrogenitus on embassies. Vossius writes, that the entire history of Eunapius is lodged in the public library of Venice (6). The history of Zosimus is but an abridgment of that of Eunapius (7). They were both declared enemies to the Christian princes, especially to Constantine the Great, though Eunapius retrenched, in the second edition of his work, most of the invectives against the Christians, which he had inserted in the first (8). The two philosophers Pappus and Theo flourished at Alexandria in the reign of Theodosius. The former wrote a general description of the earth, a treatise on the rivers of Lydia, and some other books on different subjects (9). Theo, or Theon, belonged to the Museum, says Suidas (1); that is, to the society of learned men who composed the academy of Alexandria. He wrote a book on the overflowing of the Nile, and others on mathematics, arithmetic, astrology, on Ptolemy's canon, and on other subjects (2),

(1) Eunap. cap. 8. p. 82. 102. 103. Phot. cap. 77. p. 169. Jonf. lib. iii. cap. 17. p. 296—299. (2) Eunap. cap. 21. p. 144.

(3) Phot. ibid. Eunap. p. 75. (4) Ibid. cap. 8. p. 82. Themist. Orat. (5) Suid. p. 1099. 2237. (6) Voss. Hist. Græc. lib. ii. cap. 18. p. 252. (7) Phot. cap. 98. p. 272. (8) Idem ibid. Suid. p. 1515. (9) Ibid. p. 424. & 1307. (1) Idem ibid.

(2) Idem ibid. & Jonf. lib. iii. cap. 2. p. 219.

with almost an absolute and unlimited power, when he marched into the West in 394 to make war on Eugenius *.

Rufinus was well-shaped, tall, of a graceful mien, and sprightly genius †. He professed the Christian religion, and was baptized in 394, on the solemn consecration of a church which he had built, together with a palace, near Chalcedon ‡. He could never have gained the esteem and confidence of Theodosius, without the appearance, at least, of piety, joined to his uncommon talents. St. Ambrose ranked him among his friends, and was glad to see him preferred §. He lived in great intimacy with Symmachus, if the last letters of that writer's third book are, as they are commonly believed, addressed to him. In those letters Symmachus commends his lively genius, his eloquence, and the delicacy of his raillery ¶. He likewise extols his virtue, his sincerity and disinterestedness, and the penetration of Theodosius in choosing so worthy a minister. But the same writer censures him more after his death, than he had flattered him in his life-time. Claudian charges him with avarice, ambition, cruelty, perfidiousness, and all the crimes and evil qualities of which human nature is capable. Suidas and Zosimus speak of him as a great dissembler, and one who trampled under-foot all laws, both human and divine, when they stood in the way of his unbounded ambition, and insatiable avarice. St. Jerom likewise charges him with avarice; Orosius, Philostorgius, and Marcellinus in his chronicle, accuse him of having excited the Barbarians against the empire, in order to raise himself, in that confusion of affairs, to the sovereignty. St. Ambrose reproaches him, in Theodoret, as the author of the massacre of the inhabitants of Thessalonica †. Zosimus ascribes to his treachery the death of Promotus, killed by the Barbarians, and the downfall and misfortunes of Tatianus, and his son Proculus ‡; but other writers question the innocence both of the father and son, as we have already observed.

Stilicho, who ruled with no less absolute power in the West under Honorius, than Rufinus did in the East under Arcadius, was a Vandal; whence he is styled by St. Jerom a Demi-barbarian *. Claudian, who was no less partial in

His character.

Stilicho first minister to Honorius.

* Zof. lib. iv. p. 773. Cod. Theod. tit. 6. p. 382. Ambr. ep. 50. p. 309. † Philost. lib. xi. cap. 3. p. 328. Soz. lib. viii. cap. 17. p. 780. ‡ Pallad. Hist. Laus. cap. 12. p. 915. § Amb. ep. 50. p. 309. ¶ Symm. lib. iii. ep. 82, 83. 88. p. 137. † Theod. lib. v. cap. 17. p. 728. ‡ Zof. lib. iv. p. 771. * Hier. ep. 11. p. 93. Val. Rer. Franc. lib. i. p. 104. Oros. lib. vii. cap. 38. p. 222.

His character.

his favour than prejudiced against his rival Rufinus, mentions none of his ancestors, besides his father, who had a considerable command in the army under Valens ^x. Stilicho himself bore arms from his childhood, and rose by degrees to the post of *magister utriusque militiæ*, that is, general both of the horse and foot ^y. He commanded the Roman troops, according to Zosimus, for the space of twenty-three years, and attended Theodosius in all his wars. That prince must have entertained a great opinion of him, since he preferred him to all those who courted his niece Serena, whom he had adopted after the death of her father Honorius. By her Stilicho had a son, named Eucherius, born at Rome in 389, while Theodosius was in that city, and two daughters, Maria and Thermantia, of whom we shall have frequent occasion to speak in the sequel of our history. Theodosius would not have honoured Stilicho with his alliance, had he not professed the Christian religion; but, as he is more commended by the Pagan than Christian writers, and his son Eucherius openly declared himself against Christianity, we cannot, upon the bare testimony of Baronius, believe him to have been, not only a zealous but a pious Christian. Zosimus writes, that, during the time he commanded the Roman armies, he never sold any military employments, or deprived the soldiers of the least share of their pay. The same writer extols his moderation, in not preferring his son Eucherius to any considerable employments, though he had a just title to the first in the state. But other writers ^z charge him even with a design of raising his son to the empire, and deposing his lawful sovereign Honorius, his ward and his son-in-law; for that prince married successively both Stilicho's daughters. Zosimus endeavours to clear him from this charge; but at the same time owns him to have been in the highest degree corrupt and partial in the administration of justice; to have countenanced those who plundered the provinces, provided they shared the spoils with them; and to have in a short time acquired, by the most unlawful means, immense riches ^a. Upon the death of Theodosius, Arcadius, to whom the Eastern provinces had been allotted, proceeded immediately to Constantinople, while Honorius continued at Milan, to awe with his presence the Barbarians inhabiting the countries bordering on Rhætia, who were in arms, and ready to break into the empire. As Honorius was but a child, and Arcadius a youth, without either parts or experience, both

^x Claud. de Laud. Stilic. lib. ii. p. 124. ^y Prosp. lib. iii. cap. 38. p. 150. Grut. p. 112. ^z Philott. p. 461. 465. ^a Zof. p. 780—789.

princes bore only the name of emperors, the whole power being lodged in Rufinus and Stilicho, of whom the former ruled with absolute dominion in the East, and the other domineered in the West.

These two ministers agreed in plundering the provinces, and impoverishing whole nations, to enrich themselves; but at the same time jealous of each other's grandeur, neither of them thought himself safe, while his rival continued in power. Stilicho pretended, that Theodosius, when dying, had committed both princes, and the management of the affairs of both empires to his care; hence, considering the power which Rufinus enjoyed in the East as a mere usurpation, he was constantly meditating in what manner he might compass his ruin, and engross the whole authority to himself^b.

Both ministers agree in plundering the people.

On the other hand, Rufinus, not satisfied to rule under Arcadius, began to aspire to the sovereignty; and thinking the readiest way to attain it, was to marry his daughter to the young prince, who, he imagined, would not think it any disparagement to assume his father-in-law for his colleague, he caused overtures concerning this match to be made with the utmost secrecy; which, however, soon became the public talk, and heightened the aversion which the people had already conceived against him, on account of his arrogance, avarice, and arbitrary proceedings. While this affair was in agitation, Eucherius, the emperor's uncle, thinking himself ill treated by Lucianus, count of the East, complained to Arcadius, who cast the whole blame upon Rufinus, by whose interest he had been raised to that post. Lucianus was the son of Florentius, prefect of Gaul in the latter end of the reign of Constantius; and, having purchased the favour of Rufinus, by presenting him with rich possessions, had been recommended to the emperor, who made him count of the East, in which office he is said to have acquitted himself with the greatest justice, moderation, and integrity; insomuch that he refused even to comply with a request of the emperor's uncle, which appeared inconsistent with equity. This refusal being misrepresented to Arcadius, Rufinus, instead of protecting one who had purchased his favour at so great a price, left Constantinople, without imparting his design; and, hastening to Antioch with a small retinue, entered that city in the dead of night, caused Lucianus to be apprehended, and, when he was brought before his tribunal, commanded him, though no one appeared against him, to be beat with leaden balls fastened to cords, till he expired.

Rufinus aspires to the sovereignty.

A remarkable instance of Rufinus's cruelty and arbitrary proceedings.

^b Claud. in Ruf. lib. ii. p. 20. & cons. Hon. 3. p. 38.

This barbarous execution highly provoked the inhabitants of Antioch; and Rufinus, to appease them, ordered a magnificent portico to be built, which was deemed the most stately edifice in all Syria^c.

*Arcadius
marries
Eudoxia.*

*Her cha-
racter.*

From Antioch Rufinus returned to Constantinople, pleasing himself with the thoughts of his future affinity with the emperor; but, upon his arrival, he found Arcadius immovably determined to marry Eudoxia, who had been proposed by the eunuch Eutropius; and accordingly the nuptials were celebrated on the twenty-seventh of April, of the year 395, to the great disappointment of Rufinus^d. Eudoxia was a Frank, the daughter of the famous count and general Bauto, who had been consul in 385, and not of the emperor Gratian, or of the famous general Promotus, as some have advanced without sufficient grounds^e. As she was a woman of great address, of a haughty and imperious temper, she soon gained an absolute sway over the weak prince her husband^f. Some writers have questioned her modesty; but from that charge she is cleared by others, though all agree in accusing her of insatiable avarice, which often prompted her to most flagrant acts of injustice. However, she had some outward appearance of piety; favoured the Catholics, and shewed great respect to the prelates and clergy. Having prevailed upon the emperor to demolish the temple of Marnas, and other temples at Gaza, she built in that city a most stately and magnificent church, which from her was called Eudoxiana. Hence St. Chrysostom publicly commended her as the Mother of the Church, the Patroness of the Saints, and the Support of the Poor^g. But the cruel persecution she afterwards raised against her panegyrist, has rendered her name infamous in the history of the church.

*Stilicho
claims the
same pow-
er in the
East as in
the West.*

Rufinus found himself disappointed as to the marriage of his daughter, and his alliance with the imperial family; and at the same time dreaded the credit of the eunuch Eutropius; but more the arms of Stilicho, who pretended to have been appointed by Theodosius guardian to both his children, and was preparing to march into the East, to dispossess his rival of the authority he had usurped. In order therefore to defeat the designs of Stilicho, and to have an opportunity of getting rid of Eutropius; and even of seizing the sovereign power, he resolved to set all in a flame, and involve the whole empire in the utmost confusion^h. With this view

^c Zos. lib. v. p. 780, 781. ^d Chron. Alex. p. 710. ^e Vide Val. Rer. Franc. lib. ii. p. 65. Philost. lib. xi. cap. 6. p. 529. ^f Cedren. p. 334. ^g Chrys. tom. iv. p. 853. ^h Oros. lib. vii. cap. 37. p. 221. Claud. in Ruf. lib. ii. p. 20.

he privately instigated by his emissaries the Hunns, who penetrated as far as Antioch, destroying all with fire and sword, and committing unheard-of cruelties ¹. At the same time he encouraged the famous Alaric to join his countrymen the Goths, and other Barbarians, in order to invade Greece, assuring him, that he should meet with no opposition. Alaric at that time commanded a body of Goths in the Roman service; but being dissatisfied that he had been rewarded with no higher preferment, since he had distinguished himself in the late war with Eugenius, he readily closed with the proposal of Rufinus. Being by him supplied with large sums, he assembled an incredible number of Barbarians of different nations; and, putting himself at their head, ravaged all Thrace, Pannonia, Macedon, and Thessaly.

*Rufinus
stirs up the
Hunns and
Goths to in-
vade the
empire.*

As he approached the famous Streights of Thermopylae, Gerontius, who guarded them, and was privy to the wicked designs of his patron Rufinus, immediately withdrew, and opened a free passage for the Barbarians into Greece; which they ravaged with incredible fury, putting those to the sword who offered to oppose them, and sending into their respective countries all the women and children that fell into their hands, together with the whole wealth of that opulent province. As Antiochus, at that time proconsul of Achaia, and another of Rufinus's creatures, did not offer to oppose them, they over-ran the whole country, rifling the temples, pillaging the cities, and committing such devastations, as were felt by the unhappy inhabitants for many years after. The whole country between Dalmatia, the Adriatic Gulf, and the Euxine Sea, was laid waste, and turned into a desert, the inhabitants concealing themselves in dens and caves, through fear of being either inhumanly murdered, or carried into captivity. The city of Constantinople itself was in a manner besieged, parties of the Barbarians advancing with great boldness to the very gates of that metropolis. Rufinus, attired after the Gothic manner, went out, as he said, to treat with them, and was received by the Barbarians with extraordinary marks of esteem; which confirmed the suspicion most people entertained of his treachery ².

*Dreadful
ravages
committed
by the
Goths, un-
der the
conduct of
Alaric.*

While these things passed in the East, Stilicho was busied on the bank of the Rhine, in renewing the ancient alliances of the Roman people with the Franks, and other German nations; a task which he had no sooner performed, than he resolved to march to the succour of Greece; in which undertaking he embarked the more readily, as he hoped to

*Stilicho re-
news the
ancient al-
liances
with the
German
nations.*

¹ Socr. lib. vi. cap. 1. p. 300. Soz. lib. viii. cap. 1. p. 753.
² Zof. p. 783. Claud. in Ruf. lib. ii. p. 21. Philost. p. 154.

have an opportunity of ruining Rufinus, and getting the whole power of both empires into his own hands.

*Stilicho
marches to
the relief
of Greece.*

Leaving therefore Gaul about the end of the spring, he proceeded with all the Western troops, and those likewise of the East, that had been left in the West after the defeat of Eugenius. He marched, according to Claudian, over the Alps, no doubt, the Julian Alps, and consequently through Dalmatia. The Barbarians, hearing of his arrival in those parts, resolved to make a stand in Thessaly, and with this view collected into one body all their troops that were dispersed about the country. Stilicho was already within a small distance of the enemy's army, and his men expressed great eagerness to engage them, when Rufinus, concluding, that, if the Barbarians were overcome and repressed, the storm would fall upon his own head, prevailed upon Arcadius to send for the Oriental troops. Accordingly an officer was dispatched to Stilicho, with a peremptory order from the emperor to send them immediately, and return with the rest into the West. Stilicho was greatly surprised at this order, which he thought, snatched out of his hands a certain victory, and exposed the empire to imminent danger. However, not daring to disobey, he not only sent the troops, but half the treasure which Theodosius had left ¹. In dismissing the forces, he appointed Gainas, a Goth, and his intimate friend, to conduct them to Constantinople, after having imparted his design of dispatching Rufinus, and, no doubt, encouraged him to seize the first opportunity that might offer to put it in execution.

*He is or-
dered by
Arcadius to
return into
the West.*

Under his conduct the army arrived in the neighbourhood of Constantinople on the twenty-seventh of November; and the emperor, according to custom, went in person to meet them, attended by Rufinus, who, as he had gained over some of the chief officers to proclaim him emperor on this occasion, had already prepared the purple, the diadem, and the donative for the soldiery. The army received the emperor with all the respect due to the son of Theodosius the Great; but at the same time, upon a signal given by Gainas, they fell upon Rufinus, and cut him in pieces, while he was pressing Arcadius to declare him his colleague ^m. This transaction happened, according to Claudian, at the palace of Hebdomon, where the emperors of the East were usually crowned. After his death, they cut off his head, and putting a stone in his mouth to keep it open, they bore it on

*Rufinus
murdered,*

¹ Claud. Conf. Hon. 4. p. 50, 51. & Laud. Stil. lib. i. p. 128, 129. & lib. ii. p. 135. Ruf. lib. ii. p. 22. Zof. p. 782, 783. ^m Socr. p. 300. Philost. p. 528. Chron. Alex. p. 710. Claud. in Ruf. lib. ii. p. 29.

the point of a spear to Constantinople, where it was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy ^a. They likewise cut off his right-hand, and, carrying it about the streets of Constantinople, asked alms for the insatiable Rufinus, reduced to beggary. By this artifice they collected considerable sums, every one being glad to reward, with some small acknowledgement, those who had contributed to the death of a person they so much abhorred ^b. His estate and effects were confiscated; and the decree issued on that occasion was sent to Rome, where the people expressed the greatest joy at the death and deserved end of that insatiable robber, to use the expression of Symmachus, who had plundered the world ^c. His wife and daughter, fearing they should fall a sacrifice to the fury of the people, took sanctuary in a church, whence they were suffered to retire to Jerusalem, where they spent the rest of their days.

*and his
estate con-
fiscated.*

Neither Stilicho, nor the empire, gained any thing by the death of Rufinus, he being succeeded, not only in his power and employments, but in his cruelty, avarice, and other detestable qualities, by the eunuch Eutropius, who had concurred with Stilicho in all his measures against their common rival. Eutropius was by birth an Armenian, by condition a slave; and had been made an eunuch soon after his birth, eunuchs being then more in request, and consequently more advantageous to the seller, than common slaves. He had frequently changed masters, having been often bought and sold. When he was advanced in years, a soldier, named Ptolemy, gave him as a present to his general Arintheus, who was famous under Valens: Arintheus presented his daughter with him when she was married, to comb her hair, and perform such-like mean offices about her; which when he could no longer discharge on account of his age, she gave him his liberty. Being now his own master, he found means to get into the court, where he was employed in the lowest offices, till he was raised by the interest of Abundantius, who was consul in 393, to a more creditable post ^d. Theodosius authorised him in 392, to consult the holy hermit John in the wilderness of Thebais ^e. That prince seems to have reposed some confidence in him. After the marriage of Arcadius with Eudoxia, he was made, no doubt at her recommendation, great chamberlain, and, upon the death of Rufinus, vested with the same power and authority which that minis-

*He is suc-
ceeded in
his power
and em-
ployments
by Eutro-
pius.
His ex-
traction,
employ-
ments, and
character.*

^a Philost. p. 528. Hier. ep. 3. p. 26. Claud. in Ruf. lib. ii. p. 31. Asterii Orat. iv. p. 76. ^b Hier. Philost. Zos. ibid. ^c Symm. lib. iv. ep. 15. p. 232. ^d Claud. in Eutrop. lib. i. p. 49. 95—97. ^e Soz. lib. vii. cap. 22. p. 740.

ter had enjoyed ^a. Rufinus seemed to survive in this wicked eunuch, who was, according to Eunapius, a declared enemy to virtue, and every virtuous man ^c. That writer, after having drawn his portrait in the blackest colours, concludes, that he has not painted him such as he really was, there being no crime with which he might not deservedly charge him. He surpassed in avarice Rufinus himself, exposing to public sale the chief employments, and entertaining an incredible number of informers to accuse persons possessed of estates; by which means he conveyed the whole wealth of the empire into his own coffers: the prisons, and places of banishment, were filled with unhappy exiles, stripped of their wealth, the only crime for which they had been condemned. As Arcadius was a prince of very slender parts, he suffered himself to be entirely governed by this wicked minister, not daring to enquire into his conduct, or attend to those who had the courage to complain of his arbitrary proceedings. However, by several laws of this year, he confirmed those that had been enacted by his father against heretics ^d; and by one addressed to Marcellus, then magister officiorum, he commanded that officer to examine, with great care, whether any employments at court were held by heretics, and not only to dismiss, but to banish such as he should discover in the palace, with those who had recommended them.

Stilicho returns to the relief of Greece.

Yr. of Fl.
2846.
A. D. 396.
U. C. 1194.

But suffers Alaric to escape.

In the course of next year, Stilicho, who was returned to Italy with the Western troops, set out again to succour Greece, reduced to a most deplorable condition by Alaric, and the Barbarians under his command. He embarked on the Adriatic Sea; and, landing without opposition in Peloponnesus, cut off great numbers of the enemy in various successful encounters; and, in the end, obliged them to retire to a mountain in Arcadia, named Pholœ, at a small distance from Pisa. There he enclosed them on all sides, cut off their communication with the neighbouring country, and even turned the course of the river that supplied them with water ^e. But when he had them thus in his power, he suffered them to escape, to retire out of Peloponnesus, and to pillage Epirus in their retreat (C). Soon after, Alaric was by

^a Zof. p. 781. Philost. lib. xi. cap. 5. p. 528. Suid. p. 1099.
^c Eunap. p. 183. ^d Cod. Theod. lib. ii. tit. 9. leg. 8. p. 133.
& lib. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 25. p. 142, 144. ^e Zof. lib. v. p. 784.
Claud. conf. Hon. 4. p. 51.

(C) Orosius supposes him to and therefore thinks him no less have connived at their escape, guilty than Rufinus, who first excited

by Arcadius, or rather by his governor Eutropius, appointed commander of the troops in East Illyricum, which comprised Greece, as we read in Claudian ^x.

Though Stilicho immediately retired with his troops from Greece, pursuant to the orders of Arcadius, yet that prince, in obedience to the injunctions of Eutropius, caused him to be declared a public enemy by a solemn decree of the senate of Constantinople ^y, ordering at the same time all the lands and palaces he had in the East to be seized and confiscated ^z. Eutropius, not satisfied with having defeated the measures of Stilicho, aspiring to the same post in the court of Arcadius, which he held in that of Honorius, resolved to remove all those out of the way, in whom Arcadius seemed to repose any confidence. He began with Abundantius, by whose means he had been first raised at court. Abundantius had served in the army with great reputation in the time of Gratian, and had been raised by Theodosius to the post of general both of the horse and foot, to the prætorship, and consular dignity ^a. But Eutropius, jealous of the authority and credit which his experience and known integrity procured him at court, and panting after the immense wealth with which his eminent services had been rewarded, prevailed on the weak prince with his crafty and malicious insinuations, to banish him to Pityus, a city of Bosphorus, to the north of the Euxine sea, and beyond Colchis; where he led a miserable life, stripped of all his effects, till the death of Eutropius, when he was removed, and confined to Sidon in Phœnicia, in which city he died ^b.

Stilicho, at the instigation of Eutropius, declared a public enemy.

Eutropius causes Abundantius to be banished.

^x Claud. in Eutrop. ibid. ^y Zos. p. 758. ^z Claud. de Laud. Stil. lib. i. p. 130. ^a Cod. Theod. tit. 6. 347. ^b Hier. epist. 3. p. 26. Aët. Orat. iv. p. 76.

excited them against the empire (1). Zosimus writes, that they owed their safety to the negligence and misconduct of Stilicho (2). But Claudian tells us, that Eutropius, regarding Stilicho as a more dangerous enemy than Alaric, persuaded Arcadius to conclude a peace with the latter, to take him and the Barbarians, who had ra-

vaged the best provinces of the empire, under his protection, and to order Stilicho to withdraw his troops from Greece, which belonged to Arcadius. Thus was Stilicho robbed the second time by a jealous rival of the glory of delivering the empire, and triumphing over the Barbarians (3).

(1) Oros. lib. vii. cap. 37. p. 221. (2) Zosim. p. 734.
(3) Claud. Bell. Goth. p. 170 & in Eutrop. lib. ii. p. 113.

The

His treacherous practices against Timasius.

The credit which Timasius had at court, and with the army, gave the wicked minister, who could bear no competitor, more jealousy than that of Abundantius. He had been long one of the chief commanders of the army, had served Valens and Theodosius in all their wars with great honour and integrity, and been rewarded by the latter with the consular dignity^c. Eutropius, resolving to procure the ruin of so powerful a rival, had recourse to Bargus, who lived in great intimacy with Timasius. Bargus was a person of a mean descent, and had been forced, for some notorious crime, to fly from Laodicea in Syria, his native city, and retire to Sardes, in Lydia. There Timasius accidentally met him; and being pleased with his facetious conversation, without enquiring farther into his character, admitted him to his confidence, gave him the command of a cohort, and carried him to Constantinople; at which the magistrates were highly displeased, because he had been formerly banished that city. Eutropius applied to this man as a proper instrument for his villainous purpose, and easily prevailed upon him to betray his friend and benefactor, by accusing him of treason, and producing a counterfeited writing, upon which he was, without delay, brought to trial. Eutropius persuaded the emperor to preside in person; but perceiving the people were highly incensed to see a person of Timasius's dignity and character arraigned upon the deposition of such an infamous wretch as Bargus, he advised the prince, whom he managed as he pleased, to withdraw, and substitute Saturninus and Procopius in his room. The former of these had discharged the chief employments in the state, and the consulship; but is said to have dishonoured his old age by a general and mean compliance with the will of the ruling minister. Procopius was son-in-law to the emperor Valens, of a rough and savage temper, but not easily prevailed upon to swerve from what he thought just and equitable, as appeared in this case; for he boldly maintained, that such an infamous wretch as Bargus ought not to be admitted as evidence against a person of Timasius's rank, against his friend and benefactor.

Timasius banished.

But Saturninus prevailing, the unhappy Timasius was stripped of all his wealth, and banished to Oasis, a barren and inhospitable place in Libya, from which there was no possible means of escape, it being surrounded by a vast desert of sand, which moving to and fro with the wind, suf-

^c Zos. p. 786, 787. Alt. p. 76. Soz. lib. viii. cap. 7. p. 766.

ferred no track or footstep of any former traveller to be seen. Bargus did not long enjoy the price of his treachery and wickedness; for Eutropius, who was a man of too great discernment to trust a traitor, and well knew that one who had betrayed his friend and benefactor, would not prove faithful to him, resolved to dispatch him as soon as possible. Accordingly, having sent him upon some advantageous commission out of Constantinople, during his absence, he induced his wife, who was then at variance with her husband, to present some treasonable papers to the emperor, which she pretended to have found in his custody. In consequence of this detection, Bargus was upon his return arraigned, sentenced to death, and executed.

*His accuser
Bargus put
to death.*

In the course of this year, dreadful earthquakes were felt in most provinces of the East; and the sky, appearing all in a flame over the city of Constantinople, terrified the inhabitants, and the emperor himself, to such a degree, that abandoning the city, they retired to the fields. From the several laws of this year, most of which tend to the total suppression of idolatry, and the curbing of heretics, it appears, that Arcadius continued the whole time at Constantinople, or in the neighbourhood of that city. The law of the twenty-second of March, is dated from Regium, which is supposed to have been an imperial palace about fifteen miles from the metropolis. Nothing happened this year in the West worthy of notice, except the conversion of Frigitul, queen of the Marcomans, to the Christian religion. Honorius continued all this year at Milan, as is evident from the dates of his laws.

*Great
earth-
quakes, &c.
in the East,*

*Frigitul,
queen of the
Marco-
mans, con-
verted to
the Christi-
an religion.*

The next consuls were, Cæfarius and Atticus: the former had succeeded Rufinus in the prefecture of the East, Eutropius being, as an eunuch, excluded from that office; and the latter had been governor of West-Illyricum under Valentinian II. in 384. Cæfarius seems to have entered upon his consulship at Constantinople, and Atticus at Rome^d. Arcadius, leaving Constantinople in the month of July, went to Ancyra, and remained there till the latter end of September, when he returned to the metropolis with as much pomp and show as if he had conquered the Persians, says Claudian, who supposes him to have constantly passed the summer at Ancyra, Eutropius diverting him, by that progress, from applying to affairs of state^e. Stilicho still claimed the administration of affairs in the

^d Symm. lib. vii. ep. 30. p. 273. Cod. Theodor. Chron. p. 136.
Prosop. p. 470. 1dat. in Fast.
^e Claudian. in Eutrop. lib. ii.
p. 110.

Yr. of Fl

2847.

A. D. 397.

U. C. 1195.

*Eutropius
persuades
Gildo to
revolt from
Honorius.*

*Gildo's
character.*

*Arcadius is
acknow-
ledged in
most cities
of Africa.*

East, and was preparing to march once more into the dominions of Arcadius, in order to support his claim by force of arms, and revenge on Eutropius the injurious decree issued against him by the senate of Constantinople. But that wicked and crafty minister not scrupling, for the support of his own power, to kindle a war between the two brothers, privately persuaded Gildo, who commanded the Roman troops in Africa, to revolt from Honorius, and submit to Arcadius, hoping by these means to divert Stilicho from pursuing his intended expedition into the East ^f. Gildo was brother to the famous Firmus, who made war upon the Romans in 373, but was overcome by count Theodosius, the father of the emperor of that name. In that war Gildo joined the Romans, and was afterwards, by Valentinian II. or rather by Theodosius, who governed in his name, appointed count of Africa, and commander of all the troops in that province. Theodosius, that he might have some pledge of his fidelity, in conferring that dignity upon him, married Salvina, the daughter of Gildo, to Nebridius, nephew by the mother to the empress Flaccilla ^g.

Gildo was, if not by religion, at least in his manners, a Pagan. Claudian charges him with avarice, cruelty, luxury, and all manner of lewdness, the more shameful and scandalous, as he was already far advanced in years ^h. St. Austin condemns him as one infamous for wickedness and debauchery ⁱ. When Eugenius usurped the empire of the West, Gildo acknowledged Theodosius; but when that prince marched against the usurper in 394, he declined sending any succours, as other governors of provinces had done, in obedience to the emperor's orders, waiting the issue of the war, in order to join the party that should prevail; inasmuch that Theodosius would have treated him as an open enemy, according to Claudian, had he not been prevented by death. Eutropius having induced him to revolt from Honorius, he obliged most of the cities of Africa and Carthage itself to acknowledge Arcadius, placing such governors in them, as he knew were attached to his own interest, with a design of seizing the province for himself, as he had but a very mean opinion of both princes ^k. When intelligence of his revolt was brought to Honorius, he acquainted the senate of Rome with it, who immediately declared Gildo a public enemy, and dispatched a solemn embassy to Arcadius, intreating him to restore Africa to its

^f Zof. p. 788.

p. 94.

p. 285.

^g Ammian. lib. xxix. p. 399. Hier. Ep. ii.

^h Claud Bell. Gild. p. 74, 84.

ⁱ Aug. epist. lxi.

^k Oros. lib. vii. cap. 36. p. 221.

lawful sovereign¹. Symmachus at the same time wrote to Arcadius, probably by order, and in the name, of the senate, exhorting him not to quarrel, but to live in friendship and amity with his brother.

In the mean time a famine began to rage in Rome, Gildo *A famine in Rome.* not suffering any corn to be conveyed thither from Africa.

Two fleets were therefore equipped with great expedition, one to be employed against Gildo, and the other in bringing corn and other provisions to Rome from Gaul and Spain.

The former failed this year, and, with a seasonable supply, quieted the populace, ready to rise; but the latter could not be equipped till the following year. During these war-like preparations, died the celebrated bishop of Milan, St. Ambrose, by none more regretted than by Stilicho, who, looking upon the death of that prelate as the greatest misfortune that could befall Italy, had, upon the first news of his illness, caused public prayers to be offered for him in all the churches of Milan^m. Honorius continued this whole year at Milan. Some of his laws are indeed dated from Rome; but that is generally thought to have been a mistakeⁿ.

St. Ambrose dies

By one of these, published in the square of Trajan on the ninth of March, he forbids the Romans to follow in their dress foreign fashions; for it is to be observed, that the Romans, by conversing familiarly with the Goths, grew, by degrees, fond of their fashions, and began to adopt them; a circumstance which was looked upon as a fatal prelude to what happened soon after. By another law he confirms all the privileges and exemptions which his predecessors, moved by a due respect for religion, had granted to the churches, to the ecclesiastics, and particularly to the bishop of Rome. In the East, Arcadius, by a law dated the first of April, commanded all the Apollinarian teachers to be banished Constantinople, and the houses where they had held their private assemblies to be confiscated. That of the seventeenth of June forbids any one to insult the Jews, or their patriarch, whom he had honoured the preceding year with the title of illustrious, which was bestowed on the first officers of the empire. The law dated the first of July exempts the ministers of their religion from the same burdens, from which the bishops, priests, and deacons, were exempted. By a law dated the eighth of November Arcadius commanded all domestics, whether free-born or slaves, to be sentenced to death, who should inform against their masters, except in cases of treason. On the

Some laws enacted this year.

¹ Claud. de Laud. Stil. p. 131. Symm. lib. iv. ep. iv. p. 143.

^m Ambr. Vit. cap. 34. p. 10. cap. 45 p. 12.

ⁿ Cod. Theod.

Chron. p. 136, 137.

*Flaccilla
born.*

seventeenth of June the empress Eudoxia was delivered of a daughter, named Flaccilla, from the emperor's mother, and distinguished with the title of *Nobilissima*, or most noble ^o.

Next year, 398, when Honorius was consul the fourth time, with Eutychianus, who entered upon that dignity at Constantinople, Stilicho pursued, with the utmost vigour, his warlike preparations against Gildo; but was greatly perplexed how to manage that expedition with success, and whom to trust with the command of the troops. But from this anxiety he was soon delivered by the seasonable arrival in Italy of Mascezel, brother to Gildo, who gave a true account of the state of affairs in Africa, and suggested to him the most proper means for suppressing the rebellion. Mascezel was not only a Christian, but a person of extraordinary piety; and therefore could not be prevailed upon to join his brother in the rebellion, who thereupon resolved to murder him; but he, by a timely flight, defeated his wicked design ^p. Gildo, however, vented his rage on the two sons Mascezel had left behind, causing them both to be butchered, and leaving their mangled bodies to be devoured by wild beasts. Stilicho, not doubting but to revenge the death of his children, and the attempt upon his own life, he would push on the war with vigour, and serve the republic with unshaken fidelity, committed the whole management of the intended expedition against his brother to him. The army embarked at Pisa, and, putting to sea, steered along the east coast of Sardinia, and landed safe in Africa. Mascezel, without loss of time, led his troops against Gildo, and attacking him before he could draw up his army, gained, after a bloody and obstinate fight, a complete victory.

*Mascezel,
brother to
Gildo, sent
against
him.*

*Gildo en-
tirely de-
feated.*

*Gildo is
taken, and
lays vio-
lent hands
on himself.*

Gildo made his escape, and reaching the sea, went on board the first vessel he found; but being by a contrary wind driven into the harbour of Tabraca, near Hippo in Africa, he was apprehended, exposed to the insults of the populace, and then thrown into prison, where he strangled himself, to avoid a more cruel and ignominious death ^q. Upon the defeat and death of Gildo, all Africa submitted to Honorius. Claudian, who omits no opportunity of flattering his great hero Stilicho, ascribes the whole success of this expedition to the prudence and vigilance of that minister. He wrote a poem on the war with Gildo; but that piece is imperfect, since the poet drops the Roman fleet on the

^p Mar. & Alex. Chron. p. 712. ^p Ammian. lib. xxix. p. 400.
Oros. lib. vii. cap. 36. p. 221. Claud. de Bell. Gild. cap. 79 p. 788.
^q Claud. de Laud. Stil. lib. i. p. 132. Zos. p. 788. Oros. Paulin.
ibid. Mar. Chron.

coast of Sardinia in their way to Africa. The leading men of Gildo's faction were sent to Rome to be tried, and some of them were publicly executed. Optatus, bishop of the Donatists at Tamugadi in Numidia, one of Gildo's most zealous partisans, died in prison. As several innocent persons were accused, and dragged to confinement, Honorius, by a law addressed to Victor, proconsul of Africa, put a stop to such unjust prosecutions, ordering false informers and witnesses to be punished according to the rigour of the several laws enacted against them¹. Gildo's estate fell to the treasury, and proved so large, that a particular treasurer was appointed to manage it, with the title of comes Gildoniaci patrimonii, or count of Gildo's patrimony.

*His estate
confiscated.*

Africa being restored to its former tranquility, Mascezel returned to Italy, and was received at Milan by Stilicho, in appearance with the greatest demonstrations of friendship and esteem; but the glory he had acquired by putting so speedy an end to a war, which the minister had so much apprehended, giving him no small jealousy, he resolved to dispatch this new rival. Accordingly, as he was one day passing a bridge in the neighbourhood of Milan, Mascezel, who attended him, with many other persons of distinction, was, by his private orders, pushed into the river, and drowned². About the time of the defeat of Gildo, Honorius married at Milan Maria the daughter of Stilicho by Serena, cousin-german to that prince³. By the defeat of Gildo, an entire harmony was re-established between the two brothers, as that poet tells us; but the same misunderstanding continued between the two ministers, who nevertheless agreed in plundering the unhappy people, and conveying into their private coffers the whole wealth of the two empires. Eutropius persuaded Arcadius to name him, though an eunuch, for the consulship the ensuing year; but Stilicho would not suffer him to be acknowledged in the West⁴ (N).

*Mascezel
put to death
by Stilicho's
orders.*

*Honorius
marries
Maria, the
daughter of
Stilicho.*

*Eutropius
consul.*

In

¹ Cod. Theod. tit. 3. p. 288. Claud. *ibid.* p. 148.
p. 788, 789. ² Claud. Conf. Hon. 4. p. 55.

³ Zos. lib. v.
⁴ Claud. in
Eutrop. lib. ii. p. 111.

(N) Claudian relates, that when news of the consulare of Eutropius were brought to the court of Honorius, that prince was engaged with Stilicho in receiving the submissions of the Alemans, Suevians, and Sicambrians; in giving kings to some,

and commanding others to raise levies for recruiting his armies. The same poet, enumerating the great things Stilicho had performed by himself, or others, before his consulship, that is, before the year 40., says, that he succoured Britain, attacked by

*Earth-
quakes and
other cala-
mities in
the East.*

In the East, the cities of Constantinople and Chalcedon were shaken with violent earthquakes; several buildings were consumed with lightning; and the sea, overwhelming the land, laid whole countries under water. Claudian mentions several other prodigies, which were all the fore-runners, says that poet, of a prodigy never before heard of, an eunuch consul^w; for in the following year 390, Eutropius prevailed upon Arcadius to create him a patrician, to honour him with the title of Father to the Emperor, and to raise him to the consular dignity. He was the first and the last eunuch that ever held, or rather disgraced, the fasces. His image, with the ensigns of his dignity, was carried, as it were, in triumph, through all the cities of the East; but Stilicho refusing to acknowledge him in the West, Manlius Theodorus alone is named consul in some fasti, and in the laws of Honorius.

*Manlius
Theodorus
consul in
the West.*

Yr. of Fl.
2849.
A. D. 399.
U. C. 1197.

*Varanes
king of
Persia
murdered,
and suc-
ceeded by
Isdegerdes.*

During the consulship of Theodorus in the West, and Eutropius in the East, died Varanes, or Vararanes IV. king of Persia, who, during the eleven years of his reign, had lived in friendship with the Romans. He was killed, we know not upon what provocation, by his own subjects, and succeeded by his brother Isdegerdes, or, as Abulfaragius styles him, Yafdejird^x. Eutychius, who calls him Al Aitham, supposes him to have been the son of his predecessor. He reigned twenty-one years, constantly maintaining a friendly correspondence with the Romans; but was, according to Eutychius, a prince of great severity, or rather cruelty; whence he was surnamed AlAitham, or Athim, that is, *the bad*. Procopius gives him a quite different character, describing him as a generous-spirited prince^y. He is famous in the history of the church, for the persecution which he raised about the

^w Claud. in Eutrop. lib. ii. p. 102, 109. ^x Abulfar p. 91. Eutych. tom i. p. 548. Agath. de Imper. Just p. 137. ^y Procop. Bell. Pers. lib. i. cap. 2. p. 8.

by the neighbouring nations, namely, by the Scots, who, arming all Ierne against it, had covered the sea with their fleets; and that he had secured the British coast against the descents of the Saxons. The learned Usher ascribes to Stilicho the establishing of a legion in Britain, to defend it against the Picts, the

Scots, and the Saxons. About the same time a proper officer was appointed to guard the coast against the attempts of the Saxons, with the title of comes limitis Saxonici, or count of the Saxon coast, that is. of the coast opposite the country of the Saxons (1).

(1) Claud. de Laud. Stil. lib. ii. p. 139; & seq. Uss. Eccles. Britan. Antiq. p. 336.

end of his reign against the Christians in his dominions. The most remarkable event that happened in the East during the consulship of Eutropius, was the disgrace of that powerful minister, which Zosimus ascribes chiefly to Gainas. This officer had commanded the Goths, and other Barbarians, under Theodosius; and, after the defeat of Eugenius, re-conducted the eastern army to Arcadius, on which occasion he caused Rufinus to be assassinated, in the manner we have related already. For this eminent piece of service he did not think himself sufficiently rewarded by Eutropius, who, as he used to boast, was indebted to him for all his grandeur. From a common soldier he had been preferred by Theodosius to the chief command of all the Goths, and other Barbarians, in the Roman service, and, by Eutropius, after the death of Rufinus, to the post of general of Roman horse and foot; but yet not satisfied, and scornful to depend upon a slave and an eunuch, he resolved to dispatch him, hoping, if he were once removed, to succeed him in his power and authority^z.

Gainas dissatisfied with Eutropius.

While he was indulging himself in these thoughts, count Tarbigild, or Tribigild, who was a Goth, and commanded a numerous body of his countrymen at Nicolia in Phrygia, came to court; and, after a short residence at Constantinople, was preparing to return to his quarters, greatly dissatisfied with the haughty behaviour, and arbitrary conduct, of the prime minister; when Gainas, to whom he was allied, according to Socrates, resolving to improve his discontent to the ruin of Eutropius, imparted the design he had formed against this minister, and encouraged him to revolt, assuring him, that he would, to the utmost of his power, assist and support him. Tribigild, who was a man of great intrepidity and resolution, and ready to embark in any desperate undertaking, immediately closed with the proposal. Returning to Nicolia, he took arms early in the spring; pillaged that and several other cities in Phrygia; and, putting all to the sword who fell into his hands, without distinction of sex, age, or condition, he threw the whole province of Asia into the utmost confusion, the inhabitants, struck with terror, abandoning their habitations, and flying for refuge to the most distant provinces. Intelligence of these disorders being brought to court, Eutropius endeavoured first to gain Tribigild with large presents, and greater promises; but, finding he could not, by fair means,

He induces Tribigild to revolt.

Tribigild pillages several provinces.

^z Zos. lib. v. p. 789. Zoz. lib. viii. cap. 4. p. 760, 761. Socr. lib. vi. cap. 6. p. 306.

reclaim him, he dispatched a body of troops against him, under the conduct of Leo, a person greatly attached to his interest, but in every respect, unfit for that command. Leo, having passed the streights of the Hellespont, continued in that neighbourhood, not daring to encounter the enemy. Gainas, who pretended to be highly provoked against Tribigild, on account of his revolt, was appointed to guard Thrace, and the sea-coast, in order to prevent an irruption on that side; but he, keeping the whole time a private correspondence with the rebels, instead of defending Thrace, advised Tribigild to march to the sea-side, and, crossing the Hellespont, to enter that province. Had his advice been followed, the rebels would have made themselves masters of Constantinople without opposition; but Tribigild, bending his march towards Pisidia, was encountered by Valentine, a citizen of Selga, at the head of a small body of slaves and peasants. Tribigild despised them at first; but, as they were well acquainted with that mountainous country, and had, by their frequent skirmishes with the robbers in those parts, learnt to make sudden onsets, and lay ambushes, they cut off great numbers of his men, and at length enclosed him on all sides, in such manner, that no way being left for him to escape, he must inevitably have perished, had he not, by a large sum, prevailed upon Florentius, who guarded a narrow pass called Cochlea, to withdraw, and suffer him to retire.

*Is reduced
to great
distress;*

However, his men, by the ambuscades, frequent attacks, and sudden onsets of the Pisidians, were now reduced to three hundred. With these he marched into the plain, where he was again blocked up between the two rivers Melane and Eurymedon. In this extremity he found means to acquaint Gainas with the desperate posture of his affairs, who, under colour of reinforcing Leo's army, detached a strong body of Barbarians, with private orders to join Tribigild; whom they reinforced accordingly. With their assistance Tribigild opened himself a passage out of Pisidia, and, falling unexpectedly upon Leo, cut most of his troops in pieces. Leo himself, attempting to make his escape, perished among the marshes^a. From Pisidia, Tribigild returned into Phrygia, where Gainas, who had advanced into that province, as if he designed to attack him, suffered him to ravage with greater fury than ever, magnifying, in all the letters he wrote to the emperor, his conduct, his

*but escapes,
and defeats
Leo, sent a-
gainst him.*

^a *Sof. lib. v. p. 789. Philost. p. 531. Claud. in. Eutrop. lib. ii. p. 110, 116, 119.*

exploits, and the strength of his army, and suggesting, that the only way to save the empire from impending ruin, was to comply with his demands, the chief of which was, that Eutropius, the author of all the present calamities, should be delivered into his hands. At the same time news were brought to court of the death of Varanes king of Persia, and a report was spread, that his successor was preparing to invade Syria. Upon this false alarm, and the accounts that were daily transmitted by Gainas to Constantinople of the progress made by Tribigild, some were for recurring to Stilicho, and others for satisfying the rebels, by sacrificing the minister to the welfare of the state^b. Arcadius, who was under the greatest perplexity, chose the latter expedient; and, sending for Eutropius, caused him to be stripped of the consular ensigns, and dismissed.

Gainas lays the whole blame on Eutropius;

who is disgraced, and deposed.

He takes sanctuary in a church;

Eutropius, thus disgraced, and apprehending his life to be in danger, took sanctuary in a church. But the people exclaiming against him in the theatre, and Gainas, with the soldiery, pressing the emperor to restore the state to its former tranquillity, by either putting to death, or banishing, the abhorred minister, a band of soldiers was sent to drag him from his asylum, some of those who had appeared till that time most zealously attached to him, taking upon them that province^c. But Chrysostom, then bishop of Constantinople, resolutely declaring, that he would not suffer them to profane the church, they seized, and carried him to the emperor, who was prevailed upon to grant that protection to Eutropius, from which many guilty of smaller crimes had, by his means, been excluded^d. Next day incredible multitudes of people flocked to the church, to have the satisfaction of seeing Eutropius, whom they all hated, divested of his power, and, by a just retaliation, brought to that deplorable condition, to which he had reduced many of their friends and relations. On this occasion Chrysostom made a speech to the assembled multitude, on the vanity of all human grandeur, endeavouring, at the same time, to awaken in the hearts of his auditors, sentiments of compassion for the unhappy criminal. When he saw them begin to relent, he ended his speech, by exhorting them to go in a body to the imperial palace, and, throwing themselves at the prince's feet, to beg the life of Eutropius might be spared^e. Whether they complied with this exhortation, we are not informed; all we know is, that a few days after,

where he is protected by St. Chrysostom.

^b Zos. p. 793. Claud. in Eutrop. lib. ii. p. 119, 120. ^c Chryf. tom. iii. p. 671, 667. ^d Idem, tom. iv. p. 486. ^e Socr. p. 304. Zos. p. 767.

*He is taken
in endeavouring to
make his
escape, and
banished.*

*He is accused a-
new, tried,
and executed.*

*Many temples pulled
down.*

Yr. of Fl. 2850.
A. D. 400.
U. C. 1198.

*Stilicho
consul.*

*Gainas and
Tribigild
join their
forces, and
plunder
several
provinces.*

Eutropius, having privately left his asylum, in order to make his escape, was taken, and banished to the island of Cyprus^f.

Gainas, not yet satisfied, caused several charges to be brought against him; upon which he was conducted from the island of Cyprus to a place called Pantychium, between Chalcedon and Nicomedia, where he was tried by the prefect Aurelian, and several other persons of distinction, who, upon his being convicted of having, in his consulship, made use of ornaments peculiar to the imperial dignity, condemned him; and he was beheaded on the last day of the present year^g. Zosimus, who pretends he had been promised his life upon oath, says, that, to cover the perjury, they pretended, that the oath was only with respect to Constantinople, and caused him to be beheaded at Chalcedon. This year is remarkable in the history of the church, for the many temples demolished both in the East and West, and the severe laws enacted by the two princes against idolatrous worship; which may be said to have given the last blow to the Pagan superstition.

The next consuls were Stilicho and Aurelianus: the latter entered upon his new dignity at Constantinople, and the former at Milan, with the greatest pomp that had ever been seen in that city^h. In the East no advantage accrued to the public from the death of Eutropius; the empress Eudoxia, a bold, enterprising, and avaricious woman, having, upon the execution of that minister, gained an absolute ascendant over her husband. She was constantly beset by women, eunuchs, and informers, who excited her to such cruel acts of violence and injustice, that every good man wished for death, to avoid seeing such enormous disordersⁱ. In the mean time, Gainas, having concluded a pretended peace with the rebels, marched back to Constantinople, followed by Tribigild, whom he joined at Thyatira; where they both agreed to march to Sardes in Lydia, and plunder that metropolis; but, unable to pass the rivers that were swelled by the heavy rains, they parted once more, and bending their march to the sea, Tribigild took his route towards Lampsachus on the Hellespont, and Gainas towards Chalcedon, allowing their soldiers to plunder all the countries through which they passed. Their approach caused a general consternation at Constantinople; and the whole empire seemed to

^f Zof. lib. v. p. 797.

^g Ibid. p. 793. Philostorg. lib. xi. cap.

6. p. 529. Socr. lib. vi. cap. 5. p. 305. Alt. Orat. iii. p. 76, 77.

^h Sym. lib. iv. ep. 31. p. 161.

ⁱ Zof. p. 800. 802.

be in imminent danger. As Arcadius had no troops to make head against them, and prevent their entering Thrace, he was advised to send deputies to Gainas, and to save the empire from ruin, by granting his own terms. Gainas, with great insolence, required three of the most eminent men in the state, whom he thought capable of thwarting his ambitious designs, to be delivered up, in order to be put to death. These were, Saturninus, who had been consul in 383, and employed for the space of thirty-years in public affairs; Aurelianus, this year's consul, who had been prefect of Constantinople, and præfectus prætorio; and John, secretary to the emperor ^k.

Arcadius complied, though much against his inclination, with this arrogant and tyrannical demand, those three illustrious persons pressing him to sacrifice them to the public welfare. With the emperor's consent they left Constantinople, and presented themselves before Gainas, encamped in the neighbourhood of Chalcedon, who immediately ordered them to be beheaded, but changed the sentence of death into that of perpetual banishment, when the executioner had already lifted up his arm to discharge the fatal blow. They were chiefly indebted to Chrysostom for their lives, which were granted at his intercession ^l. They were all sent under a guard towards Epirus; but, having, either by corrupting the Goths that guarded them, or by some other means, made their escape, they appeared, when least expected, at the court of Constantinople, to the great joy of the emperor and the whole city. Gainas, not yet appeased, demanded a conference with the emperor in person; and with this demand Arcadius was obliged to comply, passing for that purpose over to Chalcedon, in the neighbourhood of which city he had an interview with Gainas, in the church of St. Euphemia, where it was agreed, that both Gainas and Tribigild should lay down their arms, and return, if they pleased, to Constantinople; and that the former, besides the command of all the Goths in the Roman service, should have the rest of the Roman horse and foot, with the consular ornaments, and an authority almost unbounded ^m. We find nothing farther in history relating to Tribigild, except that he perished in Thrace soon after this accommodation ⁿ. Gainas, upon his return to Constantinople, demanded a church in that city for the Arians, whose doctrine was espoused by him, and most of

Arcadius forced to comply with his unjust demands;

and to confer with him in person.

^k Zos. p. 795—796. Soz. lib. viii. cap. 4. p. 760. Socr. lib. vi. cap. 6. p. 306. Synes. ep. 31. 34, 38. p. 177—179. ^l Chrysostom v. hom. 72. p. 895. ^m Zos. p. 794. Socr. p. 306, 307. Soz. p. 761. Theodor. lib. v. cap. 32. p. 744. ⁿ Philost. lib. xi. cap. 8. p. 531.

*The intrepidity of St. Chryso-
stom.*

the Goths his countrymen. The timorous emperor, not daring to give an absolute denial, referred him to Chrysofom, bishop of that city, who shewed him the edict of the emperor Theodosius, forbidding heretics and sectaries to hold any assemblies in the city. Gainas replied, that the services he had rendered the empire deserved at least one church, in which he, and those of his persuasion, might have the free exercise of their religion. To this remark the prelate replied boldly, that his rewards already exceeded his deserts; that, from the mean condition of a common soldier, he had been raised to the high station of commander in chief of all the Roman forces; and ought to be satisfied with the honours he enjoyed, without demanding what could not be granted without a notorious breach of the laws. Gainas, finding he had not to deal with an Arcadius, but a Chrysofom, thought it prudent to drop his demand.

Gainas forms a design of seizing Constantinople;

About this time appeared at Constantinople a comet of unusual magnitude, portending, as was said, the great danger the city was in from the perfidiousness of Gainas; for that Barbarian, who commanded in chief the armies of Arcadius, having filled Constantinople with his Goths, and removed all the Roman troops, formed a design of seizing first the wealth of the bankers, and then setting fire to the palace. But this wicked project being frustrated by a miracle, which the reader will find related at large by Socrates^e, Sozomen^p, and Philostorgius^q, he withdrew from the city on the tenth of July, on pretence of performing his devotions in the church of St. John Baptist, seven miles from the city. He left the greater part of his Goths in the city, with private orders to fall upon the inhabitants immediately after his departure, and to give him a signal that he might return and join them with those who attended him^r. Socrates and Sozomen write, that the soldiers who guarded the gates, observing those who went out with Gainas loaded with arms, which they endeavoured to conceal, attempted to oppose them: but the Goths having killed several of the guards, opened themselves a way sword in hand. The citizens, in the mean time, taking the alarm, flew to arms, and Arcadius, acquainted with what had happened, declared Gainas a public enemy, and ordered all the Goths in the city to be put to the sword. Gainas returned in great haste; but not being able to force the gate, which he found barricadoed, and defended by a numer-

His men massacred.

^e Socr. lib. vi. cap. 6. p. 307.
^q Philost. lib. i. cap. 8. p. 531.

^p Soz. lib. viii. cap. 4. p. 762.
^r Zos. p. 795.

ous body of citizens, he was obliged to drop the enterprize and retire. We are ignorant of what happened the day following ; but the day after the citizens attacked the Goths, who were still remaining in the city to the number of seven thousand, and cut most of them in pieces ; the rest took sanctuary in the church of their nation, situated near the palace ; but the citizens having obtained leave of the emperor to attack them even in their asylum, they first uncovered the roof, and after having plied them warmly with showers of darts and arrows, they set fire to the church, which was reduced to ashes, with all who were in it². This was condemned, says Zosimus, by every good Christian, as an enormous crime.

Gainas, highly provoked at the massacre of his friends and countrymen, pulled off the mask ; and making open war upon the state, ravaged Thrace, but not being able to make himself master of a single city, he left that province, and marched into the Chersonesus, in order to cross the Hellespont, and enrich himself and his army with the spoils of Asia : but Fravitus, who commanded in those parts, having quickly assembled a considerable number of vessels, attacked him in his passage ; and being favoured by the wind, obliged him to return to the coast whence he had sailed, with the loss of many thousands either killed or drowned¹. Fravitus was himself a Goth and a Pagan, according to Zosimus, but greatly attached to the Roman interest, having married a Roman lady of distinction in 380, and ever since that time served the empire with great fidelity. He was one of the chiefs of those Goths who, being expelled their own country by the Hunns, were allowed by Theodosius to settle in Thrace. Eunapius writes, that soon after he killed with his own hand Eriulphus, another of their chiefs, because he intended to take arms against Theodosius, pursuant to an oath, by which they had all bound themselves, before they left their own country, to do the Romans, however kindly received by them, all the mischief that lay in their power³. As he was a man of great courage, a strict observer of military discipline, vigilant and indefatigable, he had been employed on several occasions, and acquitted himself in every command with great reputation : he had lately cleared the East of the robbers who had long infested it. However, he was suspected of having suffered Gainas, and the rest of his countrymen, to escape, when he might have easily cut them all off : but

He ravages Thrace.

Is defeated with great loss by Fravitus.

¹ Chron. Alex. p. 712.
² Eunap. p. 21.

³ Zos. Socr. Soz. *ibid.* Philost. p. 531.

Zosimus, and most historians, clear him from this charge, which seems the more groundless, as he was, for his conduct on that occasion, rewarded the following year with the consulship. From the Chersonesus Gainas returned to Thrace, and was there, according to Socrates and Sozomen, cut in pieces, with all his men, by the Romans, who pursued him (T).

*Eudoxia
created
Augusta.*

During these troubles Eudoxia, who had been hitherto distinguished only with the title of Nobilissima, received that of Augusta on the ninth of January; on which occasion she caused her image to be carried through all the provinces of the empire, to receive the same honours that were paid to the images of the emperors. On the third of April she was delivered of Arcadia, her third daughter. In the beginning of this year the city of Constantinople was shaken with violent earthquakes, which lasted three days; on which occasion great numbers of Pagans demanded and received the sacrament of baptism.

*Arcadia
born.*

During the disturbances raised by Gainas in the East, the Western provinces, especially Italy, were alarmed by a sudden irruption of the Barbarians, under the conduct of the celebrated Alaric, and Rhadagaisus king of the Huns. But of this inroad we shall speak in a more proper place.

*Yr. of Fl.
2851.
A. D. 401.
U. C. 1199.*

The next consuls were Vicentius, prefect of Gaul, and Fravitus, or Fravita, of whom we have spoken already. This year is remarkable for the birth of Theodosius, the son and successor of Arcadius, born, according to Socrates ^u, and the chronicle of Alexandria ^w, on the tenth, according to Marcellinus, on the eleventh of April, and soon

*Theodosius
born.*

^u Socr. p. 763.

^w Chron. Alex. p. 712.

(T) Zosimus asserts, that after he had massacred all the Romans whom he found in his army, lest they should betray him, he passed the Danube, being desirous to end his days in the ancient country of the Goths. But Uldes or Uldin, king of the Huns, then master of those countries, thinking it highly impolitic to receive into his dominions so renowned

a commander with an army of his own nation, met him with all his forces on the frontiers, gave him battle, and, after a sharp dispute, put him, and all his men to the sword. His body being found, Uldes caused his head to be cut off, and sent to Arcadius (1), who received it at Constantinople on the third of January of the ensuing year 401 (2).

(1) Zos. p. 798, 799.
Marc. Chron.

(2) Socr. p. 309. Chron. Alex. p. 12.

after his birth declared Cæsar ^x, and baptized with extraordinary pomp and solemnity. The Euxine sea was this year frozen over for the space of twenty days ^y. A band of slaves and deserters pillaged part of Thrace, pretending to be Huns; but Fravitus, marching against them, killed most of them, and dispersed the rest ^z. The following year, when Arcadius and Honorius were both consuls the fifth time, nothing remarkable happened in the East, except the promotion of young Theodosius to the imperial dignity; which ceremony was performed with extraordinary magnificence in the palace of Hebdomon, on the tenth or eleventh of January ^a. In the West, Alaric entered Italy again, ravaged several provinces without opposition, and obliged the emperor to retire to Ravenna, which henceforth became the usual place of his residence.

Yr. of Fl.
2852.
A. D. 402.
U. C. 1200.

The emperor retires to Ravenna.

The next consuls were, Theodosius Augustus, and Rumoridus. Who the latter was, we are not told; but his name gives us room to think he was a Goth, probably in the service of Honorius; for in general one of the consuls belonged to the Eastern, and the other to the Western empire. This year 403, Eudoxia was, on the tenth or eleventh of February, delivered of Marina, her fourth and last daughter ^b. A statue of silver was erected to the empress on a column of porphyry, near the church of St. Sophia; which occasioned a misunderstanding between Eudoxia and St. Chrysostom, bishop of the city, who could not endure the profane sports that were exhibited before the statue at the very entry of the church. Arcadius caused likewise his own statue to be placed on a column, which, according to some writers, was reared this year in the quarter of the city called Xerolophos, and is described by Gyllius ^c. He likewise built the city of Arcadiopolis, in Thrace, or rather gave that name to the city of Bergulæ ^d. To return to Italy: Stilicho, having in some degree removed the young emperor's fears, crossed the lake of Como, and passing the Alps in the depth of winter, entered Rætia, where he not only forced the Barbarians to sue for peace, but persuaded great numbers of them to enlist in his army. At the same time he dispatched messengers to the troops that guarded the coasts of Britain, and the banks of the Rhine, ordering them to march with all possible expedition into Rætia. Upon their arrival, he commanded them to pursue their route into Italy; but departed himself before

Marina born.

Stilicho assembles an army,

^x Theodor. lib. ii. p. 568. Soz. p. 763. ^y Chron. Alex. p. 713. ^z Zof. p. 59. ^a Soz. lib. viii. cap. 4. p. 767. Chron. Alex. p. 712. ^b Socr. lib. vi. cap. 18. p. 326. ^c Gyll. de Constant. Geograph. lib. iv. cap. 7. p. 300. ^d Theoph. p. 66. them,

*and
marches
against
Alaric.*

*The battle
of Pollen-
tia.*

*Alaric seeks
for peace.*

*Abandons
Italy, and
retires to
Pannonia*

them, attended by a small number of troops, in order to return with all speed to court. When he arrived at the Adda, he found the enemy encamped on the opposite bank, and masters of the bridge; but not in the least alarmed, he threw himself into the river as soon as it was dark, and forcing his way sword in hand through the midst of the Barbarians, appeared at court, to the inexpressible joy of the emperor ^e. The troops arrived soon after out of Rhætia; and Stilicho, putting himself at their head, marched against the enemy; but could not prevent Alaric from passing the Po, and advancing to Pollentia, now Pollenza, on the Tanaro in Piedmont, where the two armies engaged. Claudian and Prudentius ^f suppose the battle to have been gained by the Romans; Cassiodorus in his chronicle maintains, that Stilicho and the Roman army were defeated, and fled; and Jornandes, that the Goths, when surprised by Stilicho, betrayed great fear; but afterwards behaved courageously, and put most of his men to the sword, obliging the rest to save themselves by a precipitate and disorderly flight ^g. According to Orosius, the Romans gained the battle; but were vanquished after the victory ^h. The Romans, while victorious, forced and plundered the enemy's camp, in which they found the spoils of several provinces, and the wife of Alaric, with his children and daughters-in-law, whom they took prisoners. Alaric was no sooner informed of their misfortune, than he sent deputies to Stilicho, to offer terms of peace; which was concluded, upon condition of his marching immediately out of Italy ⁱ.

Pursuant to this agreement, Alaric repassed the Po, and retired to Verona, where, in defiance of the late treaty, he began to plunder the country, and commit other acts of hostility. In consequence of these outrages, Stilicho detached against him a strong body of Barbarians, by whom he was obliged to take refuge amongst the mountains. He endeavoured to pass the Alps, and seize on Gaul or Rhætia; but found all the passes guarded by Stilicho, who kept him blocked up, till, most of his troops deserting him, and joining the Romans, he withdrew in the night-time, and returned through secret ways into Pannonia. Orosius writes, that the Barbarians could not agree among themselves; that the Goths were divided into two factions; and that the Alans and Hunns, who served under Alaric, often quarrelled, and destroyed each other ^k. Italy being thus

^e Claudian. *Bell. Get.* p. 163—168. *Conf. Hon.* 6. p. 186, 187.
^f Prud. in *Symm.* p. 243. ^g Jorn. *Rer. Goth.* cap. 30. p. 653.

^h Oros. *lib. vii.* cap. 37. p. 221.

ⁱ Claud. p. 172. & *Conf.*

Hon. p. 181, 182. Prud. in *Symm.* p. 243.

^k Oros. p. 221.

delivered

delivered from the Barbarians, Honorius, to satisfy the senate and people of Rome, who by frequent embassies had intreated him to honour their city with his presence, left Ravenna, and proceeded to that metropolis; which he entered in triumph, having Stilicho with him in the chariot, about the beginning of December. He was received with loud acclamations by the senate in a body, by the nobility and people in their richest apparel. He would not suffer the senate to attend, according to custom, his triumphal chariot on foot; but allowed his sister Placidia, and Eucherius his brother-in-law, to pay him that honour. While he was at Ravenna, he entirely suppressed the shews of gladiators, which, though forbidden by Constantine the Great in 325, had been tolerated by his successors, even by Theodosius himself, out of complaisance to the people, fond beyond expression of that inhuman diversion ^l.

Honorius enters Rome in triumph.

He abolishes the shews of gladiators.

In the following year 404, the empress Eudoxia died of a miscarriage, and was interred on the twelfth of the same month in the church of the Apostles, where her tomb was to be seen many ages after ^m. Before her death the Huns had invaded Thrace, and the Isaurian robbers committed great disorders in Asia and Syria. The former, having pillaged great part of Thrace and East-Illyricum, retired beyond the Danube, loaded with booty ⁿ. Against the latter Arbazacius was detached, who cut great numbers in pieces, and inclosed them on all sides; but suffered them in the end to escape, being bribed by large sums of money ^o. Suidas, who calls him a native of Isauria, and a few lines after an Armenian, says, that from his insatiable rapaciousness and avarice, he was nicknamed Harpazacius, or the *Harpy*. The Isaurians, having now nothing to fear from Arbazacius, over-ran the provinces of Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia, Lycæonia, Pisidia, Cappadocia, and Lower Syria, extending their ravages to the frontiers of Persia on one side, and to the Euxine sea on the other, ransacking and pillaging the open country, with the villages, and unfortified towns. They even passed over into the island of Cyprus, and caused a general consternation in Phœnicia, Caria, Judæa, and Jerusalem itself; insomuch that the people were every-where busied in building walls, in preparing arms, and putting themselves in a posture of defence: but upon the approach of winter, they withdrew to their inac-

The empress Eudoxia dies.

^l Socrat. lib. i. cap. 18. p. 48. Soz. lib. i. cap. 8. p. 411. Cod. Theod. lib. xv. tit. 11. l. g. 2. p. 395. ^m Cedr. p. 334 Chron. Alex. p. 714. Cange de Constant. lib. iv. p. 110. ⁿ Socrat. lib. viii. cap. 25. p. 793. Philost. lib. xi. p. 530. ^o Zof. lib. v. p. 802. Chryf. ep. 110. p. 754.

cessible mountains, with an immense booty, which they shared with Arbazacius ^p.

*Honorius's
sixth con-
sulship.*

*The seat of
the Western
empire
transferred
to Ra-
venna.*

In the West, Honorius began his sixth consulship at Rome, which is the subject of the poem that Claudian pronounced on occasion of that solemnity ^q. From Rome he returned to Ravenna, and fixed his residence, notwithstanding the earnest intreaties of the inhabitants of Milan, inviting him to their city. From this time Ravenna became the seat of the Western or Roman empire; whence the country in which it stood was called Romania, which name it still retains.

*Yr. of Fl.
2855.
A. D. 405.
U. C. 1203.*

*Radagai-
sus enters
Italy with
a numerous
army;*

The next consuls were Stilicho the second time, and Anthemius, who was soon after appointed prefect of the East, and is much commended by St. Chrysostom ^r. We shall have frequent occasion to speak of him in the reign of Theodosius II. This year the Mazichi and Auxoriani, two nations of Barbarians inhabiting the country between Cyrenaica and Tripolitana, laid waste great part of Egypt ^s. Arcadius was on the twelfth of June at Nice; on the tenth and twenty-third of July, and twelfth of August at Ancyra, in Galatia, whence he returned in the beginning of autumn to Constantinople ^t. Italy was again alarmed with a sudden irruption of Barbarians, conducted by Radagaisus, or Rhodogaisus, one of the kings or chiefs of the Goths, a Pagan by religion, and a sworn enemy to the Roman name ^u. He is by some writers styled king of the Hunns ^w. He entered Italy with Alaric in the year 400, but returning afterwards beyond the Danube, he assembled an army, consisting of two hundred thousand Barbarians, of the various nations dwelling beyond the Danube and the Rhine, who were then distinguished by the common name of Goths. The commanders, who assumed the title of lords, amounted, according to Photius, a contemporary writer, to the number of twelve hundred ^x. With this formidable host he broke suddenly into Italy, vowing to sacrifice to his gods, says Orosius, all the Roman blood he could shed. His approach threw all Italy, and Rome itself, into the utmost consternation. As Radagaisus was a zealous worshipper of the gods, and sacrificed every morning to Jupiter, the Pagans in Rome exclaimed, that he would, without all doubt, prevail, not so much by his numerous forces, as the protection of the gods, whom the ungrateful Romans

^p Theodor. Vit. Patr. cap. 10. 21. p. 828, 865.
Conf. Hon. 6. p. 191.

^{lib. xi. cap. 3. p. 350, 351.}

^u Aug. in Psal. cv. cap. 10. p. 547.

cap. 80. p. 180.

^r Chrys. ep. 147. p. 780.

^t Cod. Theod. Chron. p. 148.

^w Prosp. Chron.

^q Claud.

^s Philost.

^x Phot.

had banished from a city which they had so often defended. " Unless the ancient religion (said they) be restored, and Christianity, the only cause of our calamities, abolished, the city must fall into the hands of the Barbarians, who have the gods on their side, whom we have forsaken." With these complaints the whole city was filled, and the name of Christ every-where blasphemed, as the true cause of the present calamities ¹.

In the mean time Stilicho, having assembled at Pavia all the Roman forces, amounting to thirty legions, and reinforced them with great numbers of Goths, Hunns, and Alans, under the command of Sarus a Goth and Uldin king of the Hunns, left that place, directing his march towards Etruria, where Radagaisus was engaged in the siege of Florence, which city was already reduced to the utmost extremity. As Stilicho came by surprize upon the enemy, he immediately ordered the Hunns, and other auxiliaries, to attack one of the three bodies, into which he found their army divided. His orders were executed, and a hundred thousand of the enemy destroyed, without the loss of one man on the side of the Romans. Radagaisus retired with the rest to the neighbouring mountains of Fesulæ, where he was closely besieged by Stilicho, and reduced, with his numerous army, to such extremity, that he attempted to escape, and leave his men to the mercy of the Romans; but as the passes were guarded, he fell into Stilicho's hands, and was by his order put to death. His men, finding themselves abandoned by their leader, and destitute of provisions, submitted to the Romans in such numbers, that they were sold like beasts, in droves, at a crown a head ²; but as, by the famine that had raged among them while blocked up in the mountains, they had contracted an ill state of health, they all died in a few days. Orosius and St. Austin ascribe this victory to a miracle.

which is defeated by Stilicho,

and he himself taken prisoner, and put to death.

In the following year a dreadful fire happened at Constantinople on the twenty-fifth of October ³; and Palestine was infested with such multitudes of grasshoppers, as quite darkened the sky, and turned day into night. St Jerom, who was then composing his comments on the prophet Joel, writes, that, after they had done great mischief, they were driven by the wind, partly into the Dead Sea, partly into the Mediterranean, and thrown soon after on both shores in such heaps, that they infested the air, and occasioned a plague ⁴. Honorius continued all this year at Ravenna,

Palestine infested with multitudes of grasshoppers.

¹ Aug. de Civit. Dei, lib. v. cap. 23. p. 63.

² Idem ibid.

Oros. p. 222. Marc. Chron.

³ Chron. Alex. p. 714.

⁴ Hier.

in Joel. cap. 2. p. 60.

where he enacted a law, dated the seventeenth of April, encouraging all persons, whether freedmen or slaves, to take arms in defence of their country, and promising to the latter their liberty, to the former three pieces of gold to be paid immediately, and seven more after the war. This edict was, without all doubt, occasioned by the motions of the northern nations, who, on the last day of the year 406, entered Gaul, and, fixing their abode there, was the beginning of the total ruin of the Roman empire in the West. At the same time the Roman troops quartered in Britain, apprehending the Barbarians would, after the entire reduction of Gaul, cross the sea, and, jointly with the Scots and Irish, fall upon them, and, expecting no assistance from Honorius, resolved to choose an emperor of their own. Accordingly they conferred that dignity on one Mark; whom after a few days they murdered, upon some disgust, and placed Gratian, a native of Britain, in his room ^c. Gratian, after a short reign of four months, underwent the same fate; and was succeeded by Constantine, a common soldier, who was chosen merely on account of his name, which was common to him with Constantine the Great, who, being advanced to the imperial dignity in Britain, had made himself master of the whole empire, and governed with great prosperity and success ^d. The prince, immediately after his promotion, passed over into Gaul, taking with him all the Roman forces quartered in the island, and the flower of the British youth; by which means the country, thus left naked and defenceless, was not long after obliged to submit to the yoke of new lords. Constantine landed at Boulogne, and, being joined by great numbers of Gauls, who chose rather to submit to him than to the Barbarians, reduced the whole country.

The Romans in Britain revolt, and set up Constantine for emperor;

who passes over into Gaul, which submits to him.

Yr. of Fl.
285⁸.
A. D. 408.
U. C. 1206.

Arcadius dies.

His issue.

The following year 408, is remarkable for many memorable events. In the East died at Constantinople, on the first of May, the emperor Arcadius, after having lived thirty-one years, and reigned twelve years with his father, and fourteen after his death ^e, or rather thirteen years, three months, and fourteen days. He was buried near the empress Eudoxia, in the church of the Apostles, where their tombs of porphyry were to be seen several ages after. He left behind him but one son, Theodosius, then eight years old, but just weaned. We have observed in the history of his reign, that he had four daughters, Flaccilla, Pulcheria, Arcadia, and Marina: Flaccilla is never mentioned by historians but on

^c Soz. lib. ix. cap. 11. p. 813. Phot. cap. 80. p. 180. ^d Oros. lib. vii. cap. 40. p. 223. ^e Theod. lib. ii. p. 568. Socr. lib. vi. cap. 23. p. 332.

occasion of her birth; whence we may conclude, that she died soon after. The other three embraced the state of virginity, and led exemplary lives. Arcadius was a prince naturally inclined to virtue, and an enemy to vice, but of very slender parts, and therefore entirely governed, and shamefully imposed upon, by his ministers, and the empress, who abused his authority to oppress the people in the most despotic and tyrannical manner. Constantine, having reduced all Gaul to his obedience, sent a body of troops into Spain, in order to oppose Didymius and Verianus or Verinianus, who, having assembled the few troops that were quartered in that province, and reinforced them with the slaves and peasants who were willing to take arms, had seized on the passes of the Pyrenees. Didymius and Verinianus were brothers, natives of Spain, and nearly allied to Honorius, for whom they openly declared, while most of the cities of that province were ready to revolt, and submit to the usurper ^f.

His character.

The troops that were first detached against them not being able to force a passage through the Pyrenees, which were carefully guarded by the two brothers, Constantine obliged his eldest son, named Constans, who professed a monastic life, to quit his retirement, created him Cæsar, and dispatched him with the flower of his army, commanded by Gerontius, an experienced officer, into Spain. Didymius and Verinianus defended the passes for some time with great resolution and intrepidity; but being overpowered with numbers, were at length obliged to retire. Constans pursued them closely; and, coming up with them in Lusitania, now Portugal, defeated them with great slaughter, and took both them and their wives prisoners. Upon the news of their defeat and captivity, their brothers Theodosius or Theodosius, and Lagodus, who had taken arms in another province, abandoned Spain to the usurper, and retired, the former to the court of Honorius, and the latter to that of Theodosius, who had succeeded his father Arcadius in the empire of the East ^g. Constans, having reduced Spain, and appointed Gerontius to command the army, and guard the Pyrenees, returned to Gaul, where he presented the two illustrious captives to his father, who immediately ordered them to be privately put to death.

Constans, the son of Constantine, declared Cæsar.

He reduces all Spain,

To reward his son for his eminent services, he created him Augustus, honouring him, says Zosimus ^h, with a diadem. At the same time he sent a solemn deputation to Ho-

and is declared Augustus.

^f Zos. lib. vi. p. 826. Oros. lib. vi. cap. 40. p. 273. Soz. lib. ix. cap. 11. p. 813. Phot. p. 184. ^g Greg. Tur. Hist. Fr. lib. iii. cap. 9. p. 62. ^h Zos. p. 830.

*Honorius
acknowledges Con-
stantine for
his col-
league.*

*Alaric
threatens
Italy.*

*The money
he demand-
ed is sent
him.*

*Stilicho dis-
graced,
and put to
death.*

norius, excusing his revolt, pretending he had been forced by the soldiery to accept of the sovereignty, and demanding to be acknowledged as his partner in the empire. Honorius, not finding himself in a condition to depose the usurper, complied with his request; and accordingly sent him the imperial purple, honouring him, at the same time, with the title of Augustus ⁱ. Italy was at this time threatened with a new invasion of the Barbarians, under the conduct of the famous Alaric, who, at the instigation of Stilicho, leaving Pannonia and Dalmatia, where lands had been granted to him and his Goths, passed unexpectedly the Alps, and, breaking into Noricum, threatened to invade Italy, and destroy all before him, unless a certain sum, which he pretended to be due to him and his troops, was immediately paid. Upon this demand, Honorius, who was then at Rome, assembled the senate, when several senators of great distinction were for rejecting his demand, and marching against him, urging, that, to comply with an arrogant and unreasonable demand, was not buying a peace, but signing a contract of perpetual slavery. However, Stilicho, who maintained a private correspondence with Alaric and his party, pleading with great warmth in his favour, as if the money he demanded was really due, it was agreed, that four thousand pounds weight of gold should be sent him. Lampadius, who had with great boldness opposed this motion, and of consequence incurred the displeasure of Stilicho, as soon as the senate broke up, took sanctuary in a neighbouring church ^k. A few days after, Honorius, leaving Rome, set out for Bononia; whence, after a short stay, he removed to Ticinum, now Pavia, attended by Olympius, who, by an outward shew of Christian piety, says Zosimus, had gained the confidence of the emperor, and was employed about his person.

As every one was now well apprised of the wicked designs of Stilicho, Olympius disclosed them to the emperor, on the road from Bologna to Pavia; and so thoroughly convinced him of the treachery of his minister, that the prince, roused by the sense of his danger, no sooner arrived at Pavia than he dispatched an express to Ravenna, where Stilicho then was, with two different orders. the one commanding him to be secured, and the other to be put to death. Upon the arrival of the messenger, Stilicho took sanctuary in a church; but next day, being in the presence of the bishop assured by the soldiers upon oath, that they

ⁱ Phot. p. 180. Greg. Tur. *ibid.*
p. 532. Rutil. lib. ii. p. 142.

^k Philost. lib. xii. cap. 2.

had orders only to arrest him, he left his asylum, and delivered himself into their hands; a step which he had no sooner taken than the messenger produced the warrant for his death; whereupon he was beheaded the same day, the twenty-third of August of the present year 408¹. It was no sooner known at Pavia, that the emperor had ordered him to be arrested, than the army encamped there, encouraged by Olympius, says Zosimus, flew to arms, and slew all those who were known to be well affected to the disgraced general; comprehending many excellent officers, and other persons of great distinction (Y). Stilicho professed the Christian religion; but his son Eucherius was not only a Pagan but a professed enemy to the Christians.

Several of his friends are cut in pieces by the army.

The emperor had married, in the beginning of this year, Thermantia, Stilicho's second daughter, Maria, his eldest daughter, whom Honorius had espoused in 398, being dead some years before². Honorius wedded Thermantia at Rome, where the match was concluded by Serena, alleging, says Zosimus, to her husband Stilicho, who was averse to it as incestuous, that the other sister died a virgin. Upon the death of Stilicho, Honorius divorced his daughter, and sent her back untouched to her mother Serena.

Honorius divorces his daughter Thermantia.

When Eucherius heard the news of his father's death, he fled to a church for protection; but being dragged from thence by the emperor's order, he was sent under a strong

Eucherius, his son, executed.

¹ Zof. p. 180. Soz. lib. ix. cap. 4. p. 806. O. of. lib. vii. cap. 38. p. 222. ² Zof. p. 804. Phot. cap. 80. p. 177.

(Y) All authors, except Zosimus, and the poet Claudian, agree, that he was guilty of the crimes laid to his charge; that he maintained a private correspondence with Alaric; that he invited the Barbarians into Gaul, hoping the emperor would reward his eminent services, after he had driven them out, with assuming him for his colleague; that he had formed a design of murdering the two princes Honorius and Theodosius, and seizing on both empires for himself; and that, by a potion given to Honorius, he prevented his having any issue:

but Zosimus pretends these crimes were all feigned by his enemies, in order to prejudice Honorius against him, and procure his ruin, to which the credulous prince in the end consented. The same writer adds, that, after his death, several of his friends were cruelly tortured, and, amongst the rest, Deuterius the emperor's great chamberlain, and Peter his chief secretary, who died on the rack without owning any of the charges that were brought against him, or them, as privy to his wicked designs (1).

(1) Zof. p. 811 819.

guard to Rome, and executed ⁿ. Thus were the empire, says Orosius ^o, and the church, by the death of a few persons, delivered from the wicked attempts of their enemies. However, we could wish, for the reputation of Honorius, that the pretended criminals had been tried in due form; for such as suffer without being heard have a right to be deemed innocent. All the ecclesiastic writers suppose Stilicho to have been guilty; but the crimes laid to his charge were never proved, either in his life-time, or after his death; and hence Zosimus looks upon them as false imputations, and groundless suspicions. Stilicho's estate was confiscated, and likewise the estates of his avowed partisans, and such as had been preferred by him for money ^p; and Heliocrates was ordered to Rome to seize them, which commission he discharged with great humanity, cautioning those who were the least guilty to remove their effects out of the way: but his moderation cost him dear; for he was not only deprived of his commission, but sent in bonds to Ravenna, and would have been put to death, had he not found means to escape out of prison, and save himself in a church ^q. Such was the end of Stilicho, after he had commanded in chief the Roman armies for twenty-three years.

*Stilicho's
estate con-
fiscated.*

*His cha-
racter.*

He was no doubt a person of extraordinary qualities, a great statesman, a valiant soldier, and experienced officer. He gained such an ascendant over Honorius, who was blindly guided by his counsels, that, till the time of his disgrace, he governed with more absolute dominion than the emperor himself. Zosimus, however partial to his memory, accuses him of rapine and oppression, of great partiality in the administration of justice, and of conveying by degrees into his own coffers the whole wealth of the empire. Stilicho was succeeded in the administration by Olympius, the chief author of his ruin. He was a native of the country bordering on the Euxine Sea, and not only professed the Christian religion, but outwardly affected an extraordinary piety, says Zosimus, thereby insinuating, that his piety was counterfeit: but St. Austin entertained a contrary opinion, as appears from the commendations he bestows upon him ^r; as did likewise Symmachus, though a zealous Pagan ^s. Olympiodorus writes, that he owed his first preferment to Stilicho, who recommended him to Honorius ^t; a circumstance which would render the return he made that minister highly criminal, if he had any thing in

*Olympius
prime mi-
nister.*

ⁿ Philost. lib. xii. cap. 3. p. 533.
Theod. lib. ix. tit. 40. leg. 20. p. 319.
^r Aug. ep. cxxiv. cxxix. p. 242. 245.
^p 362. ^t Phot. cap. 10. p. 177.

^o Oros. p. 222. ^p Cod.
^q Zof. p. 811. 819.
^s Sym. lib. ix. ep. 60,

view but the public welfare. He had in Stilicho's lifetime a considerable employment at court, and was, after his death, raised to the post of *magister officiorum*, or steward of the emperor's household, one of the greatest employments in the state. Soon after his promotion, he wrote to St. Austin, desiring that zealous prelate to suggest to him, from time to time, what he thought would conduce to the good of the church. In the very beginning of his administration, he caused several laws to be enacted against the Pagans, Jews, and heretics, especially the Donatists in Africa*. By a law dated the fourteenth of November, those who were not of the Catholic communion, or did not conform to the religion of the prince, were excluded from all employments at court. When this law was enacted, one of the chiefs of the Barbarians in the Roman service resigned his command; and his example, if Zosimus is to be credited†, was followed by many others, who were either Pagans or Arians. Amongst the several laws of this year, relating both to civil and ecclesiastic matters, one was enacted forbidding all persons of quality to trade; not that trade was by any means looked upon as degrading, but because others, in dealing with men of power and authority, were liable to be injured without redress.

He favours the church.

When the Roman soldiers quartered in the cities of Italy heard of Stilicho's death, they flew to arms, and, out of hatred to him, inhumanly murdered the wives and children of the Barbarians whom he had taken into the service, and whom they on that account considered as privy to his wicked designs. The Barbarians, provoked at this horrid cruelty, vowed revenge; and, quitting the emperor's service, retired, to the number of thirty thousand and upwards, to Alaric, who, though thus reinforced, offered to conclude a lasting peace with Honorius, and never more disturb the tranquility of the empire, provided he would send him a sufficient sum to pay his army their arrears. Honorius refusing to comply with his demand, he dispatched an express to Ataulphus or Athaulphus, his brother-in-law, who was quartered on the frontiers of Pannonia, ordering him to march with his troops, consisting of Goths and Huns, into Italy.

The wives and children of the Barbarians in the Roman service murdered.

Yr. of Fl. 2858.
A. D. 408.
U C. 1206.

The Barbarians join Alaric, who enters Italy, and besieges Rome;

In the mean time Alaric himself, advancing by long marches from Noricum to the Po, crossed that river without opposition; and passing in sight of Ravenna, where the emperor then was, pursued his march, almost without halt-

* Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 44. p. 165.
p. 320.

† Zos. lib. v.

*which is
reduced to
great
straits,*

*and com-
plies with
the de-
mands of
Alaric.*

*The siege
raised.
Serena,
the widow
of Stilicho,
put to
death.*

ing, till he arrived at Rome, which he immediately invest-
ed, blocking up all the roads and avenues, and placing
guards at the mouth and on the banks of the Tiber, to pre-
vent the inhabitants from receiving any supplies or provi-
sions by water *. By these means the city, which was
crowded with people, was soon reduced to great distress:
a famine began to rage, which was attended with a plague,
arising from the great number of dead bodies that lay in the
streets unburied †. In this situation, the unhappy citizens
were obliged to send deputies to treat with Alaric. These
were Basilus, who had been prefect of Rome in 395,
and John, the emperor's first secretary.

Alaric accepted their proposals, and agreed to raise the
siege, and ever after continue faithful to the Romans, upon
their delivering up hostages, and paying him five thousand
pounds weight of gold, thirty thousand of silver, four thou-
sand silk garments, three thousand skins of purple dye, and
as many pounds of pepper. For raising the required sum,
the senators were taxed according to their estates; but as
they were not possessed of so much ready money, they had
recourse to the ornaments of the temples and images of the
gods: some of the latter, that were of gold or silver, they
melted down, and, among the rest, that of Valour; which
being destroyed, it was pretended that the ancient Roman
valour was utterly extinguished, as had been foretold by
persons well versed in the rites and ceremonies of their
country. The treaty was ratified by Honorius, and the
sum thus raised sent to Alaric, who thereupon raised the
siege, and retired with his army into Etruria ‡. When
he first appeared before Rome, the senate, with the consent
and approbation of Placidia, the emperor's sister, then in
the city, caused Serena, the widow of Stilicho, to be mur-
dered, upon a false supposition, says Zosimus, of her pri-
vately corresponding with the enemy. Læta, the widow
of the emperor Gratian, and her mother Pissamene, signal-
ized their humanity during the siege, relieving, with great
generosity, as Zosimus himself owns, the famished citizens.

While the Western empire was thus miserably harassed
by the Barbarians, and rent into two parts by the usurpa-
tion of Constantine, whom Honorius had been obliged to
acknowledge for his partner in the sovereignty, a profound
peace reigned over all the provinces subject to Theodosius,
though not yet eight years old. They were chiefly indebted
for the happiness they enjoyed to Anthemius, who taking

* Soz. lib. ix. cap. 6. p. 507.
cxxxiii. p. 24^s.

† Idem ibid. Aug. ep. cap.

‡ Hier. ep. xi. xvi. p. 93. 121.

upon him the administration, discharged the office of prime minister with an integrity hardly to be equalled in history. He was grandson to Philippus, who had been prefect of the East under Constantius, which office Anthemius himself discharged from the year 405 to 414^a. He was magister officiorum^b, ambassador to the king of Persia, consul, and soon after præfectus prætorio. He had at least one daughter, who was married to Procopius, by whom she had Anthemius, advanced to the empire in 465.

The happy administration of Anthemius in the East.

He is commended by all the writers of those times as an experienced commander, an able statesman, a zealous Christian, and one who had nothing so much at heart as the glory of his prince, and the happiness of the people^c. Procopius writes, that Arcadius, either distrusting his brother Honorius, or apprised that the distracted state of his own affairs would divert him from attending to those of the East, begged in his will Isdagerdes king of Persia, with whom he had entered into a strict alliance, to take upon him the care and tuition of the young prince: the same writer adds, that Isdagerdes, who was a prince of great generosity, sent ambassadors to acquaint the senate of Constantinople, that he accepted the charge, and was resolved to punish such as should presume to raise disturbances in the state^d. Theophanes, who wrote after Procopius, and has borrowed from him the greatest part of his history, adds, that Isdagerdes, not being at leisure to attend the administration in person, sent Antiochus to Constantinople, a person of extraordinary abilities, and of an unblemished character, who discharged the trust reposed in him with the greatest integrity till the year 414, when Pulcheria, taking upon her the administration, he was deprived of his authority and even of his life^e (Z). In the course of this year the Huns and Squir,

His character.

Whether Isdagerdes king of Persia was appointed guardian to the young prince.

^a Soer. lib. vii. cap. 1. p. 374.

^b Cod. Theod. tit. 6 p. 349.

^c Chryl. p. 180.

^d Procop. Bell. Pers. lib. i. cap. 2. p. 7.

^e Theoph. p. 67.

(Z) It is surprising that such an event, one of the most remarkable in history, should be taken notice of by no historian before Procopius, who wrote a hundred and fifty years after, and is often guilty of considerable mistakes, being misled by popular and ill-grounded traditions, among which we may

reckon this supposed last will of Arcadius; for Agathius tells us, that it was the common talk, having been handed down by tradition from father to son; but that he found it vouched by no writer except Procopius, not even by those who had given a particular account of the death of Arcadius (1). And

(1) Agath. lib. iv. p. 137.

indeed

The Huns and the Squiri break into Thrace; but the latter are almost entirely cut off.

or Scyri, a northern nation, invaded Thrace, under the conduct of Uldin, of whom we have made mention above; but some of their officers abandoning them to join the Romans, they retired with great precipitation: however, the emperor's troops engaging the Squiri before they could reach the Danube, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and took the rest prisoners. By this overthrow that nation was almost extirpated ^f.

Alaric returns before Rome.

As Honorius, under various pretences, declined delivering up the promised hostages to Alaric, and executing some other articles of the treaty not mentioned by historians, the senate authorised Attalus, Cæcilianus, and Maximianus or Maximilianus, to represent in their name the evils that might thence accrue to the empire, especially the capital. But their remonstrances were utterly disregarded by the emperor, misled, says Zosimus, by Olympius, and Alaric's enemies at court ^g. However, he raised Attalus to the post of comes largitionum, and Cæcilianus to that of præfectus prætorio ^h. In the mean time Alaric, provoked at the emperor's backwardness in complying with the articles of the late treaty, left Hetruria, and, approaching Rome, blocked it up a second time, his army being reinforced with forty thousand slaves, who had made their escape out of the city. Honorius sent six thousand chosen troops to the defence of the place; but they were intercepted by Alaric's parties, and all either cut off or taken prisoners, except Valens their commander, Attalus, and about a hundred more, who, with much difficulty, escaped to Rome. Maximilianus, one of the prisoners, was ransomed by his father with thirty thousand pieces of gold. In the mean time Ataulphus was advancing to join Alaric. He had already passed the Julian Alps, and entered the province of Venetia, when Honorius dispatched all the forces quartered in the neighbouring towns against him, who cut in pieces eleven hundred of his men, with the loss only of fifteen; but notwithstanding

Ataulphus enters Italy.

^f Soz. lib. ix. cap. 6. p. 807, 809.
^h Cod. Theod. Chron. p. 153.

^g Zof. lib. v. p. 817—819.

indeed Socrates, Sozomen, Theodore, Zosimus, Philostorgius, both Prosper, and Marcellinus, take not the least notice of this memorable transaction. Isidore of Pelusium, and Synesius (2), mention an eu-

nuch, named Antiochus, who, passing from the service of a Persian lord, named Narses, to that of Theodosius II. became preceptor to the young prince, which perhaps gave rise to the above mentioned tradition.

ing this check, Ataulphus pursued his march, and joined Alaric. About this time, Olympius, the prime minister, was disgraced, divested of all his honours, and discharged, the eunuchs of the court accusing him to the emperor as the author of the present calamities. He was succeeded by Jovius, then prefect of Italy, a person much commended by Zosimus, a circumstance which gives us room to believe him to have been a Pagan; for he is scarce ever so lavish of his praises on those who professed the Christian religion. With Olympius several other officers were changed. Attalus was made prefect of Rome, and Demetrius comes largitionum, or treasurer, in his place.

The soldiers, mutinying at Ravenna, demanded the heads of the two generals Turpilio and Vigilantius, and likewise of Terentius and Arfacius, the emperor's two first chamberlains. The timorous prince, at the instigation of Jovius, perhaps the author of the tumult, ordered the two generals to be conveyed on board a vessel, in order to be sent into exile; but the soldiers, who were charged to conduct them, put them both to death. Terentius was banished into the East, and Arfacius confined to the city of Milanⁱ. Eusebius was made great chamberlain in the room of Terentius; Valens succeeded Turpilio in the post of general of the horse; and the office of comes domesticorum, held by Vigilantius, was given to Ellebichus or Allobichus. These were all creatures to Jovius, whose authority was thus firmly established^k. At the same time Generides, by birth a Barbarian, was appointed general of the troops quartered in Rætia, Noricum, Dalmatia, and Pannonia; which countries he protected with great fidelity against the Barbarians who attempted to invade them. Zosimus writes, that he was a Pagan, and that for his sake Honorius revoked the law excluding the Pagans from all employments. The same law was repealed with respect to heretics, especially the Donatists, to whom some churches were restored, which had been formerly taken from them, the emperor following, in this particular, the advice of Jovius, of Heraclianus count of Africa, and of Macrobius the author of the Saturnalia, as is commonly believed, at that time proconsul of Africa^l.

Alaric having advanced to the neighbourhood of Rome, the senate sent a second deputation to the emperor, pressing him to execute the articles of a treaty which he himself had ratified. Alaric approved of this step, and appointed a

*Olympius
disgraced.*

*The gene-
rals Tur-
pilio and
Vigilantius
put to
death.*

ⁱ Zos. p. 820, 821.
Cod. Theod. tit. 4. p. 159.

^k Phot. p. 181.

^l Hier. Ep. viii. p. 65.

*Honorius
refuses to
comply
with the
proposals of
Alaric,*

body of Goths to escort the deputies, among whom was Innocent bishop of the city. At the same time Alaric, by the advice of Jovius, with whom he had been intimately acquainted in Epirus, advanced with part of his army to Ariminum, or Rimini, that he might be nearer at hand to treat with the emperor, than at Ravenna. Jovius himself met him at Rimini; and, after some conferences, wrote to court, advising the emperor to comply with the articles formerly agreed to; or, if he thought them unreasonable, to satisfy Alaric by preferring him to the post of commander in chief of all the Roman forces. To this letter the emperor answered, that he was resolved never to prefer Alaric, or any of his people. The emperor's letter being delivered to Jovius, while he was in Alaric's tent, and he with the utmost imprudence reading it out aloud, Alaric was so incensed at the prince's declaration, that he immediately decamped, directing his march towards Rome: but, soon after, changing his resolution, sent some bishops to Honorius, with very moderate proposals; for he offered to enter into a perpetual alliance with Honorius, and to defend the empire against all invaders, provided he would only send him a small sum to pay his men their arrears, that they might not mutiny when disbanded, and allow them to settle in Rhætia and Noricum, which provinces paid but an inconsiderable tribute, and nevertheless obliged the emperor, as they were exposed to the incursions of the neighbouring Barbarians, to maintain numerous armies to defend them; a task which he took upon himself to discharge, without putting the empire to the least expence. These proposals, however reasonable, were rejected, Jovius having, by his imprudence, cut off all means of accommodation; for, apprehending the emperor might, from his late imprudent conduct, suspect him of privately favouring Alaric, he over-acted the contrary part, inducing the emperor to swear, that he would never make peace, but wage perpetual war with Alaric: he himself, and all the officers, both civil and military, took the same oath^m. Alaric, though informed of these unaccountable proceedings, sent back the bishops to Ravenna, earnestly intreating the emperor, who had not sufficient forces to withstand him, not to suffer that stately metropolis, which for so many ages had been revered by all nations as mistress of the world, to become a prey to her enemies.

*and swears
never to
make peace
with him.*

*Alaric's
moderation.*

But the emperor continuing in his former resolution, Alaric pursued his march to Rome; and approaching the

^m Scz. lib. ix. cap. 7. p. 803, 809. Zof. 322—324

city, acquainted the inhabitants with the emperor's invincible obstinacy, inviting them, at the same time, to consult their own safety by joining him against Honorius. This proposal they rejected at first with indignation; but Alaric having, after a few days siege, taken the castle at the mouth of the Tiber, in which all the public provisions were lodged, they immediately opened their gates, and received him into the city, which he entered, attended by a small guard. He obliged the citizens to renounce their allegiance to Honorius, and acknowledge, not himself, but Attalus, then prefect of the city, for emperor. Attalus was a native of Ionia, and greatly beloved by Alaric and his Goths, because he had been baptised by Segisarius their bishop, consequently professed the doctrine of Arius, though he was, in his heart, a Pagan, according to Philostorgiusⁿ. Attalus, thus created emperor by Alaric, made him, in return, commander in chief of all his forces, and Ataulphus his comes domesticorum, distributing the other great employments amongst Pagans and Arians. As it was a matter of the utmost importance to secure Africa, whence Rome was supplied with provisions, Alaric advised the new emperor to send thither a considerable body of troops under the conduct of Drumas, who was a Goth, and an officer of great experience and address: but Attalus, contrary to the advice of Alaric, sent Constantine, or Constans, a person entirely unacquainted with military affairs, and with him but a small number of troops, being assured by the aruspices, says Sozomen, that Africa would immediately submit^o. But Constantine was, upon his first landing, cut off, with all his men, by Heraclianus, who placed guards in all the ports of Africa, that no corn might be conveyed to Rome, which was soon reduced to great distress.

In the meantime Attalus, without waiting for news from Africa, left Rome with the succours he received from Alaric, with a design to besiege the emperor in Ravenna; who, alarmed at his motions, dispatched Jovius, the prime minister, Valens, general of the foot, Potamus, the quaestor, and Julian, his first secretary, to wait his arrival at Rimini, and acquaint him, that the emperor was willing to acknowledge him as his partner in the empire. But Attalus would only grant Honorius his life, and the liberty of retiring to what island he should choose for the place of his residence^p. Jovius, in a private conference with Attalus, not only advised him to insist upon these terms, but suggested to him,

Yr. of Fl.
2859.
A. D. 409.
U. C. 1207.

He besieges Rome; which submits, and acknowledges Attalus for emperor.

The usurper's troops defeated by Heraclianus in Africa.

ⁿ Philost. lib. xii. cap. 3. p. 533.
p. 823. Phot. p. 181.

^o Soz. p. 810.

^p Zos.

*Honorius
receives a
seasonable
supply from
Theodosius.*

that he ought to maim the emperor, so as to prevent his having issue; which wicked suggestion was rejected with horror, if Olympiodorus is to be credited, by Attalus himself. That treacherous minister returned to court; but being dispatched to the usurper with new proposals, he continued with him. Honorius, finding himself betrayed by his friends, and in no condition to oppose so many enemies at once, resolved to abandon Ravenna, and retire by sea into the East; but was diverted from that resolution by the seasonable arrival of four thousand men, sent by his nephew Theodosius; which encouraged him to continue at Ravenna, and wait the issue of the war in Africa. And indeed his arms were attended there with uncommon success; for Attalus having, after the death of Constantine, sent thither a body of troops more numerous than the first, Heraclianus cut them off likewise; and not only continued to keep the ports blocked up, so that no provisions could be conveyed to Rome, but sent a seasonable supply of money to Honorius, which he immediately distributed among the soldiery, and by that largess re-established his affairs⁹. In the mean time Alaric reduced all the cities of Liguria and Æmilia, except Bononia, which he was obliged to abandon, after having lain a considerable time before it. He caused Attalus to be proclaimed emperor, and obliged the people to swear allegiance to him.

*Maximus
set up in
Spain by
Geroncius.*

While these things passed in Italy, Geroncius, to whom Constans, the son of Constantine, had committed the government of Spain, revolting upon some disgust, proclaimed Maximus for emperor, whom Olympiodorus supposes to have been his son, while other writers style him his client or creature¹⁰. Orosius speaks of him as a person of a mean extraction, and altogether unknown. It was no sooner known in Gaul, that Geroncius had revolted, than the Vandals, Suevians, Alans, and other Barbarians, whom Constantine had suffered to remain in that province, flew to arms, probably at the instigation of the new usurper, and made themselves masters of several cities. The people, finding themselves thus harrassed by the Barbarians, and expecting no relief either from Honorius or Constantine, resolved to defend themselves. The Britons were the first who, abandoning the empire, established a new form of government among themselves, after having driven out the Scots or Irish, who had invaded their country. Thus they continued a free people till the year 421, or 422, when,

*The Britons
fall off from
the empire;*

⁹ Zof. p. 829. Oros. lib. vii. cap. 42. p. 234.
Greg. Tur. p. 63.

¹⁰ Phot. cap. 80. p. 184.

¹ Soz. p. 814.

overpowered by their warlike neighbours the Scots, they were forced to implore the protection of the emperor, and submit again to the laws of the empire. All the Armorici, says Zosimus, that is, in the language of the Gauls, the maritime people, followed the example of the Britons; and, shaking off the Roman yoke, gave rise to a new state and government, which, notwithstanding all their efforts, proved of short duration. The Barbarians, comprehending the Vandals, the Alans, and the Suevians, meeting with greater opposition than they expected from the inhabitants of Gaul, who had taken arms in their own defence, and acquainted with the distracted state of Spain, resolved to try whether they could settle in that country. They invaded it accordingly, and having made themselves masters of it, divided the provinces among them.

*and the
Armorici.*

*The Van-
dals, Alans,
and Suevi-
ans enter
Spain.*

As Heraclianus continued to keep the ports of Africa blocked up, and the lands in Italy had not been tilled for several years, occasioned by the wars, the Roman people were reduced to feed upon chestnuts; even human flesh was publicly sold, and several mothers were said to have devoured their children *. This calamity obliged both Alaric and Attalus to repair to Rome, in order to advise with the senate about the proper means of supplying the city. Most part of the senators advised sending into Africa a body of Goths, Alaric engaging that Drumas, one of his officers, would reduce it with five hundred men only; but Attalus openly declared, that he would not by any means employ Goths in that war; a declaration which so piqued Alaric, who had already begun to consider Attalus not qualified for the high station to which he had been raised, that he resolved to depose him, lest, by his obstinacy and imprudence, he should ruin his affairs. He was confirmed in this resolution by Jovius, who persuaded him, that Attalus, scorning to depend upon him, and to hold the empire upon precarious terms, was determined to take away his life.

*A great
famine
rages in
Rome.*

This conduct of Jovius has induced some writers to believe, that he maintained a private correspondence with Honorius; and that he abandoned him with no other view than to betray Attalus †. Be that as it may, Alaric, finding the new emperor unequal to so great a charge, and provoked at his late declaration and misconduct with respect to the affairs of Africa, sent deputies once more to Honorius, with very reasonable terms; which the emperor

* Socrat. lib. ix. p. 810. Zos. lib. vi. p. 830.
p. 151.

† Philostorg.

*Alaric de-
poses Atta-
lus;*

*and at-
tempts an
accommo-
dation with
Honorius;*

*which is
unhappily
broken off;*

*Yr. of Fl.
2860.
A. D. 410.
U. C. 1208.*

*and Rome
new be-
sieged,
taken, and
plundered.*

seeming inclined to accept, Alaric publicly stripped the mock prince of all the ensigns of sovereignty, and sent them to Honorius. He would not, however, deliver up either Attalus, or his son Ampelius; but insisted upon their being pardoned, as their crime was owing more to him than to them *. Attalus being deposed, Alaric approached Ravenna, and stopped at a place called the Alps, about nine miles from that city, in order to ratify the treaty of accommodation between him and the emperor. But this peaceable face of affairs was soon changed by an unfortunate and unforeseen accident: Sarus, the Goth, commanded a body of three hundred men in Picenum, without declaring either for Honorius or Alaric. However, Ataulphus, who bore him an irreconcilable hatred, resolved to destroy him, and with this view marched at the head of a strong party against him; a circumstance which obliged Sarus to declare for Honorius, and retire to Ravenna. Olympiodorus writes, that Alaric was so incensed at the kind reception Sarus experienced from the emperor, that he would hearken to no terms. On the other hand, Sozomen tells us, that Sarus, apprehending a peace would be prejudicial to him, fell unexpectedly upon the Goths, and put some of them to the sword. However that be, it is certain that Alaric departed in a great rage from the neighbourhood of Ravenna, and returned to his army, encamped near Rome, as soon as Sarus had joined the emperor, restoring the purple, and other ensigns of majesty, to Attalus; but in a few days degrading him again, as if he designed to traduce, and expose to ridicule, the imperial dignity *. Socrates relates, that having shewed him to the soldiery with all the ensigns of sovereignty, he exposed him the very next day to public view in the dress of a slave *.

Alaric blocked up Rome on all sides, and as provisions were already very scarce, reduced it in a few days to the utmost extremity. Some authors, and among the rest St. Jerom †, write, that it held out a long time; while others assert, Alaric reduced it with such expedition, that Honorius, when told by one of his courtiers, that Rome was lost, understood he meant a favourite cock bearing that name, not being yet informed, that the city of Rome was besieged ‡. There is likewise a disagreement among authors as to the manner in which it was taken. Procopius maintains, that Proba, an illustrious Roman matron, pity-

* Phot. cap. 80. p. 181. Zos. lib. vi. p. 330. Soz. p. 810. Phil. lib. xii. cap. 3 p. 533. † Oros. lib. vii. cap. 42. p. 224. ‡ Socr. lib. vii. cap. 10. p. 346, 347. † Hier. epist. 16. p. 121. ‡ Prosp. Bell. Vand. lib. i. cap. 2. p. 180,

ing the unhappy condition of the people, reduced by the famine that prevailed in the city to the fatal necessity of devouring one another, opened the gates in the night to the enemy. Sozomen says it was taken by treachery, without explaining himself farther ^a; but Orosius uses the word *irrupit*; which seems to import, that the enemy took the city by assault. Be this as it may, that proud and haughty city, styled the metropolis of the universe, after having triumphed over so many nations, and extended her dominion from one end of the known world to the other, was, on the twenty-fourth of August of the present year 410, taken by a Barbarian, who had not a foot of land which he could properly call his own. As she had, for the space of one thousand one hundred and sixty-three years, pillaged the rest of the world, and enriched herself with the spoils of the plundered nations, she underwent, in the end, the same fate, and suffered, in her turn, the same calamities which she had brought upon others.

Alaric, addressing his soldiers, told them, that all the wealth lodged in the city was their's, and therefore he gave them full liberty to seize it; but at the same time he strictly commanded them to shed the blood of none but such as they should find in arms; and, above all, to spare those who should take sanctuary in the holy places, especially in the churches of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, which he named because they were most spacious, and consequently capable of affording an asylum to great numbers of people. Having given these orders, he abandoned the city to his Goths, who treated it no better, according to St. Jerom, than the Greeks are said to have treated ancient Troy ^c; for after having plundered it for the space of three, or, as others affirm, of six days, they set fire to it in several places; so that the stately palace of Sallust, and many other magnificent buildings, were reduced to ashes: Procopius writes, that there was not in the whole city one house left entire ^d; and both St. Jerom and Philo-logius ^e, that the great metropolis of the empire was reduced to a heap of ruins. Though many of the Goths, pursuant to the orders of their general, refrained from killing those who made no resistance, yet others, more cruel and blood-thirsty, massacred all they met; so that the streets in some quarters of the city were soon covered with heaps of dead bodies, and swimming in blood ^f. However,

Alaric orders his men to spare the lives of the citizens, especially such as should fly to the churches.

^a Soz. lib. ix. cap. 9. p. 811.

^b Oros. p. 222.

^c Hier.

epist. 16. p. 121.

^d Procop. p. 179.

^e Philost. p. 534.

^f Idem. ibid.

not the least injury was offered to those who had fled to the churches; and the Goths themselves conveyed thither, as to places of safety, such as they were desirous should be spared ^g. Many of the statues of the gods, which had been left entire by the emperors as excellent pieces of art, were on this occasion destroyed, either by the Goths, who, though mostly Arians, were zealous Christians, or by a dreadful storm of thunder and lightning, which fell at the same time upon the city. The Pagans ascribed the calamities which Rome suffered, to its having banished the gods, by whom it had often been protected against much more powerful enemies. These calumnies St. Austin confuted in his 81st, 105th, and 106th sermons, in another intituled, *Of the Destruction of the City of Rome* ^h, and in his great work *De Civitate Dei*, wherein he shews, that Rome had suffered greater afflictions before it embraced the true faith, and that it was preserved by the Christian religion from total destruction ⁱ.



C H A P. LXIV.

*The History of the Eastern and Western Empire,
from the taking of the City by the Goths, to
the Death of Theodosius II.*

Alaric retires, with the wealth of Rome, into Campania.

ALARIC having remained, according to some, six, according to others, only three days in Rome, retired into Campania, carrying with him immense wealth, and a great number of captives; among whom was Placidia, the sister of Honorius, whom he treated with all the respect due to her rank and sex. After he had ravaged Campania, Lucania, Samnium, Apulia, Calabria, and the country of the Brutii, he approached the straits of Sicily, with a design to visit that island, and afterwards Africa, which he intended to reduce; but the fleet he had prepared for that purpose having suffered great damage in a storm, he continued in the neighbourhood of Rhegium, deliberating what farther measures he should take; but before he came to any resolution, he was suddenly seized with sickness, which

^g Hier. & Soz. *ibid.*
p. 330.

^h Aug. *Serm.* p. 546. & *Rom. Excid.*
ⁱ *Idem. de Civ. Dei.*

carried him off in a few days ^k. The Goths were deeply concerned for the death of their monarch; fearing the Romans should offer some indignity to his bones, they turned the course of the Busento near Cosenza, in the Farther Calabria; and having buried him, with many rich spoils brought from Rome, in the bed of the river, they restored the waters to their natural current, and killed all the slaves they had employed in the work. Having taken this precaution, they raised to the throne Ataulphus, brother-in-law to the deceased prince, who had married his sister. Jornandes writes, that he returned to Rome, and pillaged that city a second time. But of this second destruction of Rome no mention is made by any of the writers who flourished at that time.

He dies in the neighbourhood of Rhegium.

Ataulphus chosen king in his room.

While the Barbarians were ravaging Italy on one side, Constantine, leaving Gaul, entered it on the other, pretending that he was marching to the assistance of Honorius, though his real design was to strip him of the few provinces that remained under his dominion. With this view he advanced as far as Verona; but while he was preparing to pass the Po, in order to march to Ravenna, and confer with the emperor about the most proper measures to be taken in the present juncture, he received news of the unhappy, but deserved end of Alabicus or Allobicus, one of Honorius's generals, whom that prince had caused to be executed, upon a well-grounded suspicion of his privately corresponding with the usurper^l. This catastrophe Constantine no sooner understood, than he repassed the Alps, and retired to Arles, where he found his son Constans driven out of Spain by the Barbarians. Geroncius, who had joined them against him, pursued him into Gaul; a circumstance which obliged Constantine to send Edobicus, one of his generals, to procure supplies among the Franks and Germans, and commit the guard of Vienne, and the other cities on the Rhone, to his son Constans. But Geroncius, mean time, investing Vienne, took the place; and having put Constans, whom he found in it, to death, advanced without opposition to Arles, and closely besieged Constantine himself^m. While the Western empire was thus involved in calamities, the provinces in the East enjoyed profound peace, under the wise administration of

Constantine invades Italy;

but repasses the Alps in great haste, and retires to Arles.

Constans taken and put to death, by Geroncius, who besieges Constantine in Arles.

^k Oros. lib. ii. cap. 19. p. 164. Socrat. lib. vii. cap. 10. p. 347. Philost. lib. xii. cap. 3. p. 543. Aug. Civ. Dei, lib. i. cap. 10. p. 8. Jorn. Rer. Goth. cap. 30. p. 653. ^l Soz. lib. ix. cap. 12. p. 814. Phot. cap. 80. p. 181. Zof. lib. v. p. 821. ^m Soz. lib. ix. cap. 12. p. 814. Phot. p. 184. Oros. p. 224.

Anthemius ; so that nothing remarkable happened there, except the disgrace of Andronicus, governor of the Pentapolis, who, for his tyrannical extortions, was first excommunicated by Synesius, bishop of Ptolemais, the metropolis of that province, and afterwards removed by Anthemius from his government ^a.

*Constantius
sent against
Constantine.*

In the following year, 411, Honorius sent Constantius, an officer of great experience and address, inviolably attached to the interest of his prince, into Gaul, with what troops he could spare, to oppose Constantine, whom, after his entering Italy, the emperor no longer considered as his partner in the empire, but as a public enemy. Constantius was not by birth a Barbarian, but a Roman ; that is, he was born a subject of the empire, according to Olympiodorus, in the city of Panaia in Illyricum. Valesius supposes, upon what authority we know not, that he was a native of Naissus in Dacia, the birth-place of Constantine the Great^o. He was a man of extraordinary parts, well-shaped in his person, agreeable in his conversation, frank, generous, an enemy to all dissimulation and restraint, disinterested, brave, and equally capable of commanding an army and governing the state. He was no sooner named for this expedition, than he departed, at the head of a considerable army, for Gaul, where he was joined, upon his first arrival, by most of the troops of Geroncius, then employed in reducing the city of Arles, in which was Constantine himself, as we have related above.

His character.

*Geroncius
raises the
siege of
Arles, and
flies into
Spain :*

Geroncius, finding himself abandoned by his men, raised the siege, and fled into Spain, where the few soldiers who attended him, provoked at his unseasonable severity, attacked him in the house where he was lodged ; which he defended, though assisted only by one friend, and a few slaves, with great resolution and intrepidity, killing three hundred of the assailants. At length the slaves, consulting their own safety, made their escape ; Geroncius might have made his escape also, had he been able to prevail upon himself to forsake his wife, whom he tenderly loved. Being overpowered, and cut off from every resource, he resolved to lay violent hands on himself. His wife Nonnichia, apprised of this resolution, earnestly intreated him to put her to death rather than suffer her to fall into the hands of the incensed soldiery. Moved with her tears, he first dispatched her, then his friend, and lastly himself^p. Maximus, whom Geroncius had declared emperor, was secured

*where he
lays violent
hands on
himself.*

^a Synes. cap. 74. p. 220.

^o Val. Rer. Franc. lib. iii. p. 107.

^p Prof. p. 224. 502. p. 315. Phot. p. 185.

and brought to Constantius, who stripped him of the ensigns of majesty, but spared his life, as an inoffensive person, and incapable of giving the least umbrage.

Maximus taken, but his life spared.

Constantius pursued the siege of Arles, which Geronicus had begun. Constantine, who was in the place with his second son, Julian, defended the city four months, in expectation of the succours which Edobicus was sent to procure amongst the Franks, and other German nations. Edobicus arrived at length, at the head of an army much more numerous than that of Constantius; which so terrified the emperor's generals, that they thought of abandoning the siege, and retiring to Italy. But their retreat being cut off by the enemy, they were forced to risk a battle. Ulphilas,

The Germans, coming to the assistance of Constantine defeated.

therefore, who commanded under Constantius, passing the Rhone with a strong detachment of foot, concealed himself among the woods, till the enemy passed, and were ready to engage Constantius; when, falling suddenly upon their rear, while Constantius charged them in front, they were immediately routed. Edobicus fled to the house of a Gaulish lord, named Ecdices, who, notwithstanding the many favours he had received at his hands, struck off his head, and carried it to Constantius, who ordered the traitor to depart the camp that instant, lest his presence should draw down from heaven some misfortune upon the whole army[†]. Constantius returned to Arles, which still held out with great obstinacy, till news were brought to the Roman camp, that Jovinus, having usurped the imperial title in Farther Gaul, was advancing in full march to Arles, at the head of a formidable army, consisting of Alemans, Franks, Burgundians, and Alans, with a design to fall on the emperor's army. Upon this intelligence Constantius complied with the terms which had been proposed before by the besieged, but rejected by him; importing, that he should grant a general indemnity, and promise, upon oath, that the lives of Constantine and Julian should be spared. In consequence of this capitulation the gates were opened, and the victorious army was received into the town. Constantine had some time before divested himself of the purple, and, taking sanctuary in a church, caused himself to be ordained priest, thinking that character would protect him from the emperor's just resentment. Constantius, nevertheless, caused both him and his son to be secured, and sent into Italy, where they were, by the emperor's orders, beheaded about thirty miles from Ravenna. Honorius

Arles surrendered to Constantius.

Constantine and his son beheaded.

[†] Greg. Tur. Hist. Franc. lib. ii. cap. 9. p. 65. Soz. lib. ix. cap. 14. p. 815.

*Jovinus
causes him-
self to be
proclaimed
emperor.*

would not grant them their lives, because they had assassinated his two cousins Didymius and Verinianus; but as they had been promised indemnity by his lieutenant, the Christian as well as the Pagan writers condemn this action as a breach of faith unworthy of a prince. About the same time that Constantine divested himself of the purple, Jovinus, or, as he is styled by Sozomen and Philostorgius, Jovianus, assumed it at Mundiaccum, says Olympiodorus^r; which some take to be Mentz. He was descended from one of the most illustrious families in Gaul, and is said to have caused himself to be proclaimed emperor at the instigation of Goar, king of the Alans, and Guntarius, or Gondicarias, prince of the Burgundians^s. It appears from his medals that he reduced Treves^t; but his reign was short, as will soon appear. In the East the tranquility which the people had long enjoyed was disturbed this year by the Ausurians, a Moorish nation, who, breaking into the Pentapolis, ravaged that province; but were soon driven out by Anysius, who had succeeded Andronicus in that government. The Saracens likewise committed great disorders on the frontiers of Egypt, Palestine, Phœnicia, and Syria.

Yr. of Fl.
2862.
A. D. 412.
U. C. 1210,

*The Goths
leave
Italy, and
break into
Gaul.*

The following year, 412, when Honorius was consul the ninth time, and Theodosius the fifth, the Goths at length left Italy, either in virtue of a treaty between Honorius and Ataulphus their new king, as Jornandes seems to suppose^u, or because they had already exhausted that country of its wealth. However that be, quitting Italy, they broke into Gaul, ravaging the countries through which they passed. Upon their arrival in that province, Attalus, whom Ataulphus had brought thither, advised the Goth to join Jovinus against Honorius, and divide Gaul between them. Ataulphus and Jovinus met upon that proposal; but all we know of their interview is, that Jovinus was displeased to see Ataulphus and his Goths in Gaul^w. Sarus, whom we have often mentioned, having about this time revolted from Honorius, because he refused to punish the authors of the murder of one of his officers, named Bellerid, was going into Gaul, to offer his service to Jovinus; which design coming to the ears of Ataulphus, his implacable enemy, he went to meet him, at the head of a thousand men. Sarus, though attended only by twenty persons, defended himself with such resolution, that it was with the utmost

^r Phot. cap. 80. ^s Soz. p. 816, 817. Oros. p. 224. ^t Synes. Catast. p. 299. & ep. 78. p. 223, 224. ^u Jorn. Rer. Goth. cap. 31, p. 655. ^w Oros. p. 224. Phot. p. 184.

difficulty he was taken alive, after having killed with his own hand great numbers of the enemy. Ataulphus caused him soon after to be put to death; an execution which, as he was a brave and experienced officer, created a misunderstanding between Jovinus and Ataulphus. Jovinus soon after took his brother Sebastian for his partner in the empire, contrary to the opinion of Ataulphus, who was so provoked at his promotion, that he privately dispatched deputies to Honorius, offering to restore his sister Placidia, and to send him the heads of the two usurpers, provided he would supply his men with a certain quantity of corn.

Sarus taken prisoner by Ataulphus, and put to death.

The emperor having readily complied with his demand, Ataulphus soon found an opportunity of dispatching Sebastian; but Jovinus, upon the news of his death, fled to Valence, where he was closely besieged, and, in the end, forced to submit to Ataulphus, who delivered him to Dardanus, prefect of Gaul, by whose order he was slain at Narbonne. Idatius ascribes the defeat of the two usurpers to the generals of Honorius, who had perhaps joined Ataulphus. Dardanus, at this time prefect of Gaul, is highly commended by St. Jerom and St. Austin, who wrote several letters to him; but Apollinaris Sidonius, who is likewise honoured with the title of Saint, paints him as a person of a most infamous character, in whom centered all the vices of the three usurpers, Constantine, Jovinus, and Gerencius^v.

Jovinus is taken, and put to death.

The next consuls were Lucius and Heraclianus: but the name of the latter was erased out of the fasti; for he revolted this year from Honorius, and causing himself to be proclaimed emperor in Africa, which he had with so much bravery defended against Attalus, he equipped a fleet which is said to have been more numerous than those of Xerxes, of Alexander, or any other monarch mentioned in history^z. With this formidable armada, he sailed from Africa, and, landing in Italy, marched to Rome, which his approach threw into the utmost consternation; but count Marinus marching out to meet him, at the head of all the troops he could assemble, the usurper, seized with a sudden panic, shamefully fled, and, hastening on board one of his vessels, returned alone to Carthage. Upon his flight, his men immediately submitted, and were pardoned by Honorius, who soon after published a law, and addressed to the people of Africa, wherein he declared Heraclianus a public enemy, and empowered every one to apprehend, and put him to death. He was, soon after his return to Carthage, disco-

Heraclianus revolts in Africa.

Lands in Italy; but, seized with a sudden panic, returns to Africa;

^v Sid. lib. v. ep. 9. p. 139.

^z Orol. p. 224.

*where he
is discover-
ed, and cut
in pieces.*

*The Bur-
gundians
allowed to
settle in
Gaul.*

vered by some soldiers in an ancient temple, and by them immediately dispatched^a. At this period, the Franks pillaged Gaul, set fire to the city of Treves, and laid waste the neighbouring country^b. The Burgundians, who had entered Gaul in 407 with the Vandals and Alans, subdued the country now known by the name of Alsace or Alsatia. Constantius, who had reduced the rest of Gaul after the death of the two usurpers Constantine and Jovinus, marched against them; but they demanding leave to settle in Gaul, as friends and allies of the Roman people, the Roman general, not venturing to drive them to despair, persuaded the emperor to grant them part of the country which they had conquered^c. Ataulphus had promised to restore to Honorius his sister Placidia, taken prisoner in Rome, but treated by him, as she had been by Alaric, with the utmost respect. Constantius, hoping the emperor would give her to him in marriage, was continually pressing Ataulphus to comply with this article; but, as Honorius had not yet sent the corn he had promised the Goths, Ataulphus, who desired to marry Placidia himself, refused to part with her, till the emperor had executed the treaty, which he was not at that time in a condition to perform: however, the Romans stipulated to send the corn as soon as Placidia was restored; and Ataulphus to restore Placidia as soon as the corn was sent^d.

*Ataulphus
makes him-
self master
of Nar-
bonne and
Toulouse.*

After matters had continued for some time in this situation, Ataulphus, at last, thinking himself deluded by the Romans, renewed hostilities; and having reduced the cities of Narbonne and Toulouse, advanced as far as Marseilles, but met there with such vigorous resistance from count Bonifacius, that he was forced to abandon the enterprize, and retire, after having lost great numbers of his men, and been himself wounded. From Marseilles he directed his march to Bourdeaux, where he was received as a friend^e. In the East, Lucius, a Pagan, who commanded the troops attending the court, provoked at the zeal of Theodosius in extirpating idolatry, resolved to save it from utter ruin by assassinating his prince. With this design he went to the palace, and was thrice upon the point of drawing his sword; but is said to have been deterred from executing his wicked purpose by a woman of an extraordinary stature, and threatening aspect, who, as often as he put his hand to his sword, appeared to him, holding the emperor in her

*Lucius at-
tempts the
life of
Theodosius.*

^a Idat. Chron. ^b Greg. Tur. lib. ii. cap. 9. p. 63. ^c Oros. cap. 43. p. 224. Val. p. 136. Buch. de Belg. p. 440. Coint. Annal. Ecc. cl. Fran. ann. 407. ^d Phot. cap. 80. p. 185. ^e Ruth. lib. i. p. 137. Phot. p. 185. Hier. ep. xi. p. 93.

arms (D). This year the city of Constantinople was surrounded with the walls which Socrates styles the Great Walls^f. Those which had been built by Constantine the Great were pulled down, and this new work, twenty miles in circuit, was completed in two months^g. But this fact we can hardly believe upon the authority of Nicephorus. It was called the New Wall, and the Wall of Theodosius^h. The emperor published, at this juncture, several laws against the Re-baptizers, the Eunomians, the Sabbatians, and the Protoschismatics, who, in the celebration of Easter, differed from the church as to the day, and therefore styled themselves Protoschismatics, as if they followed the primitive practice and institution.

Constantinople surrounded with new walls.

The next consuls were Constantius and Constans, both generals, the former in the West, and the latter in the East. The negotiations between Honorius and Ataulphus, interrupted by the taking of Narbonne and Toulouse, were now resumed. But the more the Goth was pressed by Constantius to restore Placidia, the higher he raised his demands, that the emperor refusing to comply with them, he might have a more plausible excuse for detaining her. In the end, by means of Candidianus, he prevailed upon her to marry him; and the nuptials were celebrated at Narbonne, in the month of January of the year 414, with the utmost pomp and solemnity. Placidia appeared on that occasion sitting on a bed of state, and Ataulphus in the Roman dress. He yielded to the royal bride the most honourable place, and presented her with fifty basins filled with pieces of gold, and fifty with jewels and precious stones of inestimable value, part of the spoils of Rome. Attalus assisted at the ceremony, and sung the epithalamium, or nuptial songⁱ; a degrading function for one who had been vested with the imperial dignity! Honorius did not, it appears, consent to this marriage; for soon after Ataulphus obliged Attalus to resume the purple, and caused him to be acknowledged emperor by his Goths. However, he

Ataulphus marries Placidia.

He obliges Attalus to resume the purple.

^f Soc. lib. vii. cap. 1. p. 334.

^g Niceph. lib. xiv. cap. 1. p. 438.

^h Cange de Const. p. 38—40.

ⁱ Olymp. apud Phot. p. 188.

Idat. Chron.

(D) Such is the account of Damascus, a Pagan writer, who flourished about the end of the present century. Photius, who copied it from him, calls it a most remarkable event, and

not to be questioned, since related by a Pagan writer (1): but it is not, however remarkable, taken notice of by any other historian.

(1) Phot. cap. 247. p. 1072.

wished for nothing so much as to conclude a lasting peace with Honorius; and elevated Attalus anew with no other design than to intimidate the emperor, and oblige him to grant him, and his Goths, more favourable terms^k. But Constantius, and his party at court, defeated all the measures taken by Ataulphus and Placidia to bring about an accommodation: they would not suffer the emperor to hearken to any overtures, however reasonable; so that the war being renewed, Ataulphus was finally obliged to quit Gaul, and retire into Spain.

Ataulphus obliged to quit Gaul, and retire into Spain.

Pulcheria is declared Augusta, and takes upon her the administration in the East.

During these transactions in the West, Pulcheria, sister to the emperor Theodosius, being declared Augusta in the East, on account of her extraordinary wisdom and piety, assumed the administration, Anthemius thinking her better qualified for it than himself, though she had just then entered only the sixteenth year of her age, and was but two years older than the emperor. As she was endowed with extraordinary parts, and eminent for piety, her administration proved equally advantageous to the state and the church. Theodosius II. excelled, perhaps, in piety and religion, even his grandfather Theodosius the Great, which all authors agree to have been owing to the uncommon care Pulcheria took in inspiring him with those religious maxims, by which she ruled her own actions^l. In the very beginning of her administration, she persuaded the young prince to dismiss the eunuch Antiochus, of whom hereafter, and to remit whatever was due to the treasury from the year 368 to 407^m.

In the following year, when Honorius was consul the tenth time, and Theodosius the sixth, Theodosius the son of Ataulphus and Placidia died in Spain, whither his father had retired with his Goths; and was buried in a silver coffin near Barcelona, in a place of prayer, says Olympiodorusⁿ, that is, in a church. Ataulphus himself did not long survive him; for he was killed this very year at Barcelona, in the month of August or September. He was stabbed in his stable by one of his own countrymen and domestics, named Dobbius, whose former master, a leading man among the Goths, Ataulphus had murdered several years before. Jornandes supposes him to have waged war with the Vandals in Spain, and to have been killed three years after he had reduced that country by Vernulphus, whose former master Ataulphus had murdered^o. Ataulphus, when dying, charged his brother, not named by our historian, to

Yr. of Fl.
364.
A. D. 414.
U C. 1212

Ataulphus murdered in Spain.

^k Olymp. apud Phot. p. 184. ^l Soz. p. 800. ^m Theoph. p. 70.
ⁿ Olymp. apud Phot. p. 88. ^o Jorn. Rer. Goth. cap. 31. p. 655.

restore Placidia to the Romans, and to live in friendship with them^p. But the Goths, instead of his brother, chose for their king Sigeric, the brother of Sarus, who immediately ordered the six children that Ataulphus had by a former wife, to be inhumanly murdered, revenging, by that piece of cruelty, the death of his brother^q. He even obliged Placidia to walk with other captives twelve miles before his chariot. But he was assassinated by his own people the seventh day after his election, and Vallia chosen in his room, after he had caused all those to be murdered who stood in competition with him for the crown. This year Theodosius, by a law dated the seventh of December, excluded the Pagans from all employments both civil and military^r. By another law, dated the nineteenth of October, he deposed Gamaliel, patriarch of the Jews, for having abused his authority. Gamaliel is supposed to be the last patriarch of that nation, which was henceforth governed by primates chosen by the councils of the provinces, whereas the patriarchal dignity was hereditary.

He is succeeded by Sigeric, who causes all his children to be murdered, and is murdered himself. The Pagans excluded from all employments, both civil and military.

Theodosius leaving Constantinople for the first time, retired to Eudoxiopolis, called formerly Selymbria, on the sea-coast between Constantinople and Heraclea, and continued partly there, partly at Heraclea, till the twenty-ninth of September^s. The following year, 417, when Honorius was consul the eleventh time, and Constantius the second, the emperor, to reward the services of that brave general, gave him in marriage his sister Placidia, an honour to which he had been long aspiring. Placidia could not be prevailed upon to give her consent; but the emperor seizing her hand, gave it in spite of her to Constantius^t. They were married on the first of January, when Constantius entered upon his second consulship. A few months after Honorius, leaving Ravenna, repaired to Rome, which he entered in triumph, causing Attalus, brought for that purpose from Lipari, to walk before his chariot. When the triumph was over, Attalus was remanded to the place of his exile, and Honorius returned soon after to Ravenna^u. In the East nothing remarkable happened besides an earthquake, which overturned several houses at Constantinople, and the city of Cybyra in Phrygia^w.

Placidia married to Constantius.

Honorius being consul the twelfth time, and Theodosius the eighth, Vallia died, leaving behind him one daughter, married to a Suevian, by whom she had Ricimer, who

^p Olymp. apud Phot. p. 188. ^q Oros. p. 224. Soz. lib. ix. cap. 9. p. 811. ^r Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. 10. leg. 21. p. 293. ^s Soz. lib. vii. cap. 36. p. 381. ^t Olymp. p. 192. ^u Cod. Theod. Chron. p. 164. ^w Chron. Alex. p. 713.

*Vallia,
king of the
Goths, dies,
and is suc-
ceeded by
Theodoric.*

completed the ruin of the Western empire. The deceased prince was succeeded by Theodoric, called by some Theodorus, and by others Theodorides^x. In the East Plinthia, a Goth, revolted, but was defeated in Palestine^y; which is all we know of this war. Plinthia, notwithstanding his defeat, must have concluded an advantageous peace with Theodosius; for he was raised the following year to the consular dignity, and preferred to the post of general of the Roman horse and foot, in which he acquitted himself with great reputation and fidelity^z. In the consulship he had Monaxius for his colleague, another of Theodosius's officers; so that both consuls were, in 419, subjects of the Eastern empire, as they had been in 417, of the Western. Of the two consuls one was, generally speaking, chosen in the East, the other in the West; and he named the first, who was first in rank; if they were equal, each named in the first place his own consul.

*Yr. of Fl.
2868.
A. D. 418.
U. C. 1216.*

*Valentinian
III. born.*

On the second or third of July Placidia was delivered at Ravenna of a son, who was named Valentinian, and succeeded Honorius in the empire. Nothing happened this year in the East which historians have thought worthy of recording, except an attempt upon the life of Aetius, prefect of Constantinople, who was attacked by an assassin, named Ceivachus, as he was returning from the great church^a. We are not told what gave occasion to this attempt, nor what became of the assassin. By a law dated the twenty-fourth of September, Theodosius declared those guilty of death who should teach the Barbarians the art of building ships, to which they were yet strangers^b.

In the following year, when Theodosius was consul the ninth time, with Constantius the third, the army mutinied in the East, and murdered their general Maximinus, as we find in the chronicle of Marcellinus; but of this mutiny no mention is made by any other writer.

*Yr. of Fl.
2871.
A. D. 421.
U. C. 1219.*

*Constantius
is raised to
the empire,
but dies
soon after.*

In the West nothing remarkable happened this year; but under the following consuls, Agricola and Eustatius, the emperor Honorius, on the eighth of February, raised Constantius to the imperial dignity, declared him his colleague, and gave the title of Augusta to his wife Placidia^c. The images of Constantius and Placidia were sent to Constantinople, with the news of their promotion; but Theodosius refused, for what reason we know not, to acknowledge them; a refusal which would have kindled a war be-

^x Jorn. p. 659. Olymp. p. 193.

166.

^z Socr. lib. v. cap. 23. p. 292.

^b Cod. Theod. lib. ii. tit. 40. leg. 24. p. 322.

Olymp. p. 192. Mar. Chron.

^y Philost. lib. xii. cap. 8. p.

^a Chron. Alex. p. 720.

^c Theoph. p. 72.

tween the two empires, had not Constantius died soon after, having reigned seven months, a few days excepted. He was buried at Ravenna, where he died of a pleurisy, in a mausoleum built by his widow Placidia, near the church of St. Vitalis ^d. The emperor Theodosius married Eudocia on the seventh of June, on which occasion there were great rejoicings at Constantinople. Eudocia was the daughter of an Athenian philosopher, named Heraclitus, upon whose death her two brothers, Gensius and Aurelianus, defrauding her of her share of her father's estate, she went to Constantinople to implore the protection of Pulcheria. As she had been instructed by her father with extraordinary care in several languages, and in every branch of literature, and was besides remarkable for her beauty and engaging behaviour, Pulcheria, after several conferences, began to think her a proper match for her brother Theodosius, whom accordingly she persuaded to marry. So she is represented by the modern Greeks; but the ancient writers tell us, that she was the daughter, not of the philosopher Heraclitus, but of Leontius, an Athenian sophist, or professor of eloquence at Athens ^e. Before the nuptials were celebrated, Theodosius caused her to be baptized by Atticus, bishop of Constantinople, who changed the name of Athenais, which she bore before, into that of Eudocia ^f (F). The two brothers of Eudocia, informed of her good fortune, and conscious to themselves of their behaviour towards her, absconded; but she, instead of resenting the injury, invited them both to court, and raised them to great preferments ^g.

*Theodosius
marries
Eudocia.*

*Her birth,
education,
&c.*

^d Philost. lib. xii. cap. 12. p. 537.

^f Evag. lib. i. cap. 20. p. 297.
p. 724.

^e Socr. lib. vii. p. 360.

^g Zonar. p. 44. Chron. Alex.

(F) She composed a poem on a victory obtained by the Romans over the Persians. She likewise put into hexameter verse the five books of Moses, with those of Joshua, of the Judges, and of Ruth. This performance, which consisted of eight books, is much commended by Photius, as is likewise the paraphrase, which the same princess wrote in verse upon the prophecies of Zechariah and Daniel, and Photius

found, with a poem on St. Cyprian and St. Justin, performed, without all doubt, says that writer, by the same hand (1). Zonaras mentions another work of the same empress, which he calls Homer's Rhapsody. It contained the history of our Saviour, and entirely consisted of verses borrowed from Homer. It was begun by a patrician, says Zonaras, but completed by Eudocia (2).

(1) Phot. cap. 87. p. 413—416.
Cange Byz. Fam. p. 71.

(2) Zon. tom. iii. p. 37.

War between the Persians and the Romans.

The peace which had long subsisted between the Romans and Persians, was broken, and a war kindled between the two empires on the following occasion. Vararanes V. who had succeeded his father Isdegerdes in the kingdom of Persia, having, at the instigation of the Magi, raised a persecution against the Christians in his dominions, great numbers took refuge in the Roman territories, and repaired to Constantinople, where they were received with great kindness by Atticus, bishop of that city, and by him recommended to the emperor, who was so far from delivering them up when demanded by the Persian ambassadors, that, on the contrary, he declared his resolution of defending them, and the religion they professed, with the whole strength of the empire. Some misunderstanding had before arisen between the two princes, the Persian king refusing to send back some workmen, whom he had hired from the Roman territories, to dig in mines of gold, which he had lately discovered. Besides the Persians had plundered and insulted some Roman merchants trading to their country ^h.

NarSES, the Persian general, defeated by Ardaburius.

Upon these provocations, as Vararanes continued to persecute the Christians in his dominions, Theodosius declared war against the Persians; and, without loss of time, dispatched Ardaburius, an Alan, at the head of a considerable army, into Azazene, a Persian province beyond the Tigris, which he plundered, after having gained a complete victory over NarSES, whom the king of Persia had sent with a numerous army to oppose him. The battle was fought on the third of September, and the news of the victory brought on the sixth of the same month to Constantinople, though seven hundred miles distant from the borders of Persia, by a famous courier of those times, named Palladius ⁱ. NarSES, after this defeat, abandoning the province of Azazene to the mercy of the enemy, marched with incredible expedition into Mesopotamia, with a design to invade the empire on that side, which was then destitute of troops, and unprepared for defence. But Ardaburius, aware of his design, obliged him to shelter himself within the walls of Nisibis, which place he immediately besieged. In the mean time the king of Persia, having received intelligence of the defeat of his general, and the danger both he and the city of Nisibis were in, assembled all his forces, and entering Mesopotamia, invested Theodosiopolis, to divert Ardaburius from the siege of Nisibis. But the besieged, having Eunomius, bishop of the place, at their head,

Ardaburius besieges Nisibis, and the king of Persia Theodosiopolis;

^h Socr. lib. vii. cap. 18. p. 353.

ⁱ Ibid. cap. 19. p. 557, 558.

defended

defended it with such vigour and resolution, that the Persians, after having battered it with an incredible number of machines for a whole month without intermission, were obliged to abandon the enterprize and retire^k. The enemy were soon after reinforced with an innumerable multitude of Saracens, under the conduct of Alamundarus, a renowned warrior, who, to raise the drooping spirits of the Persian monarch, boasted, that in a short time he would deliver into his hands, not only the Romans who besieged Nisibis, but Antioch itself, the metropolis of Syria. But not long after, his men, being seized with a panic, and not knowing whither to fly, threw themselves into the Euphrates, where a hundred thousand are said to have perished. The Romans, seized at the same time with the like fear, upon a false report that the king of Persia was advancing to the relief of Nisibis with a great number of elephants, burnt all their machines, raised the siege, and retired in the utmost confusion into the Roman dominions^l.

but are both seized with a panic and retire.

During the following year the war was pursued with uncommon success against the Persians. From Socrates, who only slightly touches on the military preparations, as foreign to his principal purpose, it appears, that Ariobindus, one of the Roman generals, killed in single combat a Persian famed for his valour; that Ardaburius put to the sword seven Persian commanders, surprised in an ambuscade; and that Avitianus cut in pieces the few Saracens who had escaped being drowned in the Euphrates^m. Notwithstanding these advantages, Theodosius, imagining the Persians, thus weakened and disheartened, would hearken to an accommodation, and cease from persecuting the Christians, in whose defence he had taken arms, offered Varanes very reasonable proposals; which the Persian would have accepted with joy, had he not been diverted from it by the Immortals, that is, a corps of ten thousand chosen men, so called, because they had never been conquered. This band persuaded the king to keep the Romans in suspense, with a design to surprise them in the mean time. With this view they divided themselves into two bodies, one of which lay concealed among the woods, while the other advanced in order to attack the enemy, and draw them into the ambuscade; but Procopius, who commanded a separate body of Romans, observing their motions from an eminence where he was posted, and apprised of their design, attacked them in the rear, while Ardaburius charg-

Yr. of Fl.
2872.
A. D. 422.
U. C. 1220.

The Romans gain great advantages over the Persians.

^k Theodoret. lib. v. cap. 37. p. 243.
357—350. ^m Idem, cap. 18. p. 357.

^l Socr. lib. vii. p.

*A peace
concluded
between
the Ro-
mans and
Persians
for a hun-
dred years.*

ed them in the front, by which means they were surrounded, and to a man put to the sword. Vararanes was no sooner informed of this calamity, than, calling for the Roman ambassadors, he agreed to the terms they had proposed, and concluded a peace with the empire for a hundred years; which lasted, according to Evagrius, till the twelfth year of the reign of Anastasius; that is, to the year 502ⁿ. The chief article of this treaty was, that the Persian king should recall the banished Christians, restore them to their estates, and put a stop to the cruel persecution he had raised against them.

*Placidia
obliged to
quit the
court, and
retire into
the East
with her
son Valen-
tinian.*

Yr. of Fl. 2873
A. D. 423.
U. C. 1221.

*Honorius
dies.*

Next year a misunderstanding arose between Honorius and his sister Placidia, whom the emperor had entertained at court, since the death of her husband Constantius, with such tenderness and affection, as gave occasion to some very scandalous reflections. Some authors write, that the great sway she bore in the administration giving no small jealousy to the other courtiers, they persuaded the emperor, that she corresponded privately with the Goths, who still honoured her as their queen, and betrayed all his counsels^c. However that be, it is certain, that the extraordinary affection he had hitherto shewn her being changed into an aversion no less extraordinary, Placidia thought it prudent to quit the court and retire, with her son Valentinian, and her daughter Honoria, to Constantinople; where she was kindly received by her nephew Theodosius, though he had formerly refused to acknowledge her husband Constantius for emperor, and to give her the title of Augusta^p. Soon after this separation, Honorius died at Ravenna of a dropsy, having reigned twenty-eight years since the death of his father Theodosius, and thirty-one since the time he was first created Augustus (G). Honorius no sooner expired, than an ex-
press

ⁿ Evagr. lib. i. cap. 19. p. 276. Theodor. lib. v. cap. 39. p. 245. Socr. cap. 21. p. 359. ^o Olymp. p. 196. ^p Calliod. Chron.

(G) Under Honorius flourished Olympiodorus, who wrote in Greek the history of that prince, from the year 407, the thirteenth of his reign, to his death. He was a native of Thebes in Egypt, and a Pagan. Renatus Protuturus Frigeridus wrote likewise the history of the reign of Honorius, from the

year 406 to the death of that prince; but only a few passages of his work have reached our times, quoted by Gregory of Tours (1). Claudian may be ranked among the historians who have written concerning Honorius; for of him we have learnt several particulars of that prince's reign. He was a na-

(1) Greg. Tur. Hist. Franc. lib. ii, cap. 9. p. 62—64.

press was dispatched to Theodosius with intelligence of his death, which that prince concealed for some days, and, in the

tive of Alexandria in Egypt. He first applied himself to Greek poetry. His first Latin poem was on the consulship of the two brothers Olybrius and Probinus in 395. He was deputed by the citizens of Rome in 396, to congratulate Honorius on his third consulship (2). He was honoured by the Roman senate with a statue, which, in consideration of his excellency in poetry, was erected in the square of Trajan (3). He was, as appears from his poems, an adorer of Jupiter, and all the other Pagan gods. Orosius calls him a most obstinate Pagan; but at the same time commends him as an excellent poet (4). St. Austin likewise speaks of him as a person greatly attached to the Pagan superstition (5). Rutilius, or, as he is styled at the head of his poem, Rutilius Claudius Numatianus, flourished in the reign of Honorius. He was a native of Toulouse, in Gaul. Rutilius bore two of the greatest employments in the state, namely, the office of *magister officiorum*, and that of prefect of Rome (6). In his poem he declares himself a Pagan, and a sworn enemy to the monks, especially to those who lived in the island of Capraria or Capraia, on the coast of Tuscany. Lucilius wrote some satires, in no respect inferior, if we may depend upon the judgement of Rutilius, to

those of Turnus and Juvenal (7); but none of them have reached our times. Flavius, said by St. Jerom to have written a treatise on physic in verse, is supposed by Voisius to have flourished in the reign of Honorius, and likewise the author of a comedy, styled *Querulus Plauti*, which is inscribed to one Rutilius (8). About this time flourished Macrobius, or, as he is styled at the head of his works, Aurelius Theodosius Ambrosius Macrobius; for all the persons he introduces in his *Saturnalia*, lived under Theodosius I. and his son Honorius. His *Saturnalia* is a collection of antiquities formed by him for the instruction of his son, and supposed to have been uttered in a familiar conversation among friends, during the *Saturnalia*, or the feasts of Saturn. The persons he introduces were the most famous then at Rome for their learning and erudition. Besides the *Saturnalia*, he wrote two books on the dream of Scipio. One of the chief persons introduced by Macrobius in his *Saturnalia*, is Servius, who had lately begun to teach polite literature at Rome, and is painted as a person of great learning, and at the same time universally beloved for his modesty (9). He is introduced speaking mostly of Virgil, whose inimitable *Æneid* he explained daily to the Roman youth.

(2) Claud. *epig.* 9. p. 240.

(4) Oros. *lib.* vii. cap. 35. p. 221. cap. 26. p. 142.

(6) Rut. p. 131, 138.

(8) Vois. *Hist. Lat.* lib. iii. cap. 2. p. 746.

lib. i. cap. 2. p. 166. & *lib.* vi. cap. 7. p. 478.

(3) Idem, *cons.* Hon. 3. p. 39.

(5) Aug. *Civ. Dei*, lib. v.

(7) Idem, p. 137.

(9) Macrobi. *Sat.*

Theodosius causes himself to be proclaimed emperor of the West.

John, the deceased emperor's chief secretary, assumes the purple.

the mean time, gave private orders to a body of troops to advance into the neighbourhood of Salonæ in Dalmatia, that they might be at hand to prevent the disturbances, which, he apprehended, would be raised in the West by the death of Honorius, who had left no children to succeed him. Having taken this step, he published the death of his uncle, and at the same time caused himself to be proclaimed emperor of the West ⁹.

These precautions did not deter John, the deceased emperor's chief secretary, from assuming the purple in Rome, encouraged in his usurpation by Castinus, then commander in chief of all the troops in the West. The tyrant was immediately acknowledged, not only in Rome and Italy, but likewise in Gaul and Dalmatia; a circumstance which encouraged him to dispatch ambassadors to Theodosius, to acquaint him with his promotion: but that prince refusing to acknowledge him, and having even ordered his envoys to be arrested, and thrown into prison, he prepared for war, and

⁹ Olym. p. 196. Socr. lib. vii. cap. 23. p. 363. Idat. Chron.

Maurus Servius Honoratus, the author of the learned comment on that poet, is, without all doubt, the Servius of Macrobius. In the fifth or sixth century flourished a grammarian, named Marianus Mineus Felix Capella, who published several philological pieces, partly in prose, and partly in verse, which are still extant, and divided into seven books. Sotipater Charisius, who published five books of observations on grammar, still extant, flourished, according to Baillet, in the time of Honorius; and before him a grammarian named Diomedes, whose works have likewise reached our times. In the reign of Theodosius I. or his children, was published, as is commonly believed, what we call the map or tables of Peutinger, which are a kind of itinerary made by some officer, similar to a quarter-master, for

the use of those who conducted the Roman troops from one place to another. The author seems to have been altogether ignorant both of geography and mathematics. These tables belonged to Conrad Peutinger in Augsbourg, and are thence called the tables of Peutinger; but they were published by Velfer, who had them engraved by John Moret of Antwerp. A civilian, named Eusebius, described the war of Gainas in a poem, which he styled Gainades; and the same subject was handled by another poet, named Ammonius, who read it to Theodosius II. in 438. Both these poems were greatly esteemed (1); but neither of them has reached our times. Vossius supposes them to have been written in the Greek tongue, and ranks the authors among the Greek poets (2).

(1) Socr. p. 309.

(2) Voss. Poet. Græc. cap. 9. p. 77, 78.

sent the famous Aetius, with large sums, to draw the Huns over to his assistance. That celebrated commander, who governed the Western empire with absolute sway during the reign of Valentinian III. was a native of Dorostorum in Mœsia, the son of Gaudentius, who, though by birth a Scythian, was raised to the highest employments in the empire, and married an Italian lady of great distinction, called by some *Italica*†. By her he had Aetius, who served at first among the emperor's domestics, or the troops of his household, and was given as an hostage to Alaric, after the battle of Pollentia in 403, and afterwards to the Huns, with whose chiefs he, by these means, became acquainted. Upon his return from the country of the Huns, he married the daughter of Carpilio, captain of the guards; and had by her two sons, Gaudentius, who, after the death of Valentinian, was taken by Germeric, and Carpilio, whom Valentinian sent with the character of ambassador to Attila‡. Aetius was a person of a majestic mien, tall stature, and a robust constitution, which enabled him to bear the fatigues and toils attending a military life with great resolution. He is no less commended by the ancients on account of his prudence, address, and penetration in state-affairs, than for his courage, intrepidity, and experience in war. He was free from avarice, had but little ambition, and was such a lover of justice, that no recommendations, however pressing, were capable of making him swerve from equity. Such is the character given him by Frigeridus, a writer who flourished in his time, as quoted by Gregory of Tours‡. Procopius relates, that Aetius and Bonifacius, who defended Marseilles, when attacked by Ataulphus, were the two greatest commanders in the whole empire, and that they deserved to be called the last Romans¶. John, upon his usurping the empire, committed the care of his palace to Aetius; and then sent him to engage the Huns in his cause, with orders to cut off the rear of the troops of Theodosius, if they entered Italy, while he himself charged them in front¶. On the second of January of the present year, Eudocia was declared Augusta‡.

Aetius's character.

He sides with the usurper.

Theodosius having assembled all the forces of the Eastern empire, ordered them to march to the frontiers of Dalmatia, under the conduct of Ardaburius, his son Aspar, and Candidianus. With them he sent Placidia, and her son

† Val. Rer. Franc. lib. iii. p. 220. § Cassiod. lib. i. ep. 4. p. 4.
 Prif. Leg. p. 53. Sidon. p. 169. ¶ Greg. Tur. p. 305.
 p. 50. ¶ Procop. Bell. Vand. lib. i. cap. 3. p. 183. ¶ Olym. p. 96. Prosp. Chron. x Chron. Alex. p. 726.

Yr. of Fl. Valentinian, allowing the former to resume the title and
 2874. ensigns of Augusta, which she had resigned upon entering
 A D. 424. the dominions of Theodosius; and the latter to wear the
 U.C. 1222. habit peculiar to the nobilissimi; which title had some time
 since been given to the sons of emperors, before they were
 created Cæsars. This step was renouncing all pretensions
 to the empire of the West, and tacitly yielding it to Placi-
 dia and Valentinian. Before they left Constantinople,
 Theodosius betrothed his daughter Licinia Eudoxia to
 young Valentinian. After this ceremony, Placidia left
 Constantinople with her son, who, upon his arrival at
 Theſſalonica, received the ensigns peculiar to the Cæsars,
 from the hands of Helio, magister officiorum to Theodosius,
 by whom he had been sent thither for that purpose ^x.

*Theodosius
 grants to
 Placidia
 the title of
 Augusta,
 and to Va-
 lentinian
 that of
 Cæsar.*

*Aspar takes
 Aquileia
 from the
 usurper.*

In the following year, the army of Theodosius having
 crossed Pannonia and Illyricum, suddenly attacked Salonæ,
 which was taken by storm. There it was agreed among
 the generals, that Aspar should lead the cavalry, with Pla-
 cidia and Valentinian, by land to Aquileia, while the foot,
 under the command of his father Ardaburius, was trans-
 ported to that city by sea. This scheme was so well exe-
 cuted by Aspar, that, arriving at Aquileia, before the ene-
 my had the least intimation of his march, he entered the
 place without opposition; but the fleet being dispersed by
 a violent storm, Ardaburius was driven ashore, and taken
 by the usurper's soldiers, who immediately carried him to
 their emperor, then at Ravenna, by whom he was received
 with great joy, and treated with the utmost civility, the
 usurper hoping, by his means, to prevail upon Theodosius,
 who had great confidence in Ardaburius, to acknowledge
 him for his colleague. As he was allowed to converse with
 whom he pleased, he corrupted the chief officers, who had
 already begun to be tired of their new prince; and, pri-
 vately acquainting his son Aspar with the security in which
 the tyrant lived, advised him to advance speedily with his
 best troops to Ravenna. Aspar immediately marched from
 Aquileia with the cavalry; and, being conducted through
 the marshes which surrounded Ravenna on the land-side,
 by a shepherd, whom Socrates pretends to have been an
 angel, he entered the city, finding the gates open and un-
 guarded. With the assistance of the officers seduced by his
 father, he secured the tyrant before he had time to make
 his escape, and sent him in chains to Placidia and Valenti-
 nian, then at Aquileia, who ordered first his right-hand,

*He sur-
 prises Ra-
 venna, and
 takes the
 usurper,
 who is put
 to death.*

^x Olymp. p. 169. Prosp. Chron. Philost. p. 573. Greg. Tur.
 p. 57.

and then his head, to be cut off^z. Thus ended the usurpation of John, after he had borne the title of emperor about a year and six months, according to Philostorgius. Three days after his death, Aetius entered Italy, with an army of sixty thousand Hunns, who being met by Aspar, a bloody battle was fought, without any considerable advantage on either side; but, in the mean time, Aetius, informed of the death of the usurper, resolved to make the best terms he could for himself. Accordingly, Placidia promising not only to receive him into favour, but to distinguish him with the title of count, he submitted, and prevailed upon the Hunns to return into their own country^a. Castinus, who was supposed to have favoured the usurpation of John, was banished^b.

Aetius submits, and is received into favour.

When news of the captivity and death of the usurper were brought to Constantinople, Theodosius declared his cousin, Valentinian, emperor, and Placidia regent of the empire during her son's minority. He intended to have taken a journey into Italy, in order to invest him with the sovereignty, and with that design advanced to Thessalonica; but was seized in that city with a malady, which obliged him to return to Constantinople; whence he dispatched Helio to Rome, where Valentinian then resided, with the purple and imperial diadem, which the young prince received on the twenty-third of October of the year 425^c. In the East, Thrace was desolated by the Hunns, probably the same who came to the assistance of the usurper John. They even threatened Constantinople with a siege; but their leader, named Rougas, or Roilas, being killed with lightning, and great numbers being daily swept away by a plague, which broke out in their army, the rest withdrew, dreading, not the valour of the Romans, says Socrates, but the power of Heaven, which had evidently espoused the cause of Theodosius^d.

Valentinian III. declared emperor of the West, and his mother Placidia regent.

Yr. of Fl.
2875.
A. D. 425.
U. C. 1223.

Thrace ravaged by the Hunns.

During the following year 426, when Theodosius was consul the twelfth time, and Valentinian the second, nothing remarkable happened in either empire. But, under the next consuls, Hierius and Ardaburius, the Goths, who had possessed Pannonia since the year 377, when they first entered that province, were by Theodosius transferred into Thrace; where they continued for the space of fifty-eight years, that is, till they subdued Italy, under the conduct of Theodoric^e. This circumstance induces us to believe,

The Goths removed from Pannonia into Thrace.

^z Socr. p. 363. Philost. p. 538. Olymp. p. 197. ^a Cassiod. Chron. ^b Prosp. Chron. ^c Socr. lib. vii. cap. 24. p. 364. Olymp. p. 197. Idat. Chron. ^d Socr. p. 387. ^e Theoph. p. 81. Marc. Chron.

that Theodosius, in yielding the Western empire to Valentinian, retained Pannonia, which comprised that part of the present Austria and Hungary which lies on the Roman side of the Danube, and had hitherto belonged to the empire of the West. Great disturbances happened this year in Africa, which were attended with the loss of that province. The celebrated count Bonifacius, styled by St. Austin the joy of the church, the bulwark of Africa, and the glory of the empire, had been rewarded by Honorius, for his gallant behaviour at Marfeilles, with the command of the troops in Africa; which province he defended with great bravery against the repeated attempts of John, though acknowledged by all the other commanders and governors of provinces. Placidia, highly pleased with his conduct and loyalty, called him to court upon the death of that tyrant; and, after bestowing upon him the highest encomiums, preferred him to the post of comes domesticorum, and sent him into Africa with unlimited power. This gave no small jealousy to his rivals at court, especially to Felix, commander in chief of the Roman forces, and to Aetius, who, after his departure, persuaded Placidia, that he had preserved Africa for himself, and only waited an opportunity of establishing an independent sovereignty. Aetius added, that the empress might, when she pleased, oblige him to pull off the mask, by recalling him from his government; for he was very sure Bonifacius would disobey her orders.

*Bonifacius
in great
favour
with Pla-
cidia.*

*He is
forced, by
the treachery
of
Aetius and
Felix, to
revolt.*

*Defeats the
troops sent
against
him.*

*Another
army sent
to pursue
him.*

In consequence of this suggestion, the credulous princess immediately ordered Bonifacius to repair to Rome; but Aetius having written to him before, that the empress sought his ruin, and, in order to compass it, would soon recall him, advising him at the same time, with great protestations of friendship, to consult his own safety, he, upon the receipt of Placidia's letter, concluded Aetius to be his real friend, and refused to comply with the orders he had received. Placidia, no longer questioning the truth of Aetius's information, declared Bonifacius a public enemy, and dispatched a strong body of troops against him, under the command of Mavoritius, Galbio, and Sinex, who besieged Bonifacius, in what place we are not informed, till, quarrelling among themselves, Mavoritius and Galbio were killed by the treachery of Sinex, and he in a sally was slain by Bonifacius, who gained a complete victory, without the loss of one man. Placidia, being resolved, notwithstanding the ill success of her three generals, to pursue the war with vigour, committed the whole management of it to Sigisvult, a Goth; who, passing over into Africa with a great number of his countrymen, reduced Carthage and Hippo, Bonifacius,

Bonifacius, finding the empress obstinately bent upon his ruin, and himself not in a condition to contend with the whole strength of the empire, had recourse to the Vandals, who, since the defeat of Castinus, had peaceably enjoyed the province of Bætica or Andalusia, and were at this time governed by Genferic, brother to their late king Gonderic (G).

*He recurs
to Genferic,
king of the
Vandals;*

With this Barbarian Bonifacius, whose piety had been formerly so much extolled by St. Austin ^r, was forced, in his own defence, to enter into a treaty, the chief, and perhaps the only article of which was, that, upon their assisting him, Africa should be divided between Genferic and himself ^s. The treaty being ratified, Genferic, having assembled a great number of vessels, ordered all his Vandals, women and children, as well as men, to embark; and, abandoning Spain in the month of May, 528, while Felix and Taurus were consuls, crossed the Streights of Gibraltar, and landed in Africa ^b. The Romans took possession again of the provinces which the Vandals had abandoned, and retained them till they were expelled by the Suevians, as the Suevians were in their turn by the Goths, who came to settle in that part of Spain. The same year Aetius was sent into Gaul to oppose the Franks; but of this war we shall speak hereafter. Nothing happened in the East worthy notice, except the publishing of a law, by which all brothels were suppressed in Constantinople ¹. Florentius and Dionysius, consuls for the year 429, were succeeded by Theodosius and Valentinian, the former the thirteenth time, and the latter the third time, consul. During the

*who passes
over into
Africa.*

^r Aug. ep. 70. p. 126.

^s Procop. p. 43.

^b Idat. p. 18.

¹ Cod. Theod. lib. xv. tit. 8. leg. 13. p. 38.

(G) Genferic was, according to Jornandes (1) and Procopius (2), of a low stature, and lamed by a fall from his horse: he thought much, and spoke little; was an enemy to pleasure and debauchery; had a wonderful address in gaining the affections of the people, and sowing dissensions among his enemies. He was remarkably brave and courageous; but no less ambitious and passionate; well skilled in

the art of war, and long inured to the hardships and toils attending it. He renounced the Catholic faith, which he first professed, to embrace the doctrine of Arius, which prevailed among his countrymen the Vandals (3). His brother Gonderic left several sons behind him; but he caused them all to be murdered, together with their mother (4).

(1) Jorn. cap. 36. p. 657.

(2) Procop. p. 184.

(3) Idat. p. 17.

(4) Mælel, Hist. Chron.

consulship

Yr. of Fl.
2880.
A. D. 430.
U. C. 1228.

Actius is appointed commander in chief of all the forces of the Western empire.

Placidia acquainted with the true cause of the revolt of Bonifacius.

He endeavours to persuade the Vandals to retire from Africa. Most of Bonifacius's men cut in pieces by Genseric.

consulship of the two princes, Aetius was raised to the chief command of all the troops of the Western empire, in the room of Felix, who was at the same time created a patrician; but soon after killed in Ravenna by the mutinous soldiery, excited against him by Aetius, jealous of his great credit at court. The same year Aetius gained considerable advantages over the Juthongi, whose country bordered on Rhætia; over the inhabitants of Noricum, who had revolted; and over the Goths in Gaul, attempting to raise fresh disturbances in that province^k.

In the course of the following year Aetius entirely reduced the Norici, and the Vindelici, who had joined the former in their revolt. From Noricum he passed into Gaul, to awe the Franks, who were said to be in arms^l. Placidia discovered at length the true cause of the revolt of Bonifacius. Some of that general's friends, greatly surprised at his entering into an alliance with the enemies of the empire, after having defended it against the Barbarians with so much zeal and integrity, obtained leave of the empress to go into Africa, in order to confer with him in person, and hear what he could allege in his own defence. Bonifacius was overjoyed to see them, and produced, upon their charging him with treason and rebellion, the letter which Aetius had written, protesting, that nothing but his own safety and preservation could have induced him to turn his arms against his prince and country. With this letter they returned to Placidia, who was thereby fully convinced of the treachery of Aetius; but thinking it dangerous to provoke him, as he was then at the head of a victorious army in Gaul, she concealed her indignation for the present. In a letter to Bonifacius, she expressed her detestation of the injury that had been done him; assuring him of her favour and protection for the future; and exhorting him to return to his duty, and, consulting, with his usual zeal, the safety of the empire, drive out the Barbarians, whom, for his own safety, he had called in. This office Bonifacius readily undertook, offering them immense sums, provided they quitted Africa, and returned to Spain; but as they had already reduced the whole country, except the three cities of Carthage, Hippo, and Cirtha, Genseric first returned him a contemptuous answer; and then falling upon him, cut most of his men in pieces, and obliged Bonifacius himself to fly to Hippo: which place the Barbarians immediately invested; but were obliged, for want of

^k Sidon. car. vii. p. 338. Jorn. Rer. Goth. cap. 34. p. 660.
^l Idat. p. 19.

provisions, to raise the siege, after it had continued for the space of fourteen months, Genseric attacking the town almost daily with incredible fury, and Bonifacius defending it with equal vigour and intrepidity ^m.

Next year Aetius was raised to the consulship, Placidia still pretending ignorance of his treacherous conduct towards Bonifacius. This last, reinforced with powerful succours sent him both by Placidia and Theodosius, offered battle to the Vandals; who, readily accepting it, gave him a total defeat, took an incredible number of prisoners, and obliged the rest to shelter themselves among the rocks and mountains. Among the prisoners was Marcianus, who afterwards attained the empire. Aspar, who commanded on this occasion the Eastern troops, with difficulty escaped out of Africa, and returned to Constantinople, as did Bonifacius to Italy, being invited thither by Placidia. Upon their departure, the Barbarians over-ran all Africa, committing every where dreadful ravages and horrid cruelties; which struck the inhabitants of Hippo with such terror, that they abandoned their city, which was first pillaged, and then burnt, by the victorious enemy ⁿ. St. Austin, bishop of the place, died the year before, in the fourth month of the siege. Carthage and Cirtha were now the only places in all Africa held by the Romans. Bonifacius, upon his arrival at Ravenna, was received with extraordinary demonstrations of kindness and esteem by Placidia, and raised to the chief command of the army, in the room of Aetius; who, finding his treachery discovered, and dreading the power of Bonifacius, assembled the forces under his command, in order to destroy his rival. Bonifacius, at his approach, marched out at the head of a body of chosen troops to meet him. A battle ensuing, Bonifacius received a wound, of which he died three months after ^o (L). Aetius, dreading the resentment of Placidia, withdrew to the court of Rugula, or Rouas, king of the Hunns; whence he returned soon after, at the head of a numerous army of Barbarians; but the empress promising not only to pardon him, but restore him to his former post, he dismissed the Barba-

Bonifacius and Aspar defeated by Genseric;

who over-runs all Africa.

A civil war between Bonifacius and Aetius, in which the former is killed.

^m Procop. Bell. Vand. lib. i. cap. 3. p. 185.
^o Marc. Chron.

ⁿ Idem ibid.

(L) Thus Marcellinus, who did not, it seems, think it necessary to acquaint us in what place the battle was fought, nor which side gained the day. The

same writer adds, that Bonifacius on his death-bed exhorted his wife Pelagia to marry no man but Aetius, if his wife should die before her husband.

rians,

rians, and returned to court, where he was raised to the rank of a patrician.

Next year, Theodosius being consul the fourteenth time, with Petronius Maximus, a dreadful fire broke out at Constantinople, which lasted three days, and consumed all the public granaries, with many other stately edifices, and great part of the city^p. Honoria, sister to the emperor Valentinian, having suffered herself to be debauched by one of her domestics, named Eugenius, was banished the court, being then sixteen years old, and sent to Constantinople, her mother Placidia having discovered, that, by means of her eunuchs, she maintained a private correspondence with Attila, who had succeeded Rouas king of the Hunns; that she had even sent him a ring, and was daily pressing him to enter Italy at the head of a powerful army, and take her to wife. Theodosius being consul the fifteenth time, and Valentinian the fourth, a peace was at length concluded

Honoria, sister to Valentinian, privately corresponds with Attila.

Yr. of Fr. 2885. A. D. 435. U.C. 1233.

The Romans yield great part of Africa to the Vandals.

Twenty thousand Burgundians cut off by the Hunns.

The Goths besiege Narbonne; but are obliged to drop the enterprize, and retire.

with the Vandals in Africa, to whom the Romans ceded great part of Numidia, all the province Proconsularis, and Bizacene. This treaty was signed at Hippo, on the eleventh of February, by Genferic, and by Trigetius, who had succeeded Bonifacius in Africa. The king of the Vandals delivered to the Romans his son Hunceric by way of hostage^q. The same year Aetius gained a signal victory over the Burgundians, who, having been allowed to settle in that part of Gaul which borders on the Rhine, had revolted from the Romans, and plundered Belgic Gaul. Gondicarius their king was compelled to submit to such conditions as the conqueror thought fit to impose upon him and his people^r. But Gondicarius did not long enjoy the peace which Aetius had granted, being, in the beginning of the following year, attacked by the Hunns, and cut off, with twenty thousand of his men^s. Socrates writes, that, of the unhappy Burgundians, three thousand only were left alive, who, having embraced the Christian religion, and received the sacrament of baptism, went, full of courage and confidence, to attack the enemy, of whom they killed a thousand, and obliged the rest to save themselves by a precipitate flight^t. The Goths, who had been allowed to settle in Aquitain, and had Theodoric for their king, not satisfied with the countries that had been allotted them, made themselves masters of several neighbouring cities belonging to the Romans, and even laid siege to Narbonne; which,

^p Socr. lib. vii. cap. 39. p. 385.

^q Prosp. Chron. Procop.

p. 386.

^r Idat. p. 21.

^s Sid. car. vii. p. 388.

^t Valef. Rer.

franc. lib. iii. p. 136—138.

^u Socr. lib. vii. cap. 30. p. 371, 372.

however,

however, they were forced to raise, count Litorius coming seasonably to the relief of the place with a numerous body of Hunns, who, repulsing the Goths, entered the city, each horseman carrying with him two bushels of corn.

While these things passed in the West, Theodosius completed the ruin of idolatry in the East, by a law enacted in 435, ordering all the temples, oratories, and places consecrated to the worship of idols, to be pulled down, and forbidding his subjects, on pain of death, to practise any of the Pagan ceremonies, either in public or private. By this law the very foundations of the temples were to be entirely demolished, and the sign of the Christian religion, no doubt the cross, to be erected in the place where they had stood". Theodosius passed part of the year 436 at Cyzicum. Next year, 437, when Aetius was consul the second time, with Sigisvultus, or Sigisvult, the Saxon pirates began to infest the coasts of the Armorici. Eudoxia, the daughter of Theodosius by the empress Eudocia, had been betrothed to Valentinian in 424; and this year the nuptials were celebrated with great solemnity at Constantinople, on the twenty-ninth of October, Valentinian being then eighteen years and five months old. The ceremony was to have been performed at Theffalonica; but Valentinian, out of complaisance to the royal bride, proceeded to Constantinople; which city he entered on the twenty-first of October^w. Theodosius, in giving, or, as others maintain, in betrothing his daughter to Valentinian, obliged the young prince to give up West Illyricum, comprehending the Upper and Lower Pannonia, Dalmatia, and the two Noricums^x. The two Pannonias comprised that part of Austria and Hungary that lies on the Roman side of the Danube; and the two Noricums the archbishopric of Saltzburg, with Styria and Carinthia. East Illyricum had belonged to the emperors of Constantinople since the time of Gratian, who yielded it to Theodosius the Great. Valentinian left Constantinople in the latter end of this year; and, having spent the winter at Theffalonica, returned early in the spring to Ravenna. He had by Eudoxia two daughters, Eudocia and Placidia.

In the following year Theodosius, being consul the sixteenth time, with Acilius Glabrio Faustus, published his famous code, or a collection of all the best and most useful laws that had been enacted by the lawful princes

Theodosius's edict against idolatrous worship.

Yr. of Fl.
2287.
A. D. 437.
U. C. 1235.

Eudoxia, the daughter of Theodosius, married to Valentinian III.

who yields to Theodosius West Illyricum.

^u Cod. Theod. tit. leg. 25. p. 296. Theodor. lib. v. cap. 36. p. 749.
^w Socr. lib. vii. cap. 44. p. 388. Chron. Alex. p. 570.

^x Chron. Alex. Journ. de Reg. Suc. p. 92, 93.

*Toulouse
besieged by
Litorius.*

his predecessors (M). In the following consulship of Theodosius, the seventeenth time consul, and of Festus, Litorius the Roman general besieged Toulouse; but his troops were defeated by Theodoric and himself taken prisoner. However, Theodoric concluded a peace with the Romans upon very reasonable terms, as we shall relate hereafter. The same year Merida, then the metropolis of Lusitania, was taken by Richila, who the year before had succeeded his father Hermeric, king of the Suevians, in Galicia ^y. But the loss of Carthage in Africa, surpris'd on the twenty-third of October of the present year by Genseric king of the Vandals, proved a more fatal blow to the Western empire. By the taking of that important place, which had belonged to the Romans five hundred and eighty-five years, the Vandals remained masters of the Proconsularis, of Byzacene, Cretulia, and part of Numidia. However, Valentinian maintained, as long as he lived, the two Mauritanias, Cæsariensis and Sitifensis, with Tripolitana, Tingitana, and that part of Numidia in which Cirtha stood.

*Carthage
taken by
the Van-
dals.*

In the East nothing worthy of notice happened this year, except the journey which the empress Eudocia undertook to Jerusalem, in compliance with a vow she had made to visit the holy places there ^z. She passed through Antioch, where, in the presence of the senate and people, she pronounced a speech in commendation of that city from a throne of gold enriched with precious stones ^a. At her departure, she presented the magistrates with a very considerable sum, for the

^y Idat. p. 22.

^z Socr. lib. vii. cap. 47. p. 390.

^a Evag.

lib. i. cap. 20. p. 277.

(M) Eight able civilians were employed in this work, at the head of whom was Antiochus, who had been consul in 431. Such laws as were not contained in this code, were declared to be of no force. It was immediately received in the West; where it met with greater success than in the East, where it obtained only for the space of about ninety years, that is, to the reign of Justinian, who abrogated this, and published a new code: but in the West it was received by Theodoric, and the Ostro-

goths, who made themselves masters of Italy about the end of the fifth century, and likewise by Alaric king of the Visigoths or Westgoths in Languedoc and Spain. The laws that were afterwards added to the code by Theodosius, and some other princes, were called *Novellæ*. Theodosius, in publishing the code, enacted, that the laws made by one prince should be of no force in the dominions of the other, unless confirmed and signed by him (1).

(1) Prosp. Chron. Doyiat. Hist. Jur. Civ. cap. 1. Cod. Theod. Nov. 1. p. 1.

relief of the indigent citizens. The inhabitants of that metropolis acknowledged the kindness she had shewed them by erecting two statues to her honour, placing the one, which was of brass, in the Museum; and the other, which was plated with gold, in the senate ^b. At Jerusalem she presented Juvenal, bishop of the place, with great sums, to be distributed among the poor, and with a cross of gold, adorned with precious stones, to be set up on Mount Calvary; for which the bishop is said to have presented her in his turn with the right-hand of St. Stephen the protomartyr ^c.

In the following year Genferic made a descent upon Sicily, and meeting with little resistance, ravaged the open country, committing horrid cruelties, and even laid siege to Palermo: but not being able to reduce the place, he returned to Africa with an immense booty ^d. Count Cenforius, who had been authorised by Valentinian to negotiate a peace between the Suevians in Galicia and the natives of that country, was besieged by Rechila in Mersola on the Guadiana, where he resided, and, upon the reduction of the place, taken prisoner ^e. About the same time Aetius, removing the Burgundians from the banks of the Rhine, allotted them settlements in the present duchy of Savoy, and rewarded a body of Alans, who had served the Romans with great fidelity under the conduct of their king Æocarc or Æocric, with lands on the Loire ^f. These Alans are supposed to have settled afterwards with the Britons in Armorica. In the East, Paulinus, the empress Eudocia's chief favourite, who by her interest had been raised to the high post of magister officiorum, was this year executed by the emperor's order at Cæsarea in Cappadocia ^g; which is all we find in the ancient writers concerning this remarkable event (N).

Yr. of Fl.
3289.
A. D. 439.
U. C. 1237.

Sicily ravaged by Genferic.

The Burgundians removed by Aetius to the present duchy of Savoy.

Paulinus put to death by the emperor's order.

In

^b Evagr. lib. i. cap. 20. p. 277. Chron. Alex. p. 731. ^c Cedren. p. 337. Theoph. p. 74. Marc. Chron. ^d Chron. Alex. p. 730. ^e Idat. p. 21, 23. ^f Prosp. Chron. Valef. Rer. Franc. p. 173. Jorn. Rer. Goth. cap. 37. p. 665. ^g Marc. Chron.

(N) The more modern Greeks ascribe his death to the jealousy of Theodosius; and tell us, that the emperor being presented with an apple of an uncommon size, and extraordinary beauty, he immediately sent it, as a rarity, to Eudocia, and she to Paulinus, in whose conversation she greatly delight-

ed, as he was a man of learning, and the empress herself well versed in all the branches of literature. Paulinus, not knowing by whom it had been sent to the empress, thought it a proper present for the emperor, and accordingly carried it to him. This raised some jealousy in Theodosius, who thereupon dismissed

In the following year, Cyrus alone was consul: he excelled in polite learning, especially in poetry; and, having by that means gained the favour and protection of Eudocia, he had been raised by her interest to the first employments in the state. As he entered the circus this year with the consular ornaments, the people, by whom he was greatly beloved,

dismissed Paulinus; and, sending for Eudocia, asked her what was become of the apple. The empress, not willing to own she had given it to Paulinus, answered, she had eat it. Upon this the emperor, producing it, commanded Paulinus to be immediately executed, and from that time shewed himself so indifferent towards the empress, that she solicited soon after to return to Jerusalem, and to continue in that city, which was readily granted her. Such is the account of Constantine Manasses, Zonaras, Nicephorus, Glycas, and Codinus (2). That Eudocia retired about this time to Jerusalem, is very certain; and likewise, that there was a misunderstanding between her and the emperor, who caused Severus, a priest, and a deacon named John, whom Eudocia had carried with her from Constantinople to Jerusalem, to be murdered, for no other reason, but because the empress lived in great intimacy with them, and made them frequently rich presents. This giving either jealousy to the prince, or occasion to scandalous reflections, Theodosius dispatched Saturninus, his comes domesticorum, to Jerusalem, with private orders to dispatch the two

favourite ecclesiastics. Eudocia was so affected with their death, that, she caused, in her turn, Saturninus to be murdered; an assassination which provoked the emperor to such a degree, that he ordered all the great officers of her court to quit her service, and return to Constantinople: which was reducing her to the condition of a private person. Thus she lived at Jerusalem to her death, which happened in 460. She is said to have solemnly declared on her death bed, that she was altogether innocent of the crime of which Theodosius had suspected her and Paulinus (3). As she was possessed of immense wealth, which the emperor left untouched, she built at Jerusalem a great number of churches, monasteries, and hospitals, adorned the city with many stately edifices, and, at a vast expence, repaired the walls which in most places were entirely ruined. She was buried in a magnificent tomb in the church of St. Stephen, which she had endowed in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem (4). Her piety is greatly extolled by most writers, especially by Cassiodorus, who styles her of all women the most pious, the most religious (5).

(2) Manass. p. 55. Zonar. tom. iii. p. 37. Niceph. lib. xiv. cap. 23. p. 485. Glyc. p. 261. Codin. Orig. Constantinop. p. 56.
 (3) Evagr. lib. i. cap. 21. p. 277, 278. Cedren. p. 343. Theophan. p. 28.
 (4) Evagr. lib. i. cap. 22. p. 280. Ced. p. 337. Chron. Alex. p. 732. Nicoph. lib. xiv. cap. 50. p. 558, 559.
 (5) Cassiod. Pl. xl. p. 174.

received him with such acclamations, that the emperor, who was present, caused him through jealousy, a few days after, to be stripped of all his employments, and his estate to be confiscated, pretending, that he was inclined to Paganism, and that he aspired to the empire. Cyrus fled for refuge to a church, and caused himself to be ordained priest. The emperor, respecting his new character, granted him his life, and soon after suffered him to be raised to the see of Cotyca in Phrygia ^b. As Genseric king of the Vandals was now become very formidable, Theodosius resolved to assist Valentinian, his cousin-in-law, against so powerful an enemy. Accordingly he fitted out a fleet, consisting of eleven hundred large ships; and, putting on board of it the flower of his army, under the conduct of Arcovindas, Ansilus, and Germanus, ordered them to land in Africa, and, joining the Western forces, to drive Genseric out of the countries he had usurped. They steered their course to Sicily, in order to pass more easily from thence into Africa: but in the mean time, Genseric having sent a solemn embassy to Theodosius, and pretending to be desirous of concluding a peace with the two empires, the Roman generals waited on the coast of Sicily the result of the negotiations, which Genseric craftily spun out till the season proper for action was elapsed ⁱ.

The consul Cyrus stripped of his consular ornaments by the emperor.

Theodosius sends a powerful fleet and army against Genseric;

While his ambassadors were still at Constantinople, the Persians, in violation of the treaty made between the two empires in 422, entered the Roman territories in an hostile manner; an invasion which obliged Theodosius to recall his forces, and Valentinian to conclude a peace with Genseric, which he could not obtain but by surrendering all the countries in Africa which he had seized. Anatolius and Aspar were dispatched against the Persians, who, finding the Romans, whom they expected to surprise, upon their guard, agreed to an accommodation; so that a peace was concluded, one of the chief conditions of which was, that neither the Persians nor the Romans should for the future raise any new fortifications on the frontiers ^k. Arfaces, king of Armenia, dying at this period, divided his kingdom between his two sons Tigranes and Arfaces; but by his last will bequeathed the far greater part to Tigranes. Arfaces, dissatisfied with this partition, had recourse to Theodosius, who threatening to make war upon Tigranes, terrified the young prince to such a degree, that, flying to the protection of

but he is obliged to recall them, and Valentinian, to conclude a peace with Genseric.

^b Zon. p. 35. Theoph. p. 83. Chron. Alex. p. 736. ⁱ Theoph. p. 87. Chron. Alex. p. 750. ^k Agath. p. 237. Procop. Bell. Pers. p. 8.

*The end of
the ancient
kingdom of
Armenia.*

the Persian king, he gave him his share, preferring the ease and quiet of a retired life to all the charms of a crown. Arfaces, on the other hand, dreading the power of the Persians, put Theodosius in possession of his part, upon certain conditions, one of which was, that his family should enjoy for ever an entire liberty, and an exemption from all tribute and taxes. Thus ended the kingdom of Armenia, after it had continued for many ages, and given occasion to much bloodshed, and endless wars, waged by the Romans first with the Parthians, and afterwards with the Persians. The share of Tigranes belonging to the Persians was called Persarmenia and Armenia Persica ¹. The part of Arfaces held by the Romans was henceforth governed by a particular officer, with the title of comes Armeniæ, or count of Armenia.

*The Hunns
invade
Thrace.*

The Hunns, taking advantage of the wars in which the Romans were engaged with the Vandals and Persians, passed the Danube, and invaded Thrace with a formidable army. They had entered that province in 425, under the conduct of Rougas their king, as we have related above; but he being killed with lightning, and at the same time a plague raging with great violence in his army, the Barbarians repassed the Danube, not daring, says Socrates ^m, to engage in a war with the Romans, whose cause Heaven had evidently espoused. Rougas was succeeded by Roas or Rouas in 434, who concluded a peace with the Romans, on condition, that they should pay him a yearly pension of three hundred and fifty pounds weight of gold. A few years after, the Hunns resolving to drive out the Boischi, and other barbarous nations dwelling on the banks of the Danube, under the protection of the Romans, Rouas dispatched Eilas to the court of Constantinople, threatening to make war upon Theodosius, if he afforded them the least assistance. The two generals Plintha and Dionysius were appointed by the emperor to treat with the king of the Hunns, and divert him, if possible, from the resolution he had taken: but in the mean time Rouas dying, and his nephew, the famous Attila, succeeding him, the ambassadors were ordered to treat with him, and his brother Bleda, his partner in the sovereignty: but instead of Dionysius, who could not agree with Plintha, was sent the quæstor Epigenes, a man of great experience in negotiations.

*Rouas king
of the
Hunns dies,
and is suc-
ceeded by
Attila.*

The ambassadors had an interview with the two princes in the neighbourhood of Margum, a city on the Danube in Upper Mœsia, at a place where the Margus or Margis falls into that river. The Romans were obliged to confer with

¹ Theodoret. p. 964.

^m Socr. p. 387.

them on horseback, the Hunns refusing to dismount. The peace was confirmed, but upon such conditions as plainly betrayed the weakness and deplorable condition of the empire. These were, 1. That the Romans should deliver to Attila and Bleda such Hunns as had taken, or should for the future take, refuge in the Roman dominions. 2. That the Roman prisoners, who should make their escape from the Hunns without paying their ransom, should in like manner be delivered up, or eight pieces of gold be paid for each. 3. That, instead of three hundred and fifty pounds weight of gold, the Romans should for the future pay annually seven hundred. 4. That the Romans should not assist any nation whatsoever, when attacked by, or at war with, the Hunns. In compliance with this shameful treaty, the Romans immediately gave up to Attila some princes of the royal blood of the Hunns, who were by his orders crucified like the meanest of slaves, in the sight of the Romans, because they had abandoned their own country to serve in their armies. Attila, being in virtue of this treaty, at full liberty to make conquests, reduced all the northern countries, his authority being acknowledged even by the barbarous nations lying north of the Euxine Seaⁿ. Having extended his dominions, he resolved to take advantage of the wars in which Theodosius was engaged with the Persians and Vandals. Accordingly, without any regard to the above mentioned treaty, he passed the Danube at the head of a very numerous and formidable army; and, entering Thrace, made himself master of several cities and fortresses, and, among the rest, of Viminacium, a place of great importance on the Danube, and of Margum, which was betrayed by the bishop of the place. Elated with this success, he dispatched a messenger to Theodosius, requiring, or rather commanding, him to deliver up immediately all the Hunns who had taken refuge in the Roman dominions, to pay part of the tribute that had been owing for some time, and to settle what should be paid for the future.

Theodosius could not prevail upon himself to abandon those who, after the declaration of war, had forsaken Attila, and joined him. Attila therefore began to ravage the country, putting all to the sword, without distinction of sex, age, or condition. He took by storm Retiarium on the Danube in Upper Mœsia, Singidunum, Naissus, and Sirmium, formerly the capital of Illyricum, with several other cities; insomuch that Theodosius, not thinking himself safe at Constantinople, retired into Asia^o. As to the

The Romans conclude a peace with the Hunns upon most shameful conditions.

Attila, notwithstanding the treaty of peace, passes the Danube;

Yr. of Fl.
2291.
A. D. 441.
U C. 1239.

and makes himself master of several cities.

ⁿ Prisc. Hist. Goth. de Legat. p. 45—48,
730. Prosp. Marcel. Chron.

^o Chron. Alex. p.

issue of this war we are left quite in the dark. All we know is, that this year a peace was concluded between Attila and Theodosius, who returned to Constantinople on the twenty-seventh of August ^p.

In the following year Theodosius, leaving Constantinople, visited the province of Pontus, where he caused the public edifices, and walls of Heraclea, to be repaired. As he was one day, during his progress, marching on foot, greatly tormented with heat, dust, and thirst, an officer of his guards presented him with a beautiful cup full of fresh and excellent liquor; but the emperor, returning the officer thanks in a most obliging manner, declared, that he would not by any means refresh himself, when it was not in his power to refresh all his followers ^q.

Arcadia dies.

The eunuch Antiochus disgraced.

In 444, when Theodosius was consul the eighteenth time, with Albinus^r, the eunuch Antiochus, the emperor's great chamberlain, being convicted of extortion, and abusing his authority to the oppression of the people, was, by Theodosius, degraded from the rank of a patrician, and confined to the monastery of St. Euphemia at Chalcedon, stripped of the great wealth he had amassed, and deprived of all the honours which he had enjoyed^s. Theophanes writes, that Theodosius made him pope, meaning, perhaps, that he obliged him to take holy orders. Upon his disgrace the emperor enacted a law excluding all eunuchs from the dignity of patrician^t.

The Romans defeated by the Suevians in Spain.

The Britons recur in vain to Aetius.

Next year, when Valentinian was consul the sixth time with Nomus, nothing remarkable happened in the East; but in the West, Vitus being sent with a considerable army into Spain, to support the natives against the Suevians, most of his troops were cut off by Rechila, and he obliged to save himself by flight, and abandon the inhabitants to the mercy of those Barbarians. In the course of the following year, Aetius being consul the third time with Q. Aurelius Symmachus, the Britons, unable to withstand the Scots and Picts, had recourse to Aetius, who governed the Western empire almost with absolute dominion. To move him to compassion they wrote him a letter with the following direction, "The groans of Britain to the consul Aetius;" but could not, with all their groans and tears, prevail upon him to afford them the least assistance^u. In the East a dreadful plague raged this and the following year, when Ardaburius and Alypius were consuls; and violent earthquakes were

^p Marc. Prosp. Chron. Cod. Theod. tit. x. leg. 9. p. 898.

^q Paſc. p. 395.

^r Marc. Chron.

^s Zonar. tom. iii. p. 34.

^t Theoph. p. 83.

^u Cod. p. 48.

^v Gild. Excid. Britan. cap. 6.

p. 118.

felt in most provinces, which damaged several cities, and destroyed great part of the new walls of Constantinople, with fifty-seven towers and many stately edifices, not only in that city, but likewise at Antioch and Alexandria *. At this juncture Attila, upon what provocation we know not (for both emperors readily complied with all his demands, however unjust and arrogant), made an irruption into Thrace with a formidable army, consisting of Huns, Goths, Gepidæ, Alans, and many other barbarous nations, commanded by their respective kings. Attila, whom they all obeyed, at the head of this numerous host, over-ran, without opposition, Illyricum, Thrace, both Dacias, Mœsia, and Scythia. He took and plundered above seventy cities, and, among the rest, Philippopolis in Thrace, properly so called, Arcadiopolis in the province of Europe, and Marcianopolis, the capital of Lower Mœsia. They extended their ravages on one side to the Euxine sea, and on the other to the Straights of Thermopylæ, which part Thessaly from Achaia or Greece. In the mean time Arnegiselus, governor of Mœsia and Thrace, collected all the troops quartered in those two provinces, marched against Attila, and engaging him in Lower Mœsia, on the banks of the river Utis, which falls into the Danube near a city of the same name, killed great numbers of his men; but falling from his horse, he was himself slain, after having sold his life dear, and his army was put to the route †. Another battle was fought in the Chersonesus near Gallipoli, probably by the generals Aspar and Arcobindus, who were both sent against Attila. But no better success attended the Romans in this than in the other engagement; so that Theodosius was obliged to depute Anatolius, with one Vigilus, who understood the language of the Huns, to Attila, to sue for peace, which he was strictly enjoined to conclude upon any terms.

Attila breaks into the empire at the head of a formidable army.

He over-runs several provinces;

and defeats the Roman generals.

A peace was accordingly agreed to, and ratified by the emperor, on the following terms, highly opprobrious to the Roman name. 1. That the Romans should pay immediately to Attila six thousand pounds weight of gold, and every year two hundred. 2. That they should send back to him all his deserters, and receive none for the future. 3. That they should deliver up the Roman captives who had escaped without paying their ransom, or pay for each of them twelve pounds weight of gold. 4. That the Romans should send no ambassadors to Attila, till they had surrendered all his deserters and fugitives †. Pursuant to

Yr. of Fl. 2298. A. D. 448. U. C. 1246.

The Romans conclude a peace with him upon shameful terms.

* Chron. Alex. p. 374. Evagr. lib. i. cap. 17. p. 275. Niceph. lib. xv. cap. 48. p. 543. † Jorn. Rer. Goth. cap. 44. ‡ Theoph. p. 88.

*Attila
seeks a
pretence to
quarrel
with Va-
lentinian.*

this ignominious treaty six thousand pounds weight of gold were sent immediately to Attila, with all the Huns who had taken refuge in the Roman dominions, among whom were several princes, who chose rather to be killed by the Romans than fall into the hands of Attila². This year a misunderstanding arose between Attila and Valentinian, on account of some sacred vessels which Attila falsely pretended to have been stolen from him by Silvanus, a banker in Rome. Silvanus, who was the lawful owner of these vessels, had sold them to the church. But as they were pieces of exquisite workmanship, Attila, coveting them, or rather seeking a pretence to quarrel with Valentinian, claimed them as stolen from him by Silvanus, and with great arrogance pressed the emperor either to restore the vessels, or deliver up Silvanus. In consequence of this demand, count Romulus was sent with Promotus, governor of Noricum, and Romulus, an officer of distinction, to the court of Attila; to convince him, if possible, that the vessels in dispute had never belonged to him, or, if he continued to claim them, to pay him their value in gold. Attila received the ambassadors in a very condescending manner, entertaining them at his own table with the ambassadors of Theodosius, who arrived at his court much about the same time. But the only answer that he returned to their reasoning and arguments was, that the vessels belonged to him; and that he was determined to do himself justice, and declare war, if Valentinian did not either restore them, or give up Silvanus, who had stolen them. Notwithstanding these menaces, he did not make war upon Valentinian till three years after, though that prince could not by any means be prevailed upon to comply with either of his demands.

*Theodosius
attempts to
get Attila
murdered;*

*who spares
the conspir-
ators, and
makes
peace with
the em-
peror.*

In the following year, Edecon being sent by Attila with the character of ambassador to Theodosius, the eunuch Chrysfaphus, the emperor's great chamberlain, perceiving he was greatly taken with the splendor of the court, and desirous to continue among the Romans, promised him great wealth and preferments, provided he would dispatch Attila; an office which he undertaking, Theodosius consented to the wicked attempt, and charged Vigilius, interpreter to the Roman ambassadors at the court of Attila, to assist him in the enterprize. But Edecon, either apprehensive of the dangers attending such a desperate attempt, or having dissembled all the time with the emperor and his minister, upon his return discovered the plot to Attila, who

² Idat. p. 26.

caused Vigilius to be seized, and dispatched his secretary Orestes to reproach Theodosius with his treachery, and demand Chrysaphus, the chief author and contriver of the conspiracy. But Nomus, who was sent ambassador to the king of the Huns on this occasion, with several other persons of great distinction, gained his esteem and affection to such a degree, that he promised to live in peace and amity with Theodosius, pardoned Chrysaphus, set Vigilius at liberty, and dismissed the ambassadors loaded with rich presents^a.

The next year Theodosius was so bruised with a fall from his horse in hunting, that, being with difficulty carried in a sedan to Constantinople, he died on the twentieth of June, according to Theophanes^b, or the twenty-eighth of July, as we read in Theodorus^c, who is followed by most chronologers. According to this opinion, he died in the fiftieth year of his age, after having reigned forty-two years and near three months after the death of his father, and forty-eight since he had received the title of Augustus. He was buried on the thirtieth of July, in the same tomb with his father Arcadius. He is generally commended as a prince of exemplary piety; but all own him to have had but slender parts, and to have been entirely guided by those about him, especially by the eunuchs of the court, who, abusing his authority, oppressed the people to such a degree, that many in his reign chose rather to abandon their native country, and live among the Huns, and other Barbarians, than bear the tyrannical government of his ministers. He was a great friend to the church; but yet, misled by ill-meaning men, countenanced the declared enemies of the orthodox faith, as the reader will find in the account which the ecclesiastic writers transmit of the two councils held by his orders at Ephesus, and of the progress which the heresy of Eutyches made in his reign. Of the writers who flourished under Theodosius, we shall speak in the note (M).

Yr. of Fl.
2300.
A. D. 450.
U C. 1148.

*Theodosius
dies.*

*His cha-
racter.*

C H A P.

^a Prisc. p. 57—68.

^b Theoph. p. 563.

^c Theod. p. 38.

(M) We are chiefly indebted to the ecclesiastic writers Socrates, Sozomen, and Philostorgius, for the history of the reign of Theodosius the younger. Socrates was born in Constantinople about the year 380, and spent most part of his life in that city (1). He begins where Eusebius ended his history, but repeats the transactions of the first year of Constantine's reign, that is, of the year 306, and carries his work

(1) Socr. lib. v. cap. 24. p. 293.

C H A P. LXV.

The History of the Eastern and Western Empire, from the Death of Theodosius II. to the total Failure of the Western Empire in Augustulus.

IF the laws at this time in force, concerning private estates and inheritances, had obtained with respect to kingdoms and empires, the right of Eudoxia to the imperial crown would have been indisputable, that princess being

down to the seventeenth consulship of Theodosius II. that is, to the year 439: so that it comprises the space of a hundred and thirty-four years. Sozomen, or Salaminus Hermias Sozomenes, as he is styled by Photius, was not, as some have conjectured from the first of these names, a native of Salamis in the island of Cyprus, but of a village in the territory of Gaza, named Bethelia, as appears from the account he gives of the conversion of his grandfather to the Christian religion (2). He undertook his great history, which was to comprise whatever had happened worthy of notice from the third consulship of Crispus and Constantine Cæsars, that is, from the year 324 to the seventeenth consulship of Theodosius the Younger in 439 (3). Whence it is manifest, that the work which has reached our times is imperfect, since it ends in the year 415. About the beginning of the sixth century, Cassiodorus caused the histories of Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, to be translated into

the Latin tongue by Epiphanes, that Greece alone, says Cassiodorus, might not possess so valuable and necessary a work. Philostorgius, born about the year 368, in the province of Cappadocia Secunda, compiled an ecclesiastic history, or rather, under that name, an apology for the Arians, especially the Eunomians, whose tenets he himself held. He began his work, which was divided into twelve books, with the death of Constantius Chlorus, the father of Constantine the Great, and carried it down to the accession of Valentinian III. to the empire, in the year 425. This work has been long since lost; but an abstract of it, which may be termed a large history, has been conveyed to us by Photius (4), who commends the style, but thinks the author often too diffuse and tedious. Philostorgius, besides his history, composed a long panegyric on Eunomius, and an apology for the Christian religion against Porphyrius; but neither of these works has reached our times. About the same

(2) Soz. lib. v. cap. 15. p. 617.
& P. 391. 397. 403.

(3) Ibid. lib. i. cap. 1. p. 401.

(4) Phot. cap. 40. p. 25.

ing the only child of the deceased emperor; but not the least regard was had either to her, or to the emperor Valentinian her husband: and indeed neither of them seems to have laid claim to the Eastern empire, though Theodosius left no issue male behind him. As Pulcheria had shared the sovereignty with her brother, and bore the title of Augusta, she remained by his death sole mistress of the empire; and no person was more capable of governing. However, as no woman had yet reigned alone in either empire, she determined to marry, notwithstanding the re-

time lived Philip of Sida in Pamphylia, who wrote a very diffuse history from the creation to his time, consisting of eight hundred and sixty-four books, which he entitled the Christian History. Of this voluminous work, which has been long since lost, Photius speaks with great contempt (5). The same author wrote another extensive work, wherein he confuted, or attempted to confute, the writings of the emperor Julian (6); but the performance has undergone the same fate as the other. The author was a deacon of the church of Constantinople, and thought himself greatly injured, because he was not preferred to that see (7). Priscus, who attended Maximus, when sent ambassador to Attila in 449, wrote the history of the war between that prince and Theodosius; the history of Marcian's reign; an account of the journey of Anthemius to Rome, of the war carried on in the reign of Leo against Genseric, and of the unhappy end of Aspar, and his children, murdered by the emperor Leo in 471 (8). His history is said

to be still extant, and lodged in some libraries (9). Hitherto only some fragments of it, relating to embassies, have been published, which are to be found among the works of the other Byzantine historians. Some passages of his history are quoted by Jornandes (1). He wrote with great exactness and elegance. The history of Theodosius the Younger was likewise written by one John, who is often quoted by Evagrius, and by him styled orator, or professor of eloquence. His history ended with the seventh year of Justin I. of the Christian æra 525, therefore we must distinguish him from another historian of the same name, whose history began with the death of Justinian, and was carried down to the reign of Mauritius. Another historian, named likewise John, a follower of Euryches, wrote in five books the ecclesiastic history, from the time of Nestorius to the defeat of Basiliscus; that is, from the year 428, to 477. To his ecclesiastic history he added five books (2), the contents of which are at this time unknown.

(5) Phot. cap. 40. p. 21.

(6) Socrat. lib. vii. cap. 27. p. 368.

(7) Idem. ibid.

(8) Evagr. lib. i. cap. 17. p. 273. & lib. ii.

cap. i. p. 283.

(9) Voss. Hist. Græc. lib. iv. cap. 18. p. 488.

(1) Jorn. Rer. Goth. cap. 24. 34. 35. 41. 49.

(2) Phot. cap. 41.

p. 38.

*Pulcheria
resolves to
marry
Marcian,*

*who is de-
clared em-
peror.*

resolution she had taken, or the vow she had made, to continue a virgin to her death. Pursuant to this resolution, as soon as the death of Theodosius was publicly known, she sent for Marcian, a person remarkable for his exemplary piety, and extraordinary qualifications; and told him, that she designed to raise him to the sovereignty, by marrying him, on condition that he would suffer her, agreeably to the resolution she had taken, to live and die a virgin. Marcian readily complying with this condition, she sent for the patriarch Anatolius and the senate, and in their presence declared Marcianus emperor. Her choice being approved by them, and applauded by all the officers at court, both civil and military, the new emperor was crowned at the palace of Hebdomon, on the twenty-fourth or twenty-fifth of August, 450^d. His election was immediately communicated to Valentinian; and he approving it, his images were, according to custom, sent into the West, and received at Rome on the thirtieth of March of the following year. The marriage was celebrated with the utmost pomp and magnificence, Pulcheria being then in the fifty-first, and Marcian in the fiftieth year of his age.

*His birth,
education,
employ-
ments, and
character.*

He was a native of Thrace or Illyricum, descended from a family of no great distinction, but remarkable for their attachment to the orthodox faith^e. As his father served in the army, he resolved to follow the same profession; and went to Philippopolis in Thrace, in order to lift himself in that service. On his journey he found the body of a man lately killed lying on the public road; and induced by his good-nature, could not proceed, till he had decently interred it. This circumstance some persons, accidentally coming by, observed, and immediately acquainted the magistrates of Philippopolis with what they had seen; who thereupon caused Marcian to be seized and examined, and would have condemned him, had not the true author of the murder been timely discovered and convicted^f. Marcian, thus restored to liberty, lifted himself among the troops quartered at Philippopolis, and served as a private man in 421, when, upon the breaking out of the war between the Romans and Persians, the corps in which he served was ordered into Syria; but Marcian, falling sick as they marched through Asia, continued a long time indisposed at a place called Sydema, and thence repaired to Constantinople, where he lifted himself among the troops that were

^d Theod. p. 551. Evagr. lib. ii. cap. 1. p. 275. Theoph. p. 89. Chron. Alex. p. 738. ^e Nicephor, lib. xv. cap. 1. p. 595. ^f Evagr. p. 283.

commanded by Ardaburius, and his son Aspar, who, discovering him to be a man of uncommon parts, raised him to the post of their secretary. In that character he attended Aspar in 431, into Africa, where he was taken prisoner by Genseric, with many persons of distinction, Aspar himself having narrowly escaped falling into the enemy's hands. All the captives of distinction were, by Genseric's orders, brought into the palace, where while they were waiting in an open court till the king was at leisure to view them, Marcian, lying on the ground, fell asleep; and an eagle at the same time appearing over him, says Evagrius, and intercepting with his extended wings the scorching rays of the sun, afforded him a friendly shade. This phenomenon Genseric observed from his apartment, and concluding from thence that he was destined by Heaven to the empire, he granted him his liberty, after having obliged him to swear, that he would never make war upon the Vandals. From Africa he returned to Constantinople, where he was, according to Theophanes ^g, honoured with the senatorial dignity. Theodorus styles him only tribune, but adds, that he distinguished himself in war ^h. He had by his first wife, who died before his accession to the empire, one daughter, named Euphemia, whom, when he was raised to the sovereignty, he married to Anthemius, afterwards emperor of the West. All writers agree, that Marcian was a prince of exemplary piety, a zealous patron of the orthodox faith, a father to his people, a sincere friend to virtue, an enemy to vice and irreligion; in short, a person endowed with every great and good quality becoming a prince. Some writers prefer him even to Constantine and Theodosius the Great. He preferred none but persons of known abilities, and unblemished characters; for the reader will find, in the writers of those times, great encomiums bestowed, not only upon him but upon all those who were employed by him in the administration. Pulcheria, mother to the emperor Valentinian, died this year in the West; and was interred at Ravenna, where her tomb is still to be seen ⁱ. She is censured by some writers for yielding, or inducing her son to yield, West Illyricum to Theodosius. She had governed the Western empire with absolute power for twenty-six years, Valentinian suffering her to rule, to the hour of her death, with the same authority which she had enjoyed in his minority.

Pulcheria, mother to the emperor Valentinian, dies.

^g Theoph. p. 81. ^h Theod. lib. i. p. 551.
Chron. Idat. Mabill. It. Ital. p. 39, 40.

ⁱ Prosp.

Attila assembles a formidable army.

He resolves to make war upon Valentinian,

whom he endeavours to deceive.

In the following year 451, Attila assembled one of the most numerous and formidable armies we find mentioned in history. It consisted of Hunns, Gepidæ, Ostrogoths, Rugians, Gelonians, Burgundians, Belonations, Squiri, Neurians, Bastarnæ, Turingians, Bructerians, Franks dwelling on the Neckar, Marcomans, Suevians, Quadians, Heruli, Turcilingians, and, in short, of all the Northern Barbarians, to the number of five, or, as others assert, of seven hundred thousand men^k. In raising so formidable an army, he had nothing less in view than to conquer both empires: but Marcian returning no other answer to his ambassadors, sent to demand the annual pension or tribute paid by Theodosius, than that he had gold for his friends, and steel for his enemies, he turned his arms first against Valentinian, whom he held in the utmost contempt, being convinced that it would be no difficult undertaking to reduce, in spite of all opposition, the Eastern, after he had made himself master of the Western empire. Being therefore determined to make war upon Valentinian, he sent a solemn embassy to that prince, demanding his sister Honoria, whom he pretended to be his wife, and with her half the Western empire. We have observed before, that Honoria had maintained, by means of her eunuchs, a private correspondence with Attila, and even sent him a ring, which the ambassador produced to prove their marriage. Valentinian answered, that among the Romans, women had no right to the imperial crown, nor to any part of the empire; and at the same time dispatched Carpilio, the son of Aetius, and several other persons of great distinction, to the court of Attila, to convince him of the injustice of his claim.

Attila, to the great surprize, both of Valentinian and the deputies themselves, seemed to be fully satisfied with their reasoning, and arguments they alleged; but it was only the better to deceive the unwary prince, and put in execution a new scheme. Hemeric, the son of Genferic, king of the Vandals, having married the daughter of Theodoric, king of the Goths in Languedoc, caused her nose to be cut off soon after, and sent her back, thus disfigured, to her father, upon a bare suspicion, that she designed to poison him. As he knew that Theodoric would not fail to resent such an outrage, he resolved to anticipate him; and therefore sent rich presents to Attila, to engage him to attack Theodoric. Attila, who wanted only some pretence to enter Gaul, readily closed with the pro-

^k Prisc. p. 40. Jorn. cap. 78. p. 666. Sid. Car. vii. p. 54.

posal, pretending at the same time, that he might meet with no opposition from the Romans, to be fully satisfied with the reasons alleged by their ambassadors, and to relinquish all claim to any part of the empire; and he sent Valentinian a very obliging letter, assuring him, that his warlike preparations were designed against Theodoric alone; that as to the Romans, he should ever look upon them as his friends, provided they did not espouse the cause of his enemy. At the same time he assured Theodoric of his friendship, and exhorted that prince to join him against the Romans, as their common enemy.

The better to surprise Valentinian, he did not wait the return of the ambassadors; but departing immediately from Scythia, though in the midst of winter, and directing his march through Germany, never halted till he reached, early in the spring, the banks of the Rhine. There the Franks, who still dwelt on the German side of that river, endeavoured to stop him; but they were easily defeated, Childeric, the son of Merouée, and grandson of Clodion, being taken prisoner, with his mother, and other persons of distinction¹. The Franks being defeated, and dispersed, Attila caused an incredible number of boats to be built, cutting down for that purpose whole forests; and passing the Rhine without opposition, entered Gaul. As he insinuated, that he designed to live in friendship with the Romans, and only desired to march through their country, in order to make war upon the Visigoths in Languedoc, several cities opened their gates to him; but the rapine and violence which he suffered his men to commit in the cities that had received him, betraying his real design, the other cities shut their gates against him. Then pulling off the mask, he besieged, took by storm, and pillaged, Tongres, Treves, Strasburg, Spire, Worms, Mentz, and all the towns in that neighbourhood. Advancing into the country, and dividing his numerous army into several bodies, he ravaged the country with fire and sword; and not only reduced and pillaged, but laid in ashes the cities of Arras, Laon, Besançon, Toul, and Langres^m. But notwithstanding the success that attended him on his first entering Gaul, he was at length obliged by the Romans and Goths to quit that country.

He defeats the Franks, and enters Gaul.

Takes and destroys several cities.

Being driven out of Gaul, he retired to Pannonia; and, having reinforced his army with supplies from Scythia, he

¹ Val. Rer. Franc. lib. iv. p. 158. Du Chesne tom. i. p. 726. Sid. Car. vii. p. 541.

^m Greg. Tur. Hist. Franc. lib. ii. cap. 57. p. 275. Idat. p. 28.

*Attila quits
Gaul, and
invades
Italy.*

*Aquileia
taken and
destroyed,
with several
other
cities.*

*The found-
ing of Ve-
nice.*

resolved to make an irruption into Italy, where he hoped to meet with more booty, and less opposition. Finding the passes of the Alps unguarded, as no hostilities were expected on that side, he entered Italy towards the end of the year 451, as Idatius and Jornandes seem to insinuate^a, or in the beginning of the following year 452, when Herculanus and Sporacius were consuls. It is impossible to express the terror and consternation which so sudden and unexpected an irruption occasioned, even in the most distant provinces. Aetius thought of saving himself by flight, and retiring with the emperor into Gaul; but shame getting the better of his fear, he continued in Italy, and began to assemble the forces dispersed in the provinces. In the mean time Attila, advancing as far as Aquileia, the metropolis of the province called Venetia, invested that important place, battering it night and day with an incredible number of warlike engines. As it was well fortified, and defended by the flower of the Roman troops, it held out, in spite of his utmost efforts, for the space of three whole months, at the end of which it was taken by assault, pillaged for several days together, and laid in ashes, not one house being left standing, nor one person alive that fell into the enemy's hands, Attila, intending, by this barbarous and inhuman treatment, to strike terror into the other cities, and frighten them into submission. The cities of Trevigio, Verona, Mantua, Cremona, Brescia, and Bergamo, underwent the same fate, the Barbarians raging in every place with such fury as can hardly be expressed or conceived, and putting all to the sword, without distinction of sex, age, or condition. It is commonly believed, that on this occasion the inhabitants of the province of Venetia, to avoid falling into the hands of the Huns, retired to the islands on their coast, and laid the foundations of a city, which, borrowing its name from the province, was called Venetiæ, and is now known by the name of Venice^o (A).

^a Jornand. Rer. Goth. cap. 42. p. 672. Theoph. p. 92. ^o Por. de Imp. cap. 28. p. 69. 72. Val. Rer. Franc. lib. iv. p. 169.

(A) Cassiodorus, speaking of the Venetians, as he styles them, about fifty years after, says, that they inhabited the islands of the Adriatic; that they had no other fence against the waves but hurdles; no other food but fish; no wealth besides their boats; and no merchandize but salt, which they exchanged for provisions (1).

(1) Cassiod. lib. xii. ep. 24. p. 199.

From the province of Venetia he advanced to Milan; then the metropolis of Liguria, which he took and pillaged: the city of Pavia, and several other places in that neighbourhood, he laid in ashes, after having plundered them, and put the inhabitants to the sword. Perceiving at Milan some pictures, representing the Roman emperors sitting on thrones of gold, and the Scythians, that is, the Goths or Hunns, prostrate at their feet, he caused himself to be painted sitting on a throne, and the Roman emperors carrying on their shoulders sacks filled with gold, which they emptied at his feet ^p. From Liguria, Attila intended to go to Rome, which city was not in a condition to withstand him; but his men, remembering the untimely end of Alaric, who died soon after he had plundered that metropolis, endeavoured to divert him, notwithstanding their thirst after plunder, from that resolution. Attila despised that omen; but his troops being greatly diminished by want of provisions, and the maladies that raged among them, and Aetius having at the same time, with a reinforcement sent him by Marcian from the East, defeated a party of Hunns, he desisted his march to Rome, and pursued his ravages in the neighbouring provinces.

Milan taken and pillaged.

In the mean time Valentinian, having no other resource, sent envoys to Attila, with proposals for an accommodation. At the head of this embassy was Leo bishop of Rome, a person famed for his eminent piety, eloquence, and learning. His colleagues were Albius or Avienus, who had been consul in 450, and Trigecius, formerly prefect. They found Attila on the banks of the Menzo, not far from Mantua, and were received with uncommon demonstrations of kindness and esteem. He concluded with Leo, who surprised and softened him with his eloquence, a kind of treaty, which, it seems, was but a truce; for he threatened to return to Italy, and pursue his ravages with more cruelty than ever, unless the princess Honoria was sent him, with the share of the imperial treasures due to her. One of the articles of this treaty was, that the emperor should pay an annual pension to Attila. It was no sooner signed, than he ordered his Hunns to forbear hostilities, and, leaving Italy, retired beyond the Danube ^q.

Valentinian concludes a treaty with Attila,

who retires out of Italy.

In the following year, the Saracens, the Nubians, and the Blemmyes, broke into the empire; but were defeated by the troops of Marcian, and forced to implore peace, which the emperor granted upon terms highly advantageous

^p Jorn. Rer. Goth. cap. 42. p. 673.
^p 674—685.

^q Jorn. Rer. Goth. cap. 42.

to the empire, as Priscus assures us, who attended the Roman ambassadors to Damascus, where the treaty was concluded^r.

Yr. of Fl.
2801.
A. D. 453.
U. C. 1301.

*Several
barbarous
nations
settle in
Thrace
and Illyri-
cum.*

Attila dying in the year 453, several nations, formerly subdued by that conqueror, revolting from his children, obtained leave of Marcian to settle in Thrace and Illyricum, almost entirely dispeopled by the frequent incursions of the Hunns and other Barbarians. Among these mention is made of the Squiri, Satagairæ, and Alans, who, under the conduct of Candax their king or leader, settled in Lesser Scythia, and Lower Mœsia: to the Rugians, Sarmatians, and Cemandrians, lands were granted in Illyricum, near a place called the Castle of Mars: to the Goths, commonly called Ostrogoths or Eastern Goths, to distinguish them from the Visigoths or Western Goths, who afterwards became masters of Spain, Marcian granted all Pannonia, from Sirmium, now Sirmish, in Slavonia, to Vindobona, at present Vienna, in Austria, a large tract, comprising many cities. These Goths were then governed by three brothers, Valemir, Theodimir, the father of Theodoric the Great, afterwards king of Italy, and Vidimir, who divided that extensive country among them, Valemir settling in the Eastern part of it, Theodimir in the Western, and Vidimir between the other two. The Goths, as well as the other Barbarians, acknowledged the authority of the Constantinopolitan emperors, and were subjects of the empire; but at the same time their princes claimed an uncontrolled authority over their own people, and frequently waged war with each other. Even one of the sons of Attila, named Ernac, and several other Hunns, submitted to the Romans, who granted them lands on the most distant borders of Lesser Scythia, in Dacia, and amongst the Sarmatians in Illyricum. At this juncture died the empress Pulcheria, daughter to Arcadius, sister to Theodosius II. and wife to Marcian. She left by her will, which was confirmed and executed with great fidelity by Marcian, the immense wealth of which she was possessed, and her rich moveables; to the poor^s. She was a woman of most extraordinary parts, and is, on account of her exemplary piety, honoured both by the Greeks and Latins with the title of Saint.

*The em-
press Pul-
cheria dies.*

*The dis-
grace and
death of
Aetius.*

The following year is remarkable for the downfall and death of that great commander Aetius, owing chiefly to the malicious insinuations of Heraclius the eunuch, who, having gained an absolute ascendant over the emperor, easily

^r Evagr. lib. ii. cap. 5. p. 295. Prisc. p. 40. Niceph. lib. xv. cap. 9. p. 61. ^s Marc. Chron.

persuaded the weak prince, that Aetius aspired to the empire, and maintained a private correspondence with the Barbarians, in order to raise himself by their assistance to the imperial dignity. Aetius, on his side, gave some occasion to the accusations of the eunuch, by pressing the emperor with too much eagerness to perform the promise he had made, of marrying his eldest daughter Eudocia to Gaudentius the general's son. His importunity gave weight to the calumnies of Heraclius, and confirmed the weak and jealous emperor in his suspicions, which, according to Gregory of Tours[†], and all the writers of those times, were altogether groundless. But, after all, his treachery towards count Bonifacius, and several others, plainly prove, that he did not on all occasions scruple sacrificing his conscience and honour to his preferment and grandeur. Some pretend, but without any positive proof, and probably without foundation, that he was the secret abettor of all the disturbances that happened during his administration[‡]. Petronius Maximus is said to have greatly contributed to the death of Aetius, by urging the eunuchs of the court to persuade the emperor, that he aimed at nothing less than the sovereignty. The view of Maximus was probably to remove the only person who screened the prince from the vengeance he was resolved to take upon him for a late affront[¶].

However that be, the death of Aetius being resolved on, Valentinian ordered him to attend him in the palace, pretending to have some affair of the utmost importance to communicate. Aetius obeyed the summons, attended by Boetius, the præfectus prætorio, his intimate friend, and several others. But Aetius alone was admitted into the prince's chamber; which he had no sooner entered than Valentinian ran him through with his sword; and, with the assistance of the officers about him, particularly of Heraclius, dispatched him in a most barbarous and inhuman manner^{*}. Thus fell the best general of his age, the terror of Attila, the bulwark of the Western provinces, says Sidonius, by the hand of the greatest coward in the whole empire. We are told, that Valentinian, having one day asked a Roman whether he had done well in dispatching Aetius, the Roman answered, that he could not tell whether he had done well or not, but thought he had cut off his right hand with his left[†]. The præfect Boetius, and all those

who is treacherously murdered by Valentinian.

[†] Greg. Tur. Hist. Fran. lib. ii. cap. 8. p. 277. Vales. p. 175.
[‡] Val. p. 176. Buch. Belg. p. 318. [¶] Jorn. Reg. Suev. p. 654.
^{*} Idat. p. 30. [†] Persec. Vand. Hist. lib. i. cap. 4. p. 187.

who had attended Aetius to the palace, were likewise dispatched, being called one after the other into the emperor's chamber. This bloody tragedy was acted, according to Theophanes, at Rome^a. Valentinian immediately dispatched ambassadors to the Suevians, and other foreign nations, to acquaint them with the death of Aetius, and confirm the treaties that general had concluded with them. But the news of that great man's death encouraged some of them to make irruptions into the empire. In the beginning of the following year, the Armorici were under daily apprehensions of seeing the Saxons on their coasts; the Alemans passed the Rhine near Basle, and the Franks laid waste the territories of Mentz and Rheims^a.

In the year 455, when Valentinian was consul the eighth time, with Anthemius, son-in-law to the emperor Marcian, the Western empire was involved in terrible calamities. The emperor Valentinian was murdered on the seventeenth of March, and the empire seized by Petronius Maximus, grandson to Magnus Clemens Maximus, who, having usurped the sovereignty in 383, was taken and killed by Theodosius the Great. Authors give us the following account of the unhappy end of Valentinian, and usurpation of Maximus. The latter having married a lady equally famous for her beauty and chastity, Valentinian fell passionately in love with her; but her virtue being proof against all his presents, menaces, and promises, he had recourse to the following artifice: he sent one day for Maximus to play with him at dice; and, having won a considerable sum, obliged him to leave his ring as a pledge for the payment of it. This ring he sent privately to the wife of Maximus, desiring her in her husband's name to repair to the palace, and wait upon the empress. The lady, knowing the ring, went to the palace, in compliance with the supposed orders of her husband; but was conducted by some persons, employed for that purpose, to a remote apartment, where Valentinian, without any regard to her tears and entreaties, robbed her by force of that which was infinitely more dear to her than life. Upon her return home, she burst into a flood of tears, reproaching, in most bitter terms, her husband, whom she believed privy to her dishonour, and his own infamy. Maximus, on the other hand, then first apprised of the emperor's wicked artifice, acquainted his wife with it, determined at all events to be revenged on Valentinian^b.

Valentinian falls in love with the wife of Maximus.

^a Theoph. p. 92. ^a Sid. Car. vii. p. 544.
Vand. lib. ii. cap. 4. p. 186, 187.

^b Procop. Bell.

Pursuant to this resolution, he applied to the friends of Aetius, whom the emperor had lately murdered, especially to Traustila and Optila, or Occylla, two Barbarians, who had served under that general, and had been distinguished by him with particular marks of kindness and esteem. These officers undertook to revenge the death of their old commander, and at the same time the dishonour offered to Maximus; accordingly falling upon Valentinian, while he was diverting himself in the Campus Martius at Rome, they first killed his favourite eunuch Heraclius, who intrepidly interposed, and endeavoured to save his master; and then dispatched the emperor himself, with many wounds, in the sight of the whole court (D). Valentinian was murdered on the seventeenth of March 455, after having lived thirty-four years, and reigned twenty-nine, and about five months, reckoning from the twenty-third of October 425, when he was first declared Augustus. His tomb is supposed to be still extant at Ravenna.

Maximus, to revenge the violence offered her, causes Valentinian to be murdered.

As he had very slender parts, he was entirely governed by the eunuchs of the court, who disposed, at their pleasure, of all the great offices, sacrificing the good of the public, and the honour of the prince, to their private interest and ambition. He had not courage enough to head his armies in person; and, besides, was, by his effeminate education, become altogether incapable of bearing the toils of a military life. The only journeys he undertook were from Ravenna to Rome, and from Rome to Ravenna, keeping himself in both places locked up in his palace with a herd of eunuchs, and indulging, without restraint, his brutal inclinations, though married to one of the most beautiful women of that age^d.

Yr. of Fl. 2803. A. D. 455. U. C. 1303.

The character of Valentinian.

The day after his death Maximus, the author of it, assumed the purple; and, being saluted by the Roman people with the title of Augustus, immediately raised his son Palladius to the dignity of Cæsar. Maximus was sprung

Maximus assumes the purple;

^c Marc. Idat. Cassiod. Chron. Evagr. cap. 7. p. 298. Jorn. Reg. Suev. p. 654. Greg. Tur. p. 277. ^d Theoph. p. 93. Zon. p. 40. Conft. Manass. p. 51. Procop. Bell. Vand. lib. i. cap. 3 p. 182.

(D) Procopius, and John of Antioch, who evidently copies from him, are the only authors who mention the indignity offered to Maximus. Sidonius and Idatius, without taking the least notice of the outrage, ascribe the death of Valentinian to the unbounded ambition of Maximus, not to be satisfied with any thing less than the empire itself (1).

(1) Sid. lib. ii. ep. 13. p. 57. Idat. p. 31.

from an illustrious family in Rome, and had discharged the first offices in the state with great applause and reputation. He was possessed of immense wealth, which he shared and enjoyed with his friends, leading an easy and indolent life, and indulging himself in all the diversions and recreations which his plentiful estate could afford. Hence he no sooner began to feel the anxieties inseparable from a crown, especially when acquired by unlawful means, than he repented the step he had taken, panting after his former condition. Sidonius relates that, the very first night he lodged in the palace, he was heard crying out, "Happy Damocles, whose reign began and ended with a dinner!" It is even said he had resolved to abandon Rome, of quitting the ensigns of majesty, and resuming, in some corner of Italy, his former method of life^e. But being diverted from that resolution by his friends, he appointed Avitus, then in Gaul, commander in chief of the Roman armies, who immediately dispatched Messianus to acquaint Theodoric, king of the Visigoths, with the accession of Maximus to the empire. That general went soon after to confer in person with the Gothic king, and entered Toulouse, attended by Theodoric himself on his right hand, and one of the prince's brothers on his left. He was upon the point of concluding a treaty with Theodoric, when he unexpectedly received the disagreeable tidings of the death of Maximus, which put him upon other measures. The wife of Maximus dying soon after the outrage offered her, the usurper, that he might have some title to the crown, obliged Eudoxia, the deceased emperor's widow, to marry him, contrary to her inclination, a few days after the murder of her husband; and at the same time married her daughter Eudocia to his son Palladius.

*and ap-
points Avi-
tus com-
mander in
chief of all
the Roman
forces.*

*Eudoxia,
being for-
ced to mar-
ry him, in-
vites Gen-
seric into
Italy.*

Eudoxia, who had loved Valentinian with great tenderness, highly provoked at seeing herself married, against her will, to the very person who had deprived him both of his life and empire, resolved, whatever it cost her, to revenge the death of her former husband, and the affront offered in her person to his bed. Blinded, therefore, with passion, and thirst of revenge, she took such measures as proved fatal to herself, to Rome, and all Italy. Expecting no assistance from Marcian, unwilling perhaps to engage in a civil-war, she dispatched a trusty messenger to Genserich in Africa, conjuring him to revenge the death of his friend and ally Valentinian, and to rescue her out of the arms of a tyrant, the murderer of her husband^f. Some authors affirm, that

^e Sid. lib. ii. ep. 13. p. 57, 58.

^f Evagr. lib. ii. cap. 7. p. 498.

she wrote to the king of the Vandals with her own hand, assuring him, that he would meet with no great resistance in Italy, and promising to assist him to the utmost of her power. This message was very acceptable to Genseric, who had long wished for such an opportunity, which he embraced with great joy; and putting to sea without loss of time, steered his course to Rome. When his numerous fleet first appeared, the chief citizens, and persons of distinction, struck with terror and dismay, instead of putting themselves in a posture of defence, thought only of consulting their safety by flight ^a. Among these was Maximus himself; but, as he was flying with his court, the populace, exasperated against him for thus shamefully abandoning those whom it was his duty to protect, rising on a sudden, pursued him with showers of stones; which insulted some of Valentinian's officers observing, they threw themselves upon him; and a Roman soldier, named Ursus, gave him the fatal blow ^b. His body was ignominiously dragged through the chief streets of the city; and, after it had lain some time exposed to the insults of the incensed multitude, thrown into the Tiber. Such was the end of the usurper Maximus, after he had lived about sixty years, and borne the title of emperor three months. His son Palladius is supposed to have undergone the same fate.

Maximus murdered.

Three days after the death of Maximus, Genseric entered Rome without opposition, and abandoned it to the mercy of his Vandals, strictly enjoining them, however, not to set fire to the city, nor shed the blood of the inhabitants, pursuant to the promise he had made to Leo the Great, then bishop of Rome, who had gone out to meet him ⁱ. They continued in the city fourteen days, pillaging not only the private houses, but stripping the public buildings of all their rich ornaments, and even the churches of their sacred vessels. They took an incredible number of captives, every one seizing such women as they liked best, and, amongst the men, those who they thought would be of most service to them. Genseric himself forced the imperial palace; and having seized on the treasure, and all the rich moveables, he caused them to be put on board a vessel, with the empress Eudoxia, her two daughters Placidia and Eudocia, and Gaudentius the son of Actius, and carried them all into captivity. Amongst the spoils, mention is made of a great many statues, with which a vessel was loaded; of half the covering of the Capitol, which was of brass plated over

Rome taken and plundered by Genseric.

Eudoxia and her daughters carried into captivity.

^a Sid. p. 174. ^b Procop. p. 186. Jornand. Rer. Goth. cap. 45. p. 677. ⁱ Theoph. p. 93. Viſt. Proſp. Chron.

with gold; of sacred vessels of gold, enriched with precious stones; and of those which had been formerly taken by Titus out of the temple of Jerusalem, and brought to Rome.

Genferic, having thus stripped the city of all its wealth, and valuable ornaments, returned with his fleet to Africa; but lost in his passage the ship that carried the statues^k. Marcian, sensibly affected with the misfortune of Eudoxia, and the two princesses her daughters, earnestly entreated Genferic to set them at liberty; but he, despising both his entreaties and menaces, kept them till the year 462, when he sent back Eudoxia, with her second daughter Placidia, to Leo, the successor of Marcian. Eudocia he married to Hunneric his eldest son, who had by her Hilderic, afterwards king of the Vandals in Africa^l. In the East, Marcian enacted this year a famous law, wherein he allowed every one to bequeath to the ecclesiastics and monks what they pleased, and revoked the laws of the other emperors his predecessors, forbidding widows and deaconesses to leave any thing in their wills to the church^m (C).

Avitus,

^k Theoph. p. 93. Evagr. p. 98. Procop. p. 189. ^l Theod. lib. i. p. 552. Prisc. p. 41. ^m Cod. Theod. Nov. lib. iii. tit. 5.

(C) The chronicle of Idatius has been of great use to us in writing the history of Valentinian's reign. He was a native of Lamego in the province of Beira, belonging then to Galicia, but at present to the kingdom of Portugal. He was ordained bishop of Aquæ Flaviæ, in Galicia, in the third year of the reign of Valentinian III. that is, about the year 427. Notwithstanding the wars and disturbances that reigned in his time all over the empire, especially in Spain, he wrote a chronicle, which is, properly speaking, a continuation of that of St. Jerom. He carries it down to the third year of Anthemius's reign, in 469, the forty-first of his episcopacy. The work intitled *Notitia Imperii* is supposed to have been written in the reign of Valen-

tinian III. and Theodosius II. but by some in the very beginning, by others in the latter end, of the reign of Theodosius. This *Notitia* contains a succinct account of the state of the empire in those times, that is, of the provinces, and their governors; of the other magistrates, both civil and military, their titles, and officers; of their land and sea-forces; of their foot and horse; of their troops, both Roman and foreign, and the places where they were quartered. To the *Notitia* is added a description of Rome by an anonymous author, who is supposed to have written under Valentinian III. To this description of Rome, father L'Abbé adds one of Constantinople, done likewise by an anonymous writer, either in the reign of Arcadius, or of Theodosius.

Avitus, or Flavius Mæcilius Avitus, as he is styled on an ancient medal ^m, had been appointed by Maximus commander in chief of all the Roman forces, and was at the court of Theodoric, king of the Visigoths, when he received intelligence of the death of the usurper. He immediately acquainted Theodoric with what had happened, who thereupon pressed him to assume the purple, and even caused him to be proclaimed emperor by the Goths in Toulouse, on the tenth of July of the present year, promising to support him in his new dignity with the whole strength of his kingdom ⁿ. However, he did not assume the title of emperor till the eighth of August, when he was proclaimed by the Roman army at Arles, and by all the chief men in Gaul. Theodoric went immediately, attended by his brothers, to Arles, to congratulate the new prince on his accession to the empire, and was received by him as a person to whom he was chiefly indebted for the dignity he enjoyed ^p. From Arles the emperor set out for Rome, where he was received by the populace with great demonstrations of joy. Marcian, who had nothing so much at heart as the public welfare and tranquility, gladly approved of his promotion, and acknowledged him for his colleague. Genseric putting to sea with a numerous fleet, and a considerable army on board, with a design to ravage the coasts of Italy or Gaul, was overtaken near Corsica by the Roman fleet, under the command of Ricimer, and totally defeated. Ricimer, styled by some Richimer or Richemer, was sprung from the royal family of the Suevians; but as his mother was the daughter of Vallia, king of the Goths, he is commonly looked upon rather as a Goth than a Suevian. He served from his youth in the Roman armies, and acquired such reputation by his warlike exploits, that Sidonius gives him the title of Invincible, and Jornandes styles him the best commander of his age ^q; Sidonius prefers him for courage to Sylla, for prudence to Fabius, for good-nature to Metellus, for eloquence to Appian, for vigour and resolution to Fulvius,

Avitus proclaimed emperor at Toulouse, and after at Arles.

Genseric defeated at sea by Ricimer.

Who Ricimer was.

His character.

ⁿ Goltz. p. 135. ^p Greg. Tur lib ii cap. 11. p. 236. ^p Idar. p. 31. ^q Jorn. cap. 45. p. 6; 8.

dofius the Younger. The treatise *De Rebus Bellicis*, which L'Abbé adds to it, is supposed to have been written about the same time; but the author, who seems to have been a private person, and to have professed the study of philosophy, is not known (1).

(1) Idat. Chron. L'Abb. Script. tom. ii. Du Pin, tom. iv. p. 557- and

and for address to Camillus^r. But these good qualities were over-balanced by vices; he was a man without faith, honour, or honesty; ambitious to such a degree, that, not satisfied with being commander in chief of all the forces of the West, patrician, and son-in-law of an emperor, raised and deposed emperors at his pleasure. This unbounded ambition prompted him to murder four emperors, three of whom had been raised by himself, and to inflame and privately assist the avowed enemies of that empire, which he was by the strongest ties bound to protect and defend. Elated with his success over Genferic, instead of pursuing it, he returned to Rome, and revolting with Majorianus, obliged the senate to declare Avitus unworthy of the empire; a decree which no sooner came to the prince's ears, who was then in Gaul, than he hastened to Italy; but upon his arrival at Placentia, he was stripped by Ricimer of all the ensigns of majesty^s. Theophanes writes, that Avitus was defeated in battle by Ricimer on the sixteenth of October^t; so that he had scarce reigned fourteen months. Being thus divested of the purple, he caused himself to be ordained bishop of Placentia; but the senate insisting upon his being put to death, he withdrew from Placentia, with a design to take sanctuary in the church of St. Julian at Brioude, in Auvergne, the place of his nativity. Gregory of Tours adds, that he died on the road, and his body was brought to Brioude, and buried near that of the holy martyr Julian. The next consuls were Constantine and Rufus, belonging both to the Eastern empire, no emperor being yet chosen in the West. In the beginning of the year 457, died the emperor Marcian, after having reigned six years, five months, and two days. His death Theodorus, surnamed the Reader, ascribes to his having assisted at a procession on the twenty-sixth of January^u. Marcian is commended, by all the writers of those times, for the innocence and simplicity of his manners, for his extraordinary piety, and zeal for the purity of religion^w. Leo, bishop of Rome, calls him a prince of blessed and venerable memory; and the Greeks honour him with the title of Saint, celebrating his festival, with that of the empress Pulcheria, on the seventeenth of February. He was buried in the church of St. Zea, at Constantinople, which he had built.

A few days after the death of Marcian, Leo was proclaimed emperor, with the unanimous consent of the se-

Yr. of Fl.

2804.

A. D. 456.

U. C. 1304.

*Avitus
deposed.*

Yr. of Fl.

2805.

A. D. 457.

U. C. 1305.

*Marcian
dies.*

*Leo pro-
claimed
emperor.*

^r Sid. Car. v. p. 317.

^s Greg. Tur. lib. ii. cap. 11. p. 280.

^t Theoph. p. 94.

^u Theod. lib. i. p. 650.

^w Evagr.

lib. ii. p. 299. Idat. Marc. & Chron. Alex. p. 747.

nate, people, and soldiery, and crowned by Anatolius, patriarch of Constantinople *. This is the first instance we find in history of a prince's receiving the crown at the hands of a bishop. Leo, distinguished by the Greeks with the surname of the Great, was, according to the most probable opinion, a native of Thrace, and on that account is commonly called Leo the Thracian. He had served from his youth in the Roman armies, and commanded a body of troops encamped at Selymbria, in Thrace, when he was raised to the empire. His prudence, moderation, impartiality in the administration of justice, exemplary piety, and zeal for the Catholic religion, are greatly extolled by the writers who flourished in those times. Leo is said to have owed his promotion to the patrician Aspar, of whom we have made frequent mention, and his son Ardaburius, who not daring, though very powerful, to assume the purple themselves, as they were Arians by religion, and not Romans by birth, conferred it upon Leo, in whose name they hoped to reign; and we are told, that Leo promised to raise one of Aspar's sons to the dignity of Cæsar †. In the very beginning of his reign, great disturbances were raised by the Eutychians in Alexandria, who, hearing of the death of Marcian, rose in a tumultuous manner, murdered the Catholic bishop Proterus, and chose in his room one of their own sect, named Timotheus Elurus. The tumult was soon quelled; but the authors of it, putting themselves under the protection of Aspar, a zealous patron of Arianism, were screened from the punishment due to their wickedness ‡.

His birth, education, employments, &c.

In the West, after an interregnum of about three months, during which time Ricimer governed with absolute power, Majorianus was proclaimed emperor by the senate, the people, and the soldiery, Ricimer proposing him as a person in every respect well qualified for that high station. All we know of his family is, that his father had served with great reputation under Aëtius, and was afterwards raised to the office of treasurer of the empire. His mother was the daughter of Majorianus, appointed by Theodosius I. or rather by Gratian, in 379, general of the Roman horse and foot in Pannonia. From him the emperor took the name of Majorianus. He was raised to the empire in the flower of his age, having already given several instances, not only of his courage and military abilities, but of his generosity, moderation, and other amiable qualities. Pro-

Majorianus raised to the empire in the West.

* Theoph. p. 95. Theod. p. 568. Marc. Chron. p. 40.
 † Cedren. p. 346. Leo, ep. 118. p. 671.

‡ Zonar.

cópius says, that he surpassed in every virtue all the princes who had reigned before him ^a. He lived from his childhood in great intimacy with Ricimer, and therefore was easily prevailed upon by him to revolt from Avitus. Soon after the deposition of that prince he was raised to the post of general in the room of Ricimer, who was created patrician, probably by Marcian, or Leo his successor; for the emperor of the East is supposed to have governed the Western empire during the interregnum ^b. He had not been long general when he was proclaimed emperor, at a place about six miles from Ravenna, called the Little Pillars ^c. In the beginning of his reign, a civil war being kindled among the Suevians, they concluded a peace with the Romans, that is, with the natives, who still held several fortresses in Galicia, and acknowledged the authority of the emperor; but notwithstanding this peace, they made themselves masters of Lisbon, after being admitted into the city as friends ^d.

*Lisbon
taken by
the Sue-
vians.*

Yr. of Fl.
2806.

A. D. 458.
U. C. 1306.

*The Van-
dals de-
feated by
Majoria-
nus.*

In the following year, when the two emperors, Leo and Majorianus, were consuls, the Vandals made a descent on the coast of Campania; but Majorianus marching against them, defeated their forces in the neighbourhood of Sinuessa, between the Garigliano and the Volturno, put great numbers to the sword, among whom was the brother-in-law of Genseric their commander, and obliged the rest to save themselves on board their fleet, which sailed immediately for Africa ^e. Majorianus resolved to pursue them thither, and to attempt the recovery of that wealthy country, applied himself to the fitting out of a powerful fleet; and had, before the end of this year, assembled a great number of troops, and above three hundred vessels. But of this enterprize hereafter. In the East the city of Antioch was almost ruined by an earthquake, which happened on the fourteenth of September. Scarce a single house was left standing in the new city, the most beautiful quarter of that metropolis ^f.

*Majorianus
resolves to
pass over
into Africa.
His fleet
surprised
by the Van-
dals.*

Next year, when Magnus and Apollonius were consuls, Majorianus leaving Arles, directed his march towards Spain, which he entered in the month of May, with a design to pass over from thence into Africa ^g. Genseric, alarmed at the great preparations that were carrying on in all the ports of the empire, sued for peace; but his proposals being rejected, he dispatched a squadron of his best

^a Procop. Bell. Vand. lib. i. p. 194.

^b Vide Valef. p. 186.

^c Jorn. Rer. Succ. p. 654. Marc. Chron.

^d Idat. p. 37.

^e Sid.

Car. v. p. 325.

^f Evag. lib. ii. cap. 12. Theoph. p. 95.

^g Idat.

Marc. Chron. Prisc. p. 42.

ships, with orders to attack the Roman fleet riding in the bay of Alicant; which service they performed with such success, that they took most of the Roman ships, and returned with them in triumph to Africa. This misfortune, which was chiefly owing to the treachery of those on board the Roman fleet, put a stop to the enterprize, and obliged Majorianus to return to Arles; whence he issued orders for equipping another fleet. But in the mean time Genseric, dreading the arms and valour of Majorianus, dispatched ambassadors to him with new proposals; which he accepted, as they were very advantageous to the empire^h. Thus a peace was concluded between Majorianus and Genseric; but the articles of the treaty have not been transmitted to posterity.

In the East nothing happened this year that deserves notice, except an earthquake, which overturned great part of the city of Cyzicus. In the following year, 461, Ricimer, who had raised Majorianus to the empire, thinking himself neglected, and jealous of the great reputation that prince had gained by his wife and vigorous administration, resolved to depose him; accordingly, having got him by treachery into his power, as he was returning from Gaul to Rome, he stripped him of the imperial ornaments at Tortona in the Milanese, on the second of August, and caused him, on the seventh of the same month, to be assassinated at Iria, now Voghera, after he had reigned three years and some monthsⁱ. Majorianus, in whose reign the empire seemed in a manner to revive, being thus removed, Ricimer proclaimed Severus at Ravenna, on the nineteenth of November, that he might reign in his name, the new prince being entirely unqualified for that high station. All we know of him is, that he was a native of Lucania^k. In the East, Leo refusing to pay the usual pension to Valamir, Theodemir, and Widemir, kings of the Ostrogoths, whom Marrian had allowed to settle in Pannonia, they flew to arms, laid waste great part of Illyricum, and reduced several cities; but Anthemius, son-in-law to the late emperor Marcian, having obliged them to retire into Pannonia, they hearkened to the offers that were made by Leo to renew the ancient alliance between them and the empire. A peace was accordingly concluded, and the famous Theodoric, afterwards king of Italy, then in the eighth year of his age, delivered to Leo as a hostage^l. But of him we shall have

Yr. of Fl.
2809.
A. D 461.
U. C. 1309.

Majorianus surprised by Ricimer, and put to death. Severus made emperor.

^h Procop. p. 194.

ⁱ Jorn. Rer. Goth. cap. 45. p. 678. Evag.

lib. ii. cap. 7. p. 299.

^k Jorn. Reg. Succ. cap. 46. p. 654.

Theoph. p. 27. Idat. p. 40. Onuph. p. 306. Evag. p. 70. ^l Prisc.

p. 74.

frequent occasion to speak in the history of the Ostrogoths in Italy.

Marcellinus establishes a new sovereignty in Dalmatia.

Genferic, pretending not to be bound by the late treaty with Majorianus, after that prince's death, sent a powerful fleet to pillage the coasts of Sicily and Italy, and made himself master of Sardinia^m. The same year Marcellinus, or, as Procopius calls him, Marcellianus, who had served with great reputation in the Roman armies, no longer able to bear the haughty behaviour of Ricimer, revolted from Severus, and, retiring into Dalmatia, established a new sovereignty, independent of the empireⁿ. The inhabitants of Italy, seeing themselves at the same time threatened by Marcellinus and Genferic, had recourse to Leo, emperor of the East, who immediately dispatched ambassadors to Genferic and Marcellinus. The latter, satisfied to see himself acknowledged by Leo, prince of the country which he had seized, promised not to molest the Romans. But Genferic openly declared that he would listen to no terms, till the effects of Valentinian were delivered up to him; which he claimed because his son Hunneric had married Eudocia, that prince's eldest daughter. However, he restored to Leo Eudoxia, the widow of Valentinian, and Placidia, her second daughter; who being soon after married to Olybrius, of whom hereafter, Genferic declared he would wage an eternal war with the Western empire, unless Olybrius, brother-in-law to his son, was raised to the imperial dignity^o. To this low ebb was the Roman grandeur reduced by the death of Majorianus, and the administration of Ricimer. In the course of the following year Ægidius gained a signal victory over the Visigoths in Gaul; and next year Rusticus, or Rusticius, and Olybrius, being consuls, Beorgor, king of the Alans, having entered Italy with a considerable army, was opposed by Ricimer in the neighbourhood of Bergamo, and, on the sixth of February, cut off, with all his men. Whence these Alans came is uncertain. About the same time Ægidius died in Gaul, either by poison or assassination, and upon his death the Visigoths subdued the greater part of Gaul.

The Visigoths defeated in Gaul by Ægidius. The Alans defeated by Ricimer.

Yr. of Fl.
2813.
A. D. 465.
U. C. 1313.

Severus dies.

In 465, when Basiliscus and Hermenericus were consuls, Severus died at Rome, after having borne the name of emperor almost four years. He is supposed to have been poisoned by Ricimer^p. His death was followed by an interregnum of almost two years, Ricimer ruling, during that time, with absolute power; but not daring, as he was by

^m Procop. Bell. Vand. lib. iv. cap. 6. p. 192.

ⁿ Idat. p. 32. Prisc. p. 42. Sid. Car. ii. p. 349.

^o Phot. cap. 242.

^p Jorn. p. 654.

birth a Barbarian, to take upon him the title of emperor. The same year a violent fire breaking out in Constantinople, reduced to ashes eight of the fourteen quarters into which that city was divided. However, it was at last extinguished, after it had raged with incredible fury for the space of six whole days, and as many nights ¹. The following year, when the emperor Leo alone was consul the third time, Ricimer assembled a powerful fleet, with a design to attempt the recovery of Africa; but was, by contrary and violent winds, which continued blowing the whole summer, obliged to drop that enterprize. During the consulship of Pusæus and Johannes, the interregnum ended in the West. Anthemius was, with the consent and approbation of Ricimer, declared emperor, notwithstanding the great interest made by Genferic in favour of Olybrius, brother-in-law to his son. Anthemius was a native of Constantinople, descended from an ancient, illustrious, and wealthy family, and was, at the time of his promotion, count of the East. He had some claim to the empire, having married Marciana, the only daughter of the late emperor Marcian, by whom he had three sons and one daughter. He had been consul in 455, and was soon after, though very young, raised to the dignity of patrician, and the post of general. Sidonius, his panegyrist, writes, that, upon the death of Marcian, no one thought of conferring the empire on Leo, till Anthemius had refused it ². Theophanes styles him a most Christian prince ³. Soon after his nomination, he left Constantinople, and departed for Italy, attended by a great number of chosen troops, and several counts, with other persons of distinction, among whom was Marcellinus prince of Dalmatia, whom Leo had persuaded to join the new emperor, and, jointly with him, make war upon the Vandals ⁴. Anthemius was received at Rome by the senate and people with the greatest demonstrations of joy, and proclaimed at a place about three miles from Rome, called Bontrota ⁵. A few days after he gave his daughter in marriage to Ricimer, pursuant to a private agreement between that general and the two princes.

In the mean time Genferic, highly provoked against Leo for having preferred Anthemius, and not Olybrius, to the empire, sent a powerful fleet, which ravaged Peloponnesus, and the Greek islands. Leo resolved to avenge the affront offered to the Eastern empire. Accordingly in the follow-

A great fire at Constantinople.

Anthemius raised to the empire;

Yr. of Fl.
2815.
A. D. 467.
U. C. 1315.

and proclaimed at Rome.

Genferic ravages the Greek islands.

¹ Evagr. lib. ii. cap. 13. p. 307. Theodor. p. 555. Cedren. p. 348.
² Sid. p. 295. ³ Theoph. p. 98. ⁴ Procop. Bell. Vand. lib. i. cap. 6. p. 191. Jorn. cap. 46. p. 654.
⁵ Idat. p. 44.

ing year 468, when Anthemius alone was consul, he fitted out the greatest fleet, says Procopius, the Romans had ever done. Cedrenus writes, it consisted of one thousand one hundred and thirteen ships, each ship having one hundred men on board *. Theophanes, and Nicephorus †, affirm, that no fewer than one hundred thousand ships were employed in this expedition; a number altogether incredible. To the forces of Leo were joined all the best troops of the West, under the command of Marcellinus, who reinforced them with a chosen body of men raised in his own dominions. Leo gave the chief command of this formidable fleet to Basiliscus, brother to his wife Verina, who had frequently vanquished the Barbarians in Thrace. Under him commanded John, a person of extraordinary courage and experience ‡. The island of Sicily was appointed the place of general rendezvous. From thence Marcellinus was to sail for Sardinia, which the Vandals had lately seized: Heraclius of Edeffa, a brave and experienced officer, was ordered to proceed for Libya; and Basiliscus, with the greatest part of the fleet, and the flower of the troops, to steer his course to Carthage. Marcellinus, pursuant to this plan, landed in Sardinia, and made himself master of that island, while Heraclius, landing unexpectedly in Libya, defeated the Vandals, who attempted to oppose him, and reduced, with incredible expedition, Tripolis, and all the other cities of that province §.

*Sardinia
and Tri-
poli re-
covered
from
the Van-
dals.*

Genferic, receiving at the same time news of the loss of Sardinia and Libya, and of the arrival of the Roman fleet at Cape Mercury, about thirty miles from Carthage, thought himself irretrievably lost: he is even said to have had some intention of abandoning Africa to the Romans, and retiring elsewhere: indeed, if Basiliscus had, during the panic which had seized the Barbarians, marched directly to Carthage, he might have easily made himself master of the city, and finished the war at once; but his dilatory proceedings giving Genferic time to recover from his consternation, he began to despise the Roman admiral, and had even the confidence to send deputies, demanding a truce of five days, to settle the conditions on which he was to submit to Leo. Basiliscus readily consented to the truce; during which Genferic, taking one night advantage of a favourable wind, sailed unexpectedly out of the harbour with a great number of fire-ships, which being by the wind driven upon the Ro-

* Cedren. p. 350. † Niceph. lib. xv. cap. 27. p. 631. ‡ Procop. lib. i. cap. 6. p. 153. § Theoph. p. 101. Sid. Car. p. 1196.

man navy, set fire to many of their ships, and threw the whole fleet into the utmost confusion.

Next morning Genseric's fleet appeared drawn up in line of battle, and, falling upon the Romans before they could recover themselves from their terror and consternation, took several of their ships, sunk others, and obliged the rest to save themselves by a precipitate flight. John, who commanded under Basiliscus, and ignorant of his treachery, after having killed, with his own hand, an incredible number of Barbarians, threw himself, when overpowered, on a plank into the sea. Genson, the son of Genseric, charmed with his courage, and gallant behaviour, offered him his life and liberty; but the brave commander answering, "It shall never be said that John owed his life to dogs," quitted his plank, and was drowned ^a. As for Basiliscus, Zonarus writes, that, in the heat of the engagement, he suddenly racked about, and crowding all his sails, shamefully fled; which raised the courage of the enemy, and quite disheartened his own people ^b. Marcellinus, after the reduction of Sardinia, returned to Sicily, with a design to pass from thence over into Africa; but before he sailed, he was assassinated by an officer, who commanded under him, not without the privity, as was supposed, of Anthemius, to whom his power gave no small umbrage ^c. Heraclius, who was on full march from Libya to Carthage, upon the news of the cowardice of Basiliscus, retired into the territories of the empire. Basiliscus returned to Sicily, with the few ships that had escaped, having lost above fifty thousand men ^d. From Sicily he returned to Constantinople, and there, as his treachery was publicly known, took sanctuary in the church of St. Sophia. Though both the emperor and people were highly incensed against him, yet, by the mediation of the empress Verina, his sister, his life was spared, and leave granted him to retire to Heraclea in Thrace ^e. Such was the issue of this unhappy expedition, which is said to have cost both empires above a hundred and thirty thousand pounds weight of gold; not only the two princes, but all governors, and other persons in employments, cheerfully contributing large sums, to defray the charges of an enterprize of such consequence to the empire.

This year Leo married his daughter Ariadne to Zeno, descended from an illustrious family in Isauria. His father's name was Rufumbladastes, and his, before his marriage, Trafcalissæus, or Tarasicodisus ^f. He took the name

The Roman fleet in Africa put to flight.

Leo marries his daughter to Zeno.

^a Procop. lib. i. cap. 6. p. 192.
cap. 242. p. 1048. Marc. Chron. p. 330. Theoph. p. 100.

^b Zonar. p. 42.
^d Prisc. p. 193.

^c Phot.
^e Cedren.

^f Zon. p. 42. Agath. lib. iv. p. 149.

of Zeno from another Isaurian, who had been raised to great employments in the reign of Theodosius the younger^g. Leo immediately preferred his son-in-law to the rank of patrician, appointing him, at the same time, captain of his guards, and commander in chief of all the armies in the East. The next consuls were Marcianus and Zeno, the two sons-in-law of the emperor Leo; the latter having espoused Ariadne, and the former, who was the son of the emperor Anthemius, being married to Leontia. Nothing worthy of notice happened this year in either empire; but, in the following consulship of Severus and Jordanes, Euric, king of the Visigoths, an ambitious and warlike prince, conquered Auvergne, Berri, and Gevaudan, after having defeated a body of twelve thousand Britons dwelling on the Loire, who, under the conduct of Riothim, or Riotham, came to the assistance of the Romans^h.

When Leo was consul the fourth time, with Probianus, some misunderstanding arose between that prince and Aspar, who had raised him to the empire; but as Aspar was greatly beloved by the army, and commanded a separate and independent body, having Quelcal, a Hunn, for his lieutenant, the emperor thought it prudent to dissemble for the present. Pretending to be reconciled with Aspar, he gave one of his daughters in marriage to Patricius Secundus, that general's eldest son; and soon after created Aspar Cæsar. The inhabitants of Constantinople, knowing Aspar, and his whole family, to be greatly attached to the doctrine of Arius, were much displeased at this promotion; but the emperor soon delivered them from the apprehension they were under of seeing an Arian raised to the empire; for, being informed by some persons, privy to all the counsels of Aspar, that a plot was carrying on against him by that general and his children, he resolved to anticipate them; and accordingly caused Aspar, and his son Ardaburius, to be executed. The ancients only tell us, that they fell by the hands of the eunuchs of the palace, Leo having ordered them to be put to death, because they aspired to the empireⁱ. But the modern writers add several circumstances, which seem inconsistent with what we read in the authors who flourished in those times. Patricius was dangerously wounded, but found means to escape, as did likewise Aspar's third son Hermeneric^k. The friends of As-

The Visigoths extend their dominions in Gaul.

Aspar created Cæsar.

Yr. of Fl.

2819.

A. D. 471.

U. C. 1319.

Aspar and his son Ardaburius murdered.

^g Theoph. p. 111.

^h Jorn. Rer. Goth. cap. 45. p. 678. Sid.

lib. iii. ep. 9. p. 73, 74. Greg. Tur. lib. ii. cap. 18. p. 282.

ⁱ Marc. Chron. Procop. Bell. Vand. lib. i. cap. 6. p. 139. Viſt.

Tun. Jorn. Reg. Succ. p. 664. ^k Niceph. lib. xv. cap. 27. p. 733.

Zonar p. 39.

par, especially the Goths in the emperor's service, attempted to revenge his death, and committed great disorders in Constantinople, being headed by one of their countrymen, named Ostroui. But Zenó, who was then at Chalceis, marching with a choice body of troops to the metropolis, the Goths were driven out of the city with great slaughter. However, they ravaged Thrace, and, being joined by the Goths settled in Pannonia, made themselves masters of Philippi and Arcadiopolis; which they restored soon after, laying down their arms, upon the emperor's promising to pay them a certain sum, and to appoint Theodoric, son to Triarius, the brother of Aspar's wife, commander of the Goths in the Roman service^l. Upon the death of Aspar, who had been a zealous patron of the Arians, Leo published several rigorous laws against those heretics, depriving them of all their churches, and forbidding them to hold any public or private assemblies^m.

In the following year, when Festus and Marcianus were consuls, Ricimer, who was no less powerful in the West than Aspar had been in the East, dreading the same fate, resolved to depose the emperor Anthemius, who, he saw, began to mistrust him. Accordingly he openly revolted, and, at the head of the Barbarians in the Roman service, laid siege to Rome, where the emperor resided. The citizens, who were in general well affected to Anthemius, made a vigorous resistance, notwithstanding the famine and plague that raged in the city, depending upon the succours they daily expected from Gaul, under the conduct of Biliher, who commanded the Roman troops in that country, and was greatly attached to the interest of Anthemius. Biliher arrived at length with a considerable army, consisting partly of Romans, partly of Barbarians; but, having ventured an engagement, he was totally defeated by Ricimer, who, encouraged with this success, pursued the siege with fresh vigour, and, storming the city, raged with no less fury than Alaric or Genferic had done, allowing his men not only to plunder the houses of the unhappy citizens, but to commit all manner of crueltiesⁿ. Ricimer ordered the emperor Anthemius to be put to death, and Olybrius to be proclaimed in his room^o. Zenó, who succeeded Leo, reproached the Roman senate with the death of Anthemius. He is supposed to have died on the eleventh of July^p; but authors are silent as to the circumstances of his death, con-

Yr. of Fl.
2820.
A. D. 472.
U. C. 1320.

Rome besieged by Ricimer; which is taken and plundered.

Anthemius put to death, and Olybrius proclaimed emperor.

^l Marc. Chron. Theoph. p. 181. ^m Theodor. lib. iv. cap. 4. p. 273. ⁿ Marc. Chron. Oñoph. p. 57. Concil. tom. iv. p. 1238.
^o Evag. lib. ii. cap. 16. p. 308. ^p Cuspin. p. 457.

*Ricimer
dies, and
the new
emperor
Olybrius.*

tenting themselves only with telling us, that, by the treachery of Ricimer, he lost both his life and the empire. Ricimer did not long outlive Anthemius; for, being seized with violent pains in his bowels, he died on the eighteenth or nineteenth of September; and was followed soon after by Olybrius, who died a natural death at Rome, on the twenty-third of October¹. This year Mount Vesuvius, in Campania, threw out such an immense quantity of ashes, as turned night into day, even at Constantinople, where the people were assembled in the circus, when the cloud first appeared. All the streets and houses were covered with ashes three inches deep².

*Glycerius
usurps the
empire.*

In the following year 473, when Leo alone was consul the fifth time, Glycerius assumed the title of emperor at Ravenna, being supported by Gondibal, nephew to Ricimer, whom Olybrius had elevated, during his short reign, to the rank of patrician. All we know of this prince is, that he had been comes domesticorum, and was, according to Theophanes, a man of some merit. In the beginning of his reign the Goths, who had been allowed to settle in Pannonia, resolved, without the least provocation, to make war upon both empires. Pursuant to this resolution, Videmir broke into Italy, while his brother Theodimir invaded the Eastern empire; but the former dying, his son, bearing the same name, was, by the rich presents of Glycerius, prevailed upon to quit Italy, and retire into Gaul, where he joined the Visigoths, who, being thus reinforced, conquered soon after both that country and Spain³. Theodimir likewise died as soon as he entered the territories of the Eastern empire, and was succeeded by his son Theodoric, surnamed the Great. Leo apprehending, either from his age or infirmities, that his end approached, wished Zeno to succeed him; but both the senate and people of Constantinople, who hated Zeno, strongly remonstrating against his promotion, the emperor raised Leo the younger, the son of Zeno by his daughter Ariadne, to the dignity of Cæsar, and even declared him his partner in the empire, though he was then only five, or at most six years old⁴.

*Leo the
younger
created
Cæsar.*

*Leo the
elder dies.*

Next year the emperor was seized with a bloody flux, which, being attended with a violent fever, carried him off in a short time. He died at Constantinople, in the month of January, after having reigned seventeen years. Soon after his death, the empress Verina prevailed upon the se-

¹ Jorn. p. 67. Theoph. p. 102.

p. 355. Procop. lib. iii. cap. 4. p. 398.

p. 194. 195.

² Zonar. p. 429. Theodor. p. 355.

³ Zonar. p. 42. Theodor.

Jorn. Rer. Goth. cap. 56.

⁴ Zonar. p. 429. Theodor. p. 355. Evagr. p. 409.

nate and people of Constantinople to suffer her son-in-law Zeno to be declared colleague to young Leo in the empire. The ceremony was performed in the month of February, not in the palace of Hebdomon as usual, but in the circus at Constantinople^u. The young prince did not survive his grandfather above ten months^v. Leo the elder, or, as he is commonly surnamed, the Great, not approving of the promotion of Glycerius, had, before his death, named to the empire of the West Julius Nepos, or, as some call him, Nepotianus, a native of Dalmatia, and nephew, by the mother, to Marcellinus, prince of that country, who was murdered in Sicily, as we have already related. Nepos, who, it seems, was then at Constantinople, sailed from thence, without loss of time, for Italy; and, landing at Porto, surprised Glycerius, took him prisoner, and, stripping him of the imperial ornaments, had him ordained bishop of Salonæ in Dalmatia, after he had borne the title of emperor a year and some months^x.

Zeno declared colleague to his son Leo.

Yr. of Fl.
282.
A. D. 474.
U. C. 1523.

Leo dies.

Glycerius deposed, and Julius Nepos raised to the empire.

Nepos having raised Orestes to the post of general, appointed him commander of the Roman forces in Gaul; but he, instead of proceeding into that country, pursuant to his orders, bent his march towards Ravenna, with a design to depose Nepos, who, he knew, was not in a condition to oppose him. The emperor, suspecting his design, and distrusting the few troops he had with him, abandoned the city at his approach, and fled by sea to Salonæ in Dalmatia, where he was entertained by the bishop Glycerius, whom he had lately deprived of the empire^y. Orestes was by birth a Roman, that is, he was born a subject of the empire. As he lived in Pannonia, perhaps his native country, when that province was ceded to the Huns in 430, he lifted himself among the troops of Attila, who, finding him to be a man of abilities, made him his secretary, and sent him at least twice to Constantinople with the character of ambassador^z. His father, Tatula, bore likewise some considerable employment at the court of Attila. Orestes married the daughter of count Romulus, sent by Valentinian on an embassy to Attila in 449, and had by her a son, called by Males or Malus, Romulus Augustus, but, by all other historians, Romulus Augustulus, either by way of derision, or because he was very young when raised to the empire. Orestes, leaving the Huns, served with great reputation in the Roman armies, and was raised to the rank of patrician,

Orestes revolts.

Yr. of Fl.
283.
A. D. 475.
U. C. 1523.

Nepos flies into Dalmatia.

^u Theoph. p. 111. ^v Chron. Alex. p. 751. ^x Phot. cap. 78. p. 372. Journ. Rer. Goth. p. 654. Evagr. lib. ii. cap. 16. p. 308. ^y Onuph. p. 67. ^z Prisc. p. 37.

*Orestes
causes his
son Augu-
stulus to be
declared
emperor.*

and appointed by Nepos general of the troops in Gaul; when, turning his arms against that prince, he drove him from the throne, and caused not himself, but his son Augustus, or Augustulus, to be proclaimed emperor, on the twenty-ninth of October of the present year. The new prince styled himself Augustus Romulus Augustus, Augustus being both his proper name, and the title of his dignity. As Augustulus was very young, his father took upon him the administration, contenting himself with the title of patrician, and governing only as tutor and guardian to his son, during his minority^a.

*Zeno con-
cludes a
peace with
Genseric*

During these transactions in the West, the Saracens committed dreadful ravages in Mesopotamia; and the Huns in Thrace put all to fire and sword, and afterwards retired unmolested, the emperor Zeno, a most lewd and debauched prince, being absorbed in his scandalous pleasures and diversions^b. However, he concluded a peace with Genseric, which was religiously observed by the Vandals, till the reign of Justinian. The empress Verina, who had by her interest raised her son-in-law Zeno to the empire, provoked at his enormous vices, and scandalous indolence, formed a conspiracy against him, at the head of which was her brother Basiliscus, of whom we have spoken elsewhere. Zeno was privately informed of the whole; but, instead of putting himself in a posture of defence, and defeating their measures, as he might have easily done, he fled to Chalcedon, and from thence into Isauria, his native country. Upon his retreat, Basiliscus was proclaimed emperor by the senate and people of Constantinople, to the great disappointment of Verina, who designed to confer the empire on Patricius, magister officiorum to Zeno, with whom she is said to have maintained a criminal correspondence^c. Basiliscus immediately declared his wife Zenonides Augusta, and raised his son Marcus to the dignity of Cæsar.

*Zeno
driven out
by Basilis-
cus.*

*Yr. of Fl.
2824.
A. D. 476.
U. C. 1324.*

*The Bar-
barians in
the Roman
service re-
volt in the
West, and*

In the following year 476, when Basiliscus and Armatus were consuls, the Barbarians who served in the Roman armies, and were distinguished with the title of allies, demanded, as a reward for their services, the third part of the lands in Italy, pretending, that the whole country, which they had so often defended, belonged to them. As Orestes refused to comply with this insolent demand, they resolved to do themselves justice; and, openly revolting, chose Odoacer for their leader^d. Odoacer was, according

^a Procop. p. 308. ^b Evagr. lib. vii. cap. 1. p. 333. ^c Agath. lib. iv. p. 139. Journ. Reg. Succ. cap. 47. p. 654
Bell. Goth. lib. i. p. 308.

^d Procop.

to Ennodius, meanly born^c, and only a private man in the guards of the emperor Augustulus, when the Barbarians revolting, chose him for their leader. However, he is said to have been a man of uncommon parts, equally capable of commanding an army, or governing a state. Having left his own country, when he was very young, to serve in Italy, as he was of a stature remarkably tall, he was admitted among the emperor's guards, and continued in that station till the present year; when, putting himself at the head of the Barbarians in the Roman pay, who, though of different nations, had unanimously chosen him for their leader, he marched against Orestes, and his son Augustulus, who still refused to share any of the lands in Italy.

chose Odoacer for their leader.

His character.

As the Roman troops were inferior, both in number and valour, to the Barbarians, Orestes took refuge in Pavia, at that time one of the best fortified cities in Italy; but Odoacer, immediately investing the place, took it soon after by assault, allowed it to be plundered by the soldiers, and then set fire to it, which reduced most of the houses, and two churches, to ashes^d. Orestes was taken prisoner, and brought to Odoacer, who carried him to Placentia, where he was put to death on the twenty-eighth of August, the day on which he had driven Nepos out of Ravenna, and obliged him to abandon the empire. From Placentia Odoacer marched to Ravenna, where he found Paul, the brother of Orestes, and the young emperor Augustulus. The former he ordered to be executed; but, sparing Augustulus, in consideration of his youth, he stripped him of the ensigns of the imperial dignity, and confined him to Lucullanum, a castle in Campania, where he was, by Odoacer's orders, treated with great humanity, and allowed a liberal sum to support himself, and his relations^e. Rome soon submitted to the conqueror, who caused himself to be proclaimed king of Italy, but would not assume the purple, or any other mark of the imperial dignity. Thus failed the very name of an empire in the West^f. Britain had been long since abandoned by the Romans; Spain was possessed by the Goths and Suevians; Africa by the Vandals; the Burgundians, Goths, Franks, and Alans, had erected several tetrarchies in Gaul; at length Italy itself, with its proud metropolis, which for so many ages had given law to the rest of the world, was enslaved by a contemptible Barba-

He besieges Orestes in Pavia;

who is taken prisoner, and put to death.

*Yr. of Fl. 2824.
A. D. 476.
U C. 1324.*

Augustulus stripped of the imperial ornaments, and confined to Lucullanum.

Italy and Rome submit to Odoacer.

The end of the Western empire.

^c Ennod. Theodor. Panegy. p. 308. ^f Jorn. Rer. Goth. cap. 46. p. 679. & Reg. Succ. cap. 47. p. 654. ^g Procop. Bell. Goth. lib. i. cap. 1. p. 308. ^h Jorn. Rer. Goth. cap. 46. Candid. Haur. cap. 19. Evagr. lib. ii. cap. 16. p. 308.

rian, whose family, country, and nation, are not well known to this day. This great revolution happened in the West in the year 476 of the Christian æra, five hundred and seven years after the battle of Actium, when the Roman monarchy was first established, and one thousand three hundred and twenty-four since the foundation of Rome. Most writers observe, that the empire began with Augustus, and ended in a prince of the same name. Of the state of Italy under Odoacer, till he was defeated and slain by Theodoric the Ostrogoth; and under the Ostrogoths, from Theodoric to their expulsion by Narses, we shall speak in a more proper place; and in the mean time pursue the Roman history, that is, the history of the Constantinopolitan Roman empire, in which were preserved the same marks of sovereignty, the same ceremonies, titles, and employments, that had been first established at Rome.



C H A P. LXVI.

The Constantinopolitan History, from the Dissolution of the Western Empire to the Death of Justinian the Great.

AT the time that the Roman empire was abolished in the West, it was usurped in the East by Basiliscus, who, upon the flight of Zeno, the lawful prince, was proclaimed emperor, and his son Marcus acknowledged Cæsar. Zeno fled into Isauria, whither he was pursued by Illus and Trocondes, two of the usurper's generals, who, having defeated the few troops he had with him, forced the unhappy prince into a castle, which they immediately invested. But, in the mean time, Basiliscus having by his cruelty, avarice, enormous extortions, and, above all, by his unseasonable zeal for the doctrine of Eutyches, greatly exasperated the senate and people of Constantinople, as well as the soldiery, the two generals, informed of what passed in the metropolis, and privately encouraged by the senate, instead of pursuing the siege, openly declared for Zeno; and, joining him with all their forces, directed their march to Constantinople. Basiliscus no sooner heard of their revolt than he dispatched Harmatius, or Armatus, his kinsman, with a very numerous army against them, after having obliged him to swear by his baptism, that he would not

Zeno besieged in a castle of Isauria.

Basiliscus disobliges the people and soldiery.

not betray him. But, notwithstanding this oath, he had no sooner passed the Bosphorus than he joined Zeno, who was encamped, with Illus and Trocondes, in the neighbourhood of Nice, upon that prince's promising to appoint him general of the troops of his household, and to continue him in that office during life; to raise his son Basiliscus, who was yet very young, to the dignity of Cæsar; and to leave him the empire after his death^k. Zeno, thus reinforced, marched directly to Constantinople, which he entered without opposition, the usurper flying for refuge, with his wife Zenonides, and his children, to the great church, where he is said to have laid down his crown upon the altar. Zeno ordered them to be immediately stripped of all the marks of the imperial dignity. Having soon after got them into his power, they being either betrayed a second time by Harmatius, as Candidus Isaurus relates^l, or delivered up, as we read in Procopius¹, by Acacius, patriarch of Constantinople, he confined them to a castle in Cappadocia, named Limnos, where they perished in a short time with hunger and cold^m. Thus ended the usurpation of Basiliscus, after it had lasted twenty months.

Yr. of Fl.
7825.
A. D. 477.
U.C. 1335.

*Zeno re-
sired.*

*Basiliscus
taken, and
confined to
a castle in
Cappadocia,
where
he perished.*

Zeno, pursuant to his promise, raised Harmatius to the post of general of the troops of his household, and his son Basiliscus to the dignity of Cæsar; but soon after, distrust- ing the father, on account of his treachery and ingratitude to Basiliscus, who had preferred him to the first employ- ments in the state, he commanded him to be murdered in the palace, employing for that purpose Onoulus, or Onoul- phus, by birth a Barbarian, brought up in the family of Harmatius, and by his interest raised from a mean condi- tion to the dignity of count, and the post of general of Il- lyricum. Basiliscus, the son of Harmatius, was deposed from the dignity of Cæsar, and made reader in a church near Constantinople. He was afterwards ordained bishop of Cyzicus, the metropolis of the Hellespont, which church he governed with great prudence and piety, and assisted in 518 at the council of Constantinople. During the usurpa- tion of Basiliscus, a dreadful fire broke out at Constantino- ple, which consumed great part of the city, with the li- brary, containing a hundred and twenty thousand volumes, and the works of Homer, written, as is asserted, in gold characters on the great gut of a dragon, a hundred and twenty feet longⁿ.

*Harmatius
murdered
by Zeno's
orders.*

*A great
fire at
Constanti-
nople.*

ⁱ Candid. p. 19. Theoph. p. 106. Procop. Bell. Vand. lib. i. cap. 7. p. 295. Evagr. lib. iii. cap. 24. p. 354. ^k Candid. p. 19. ^l Procop. Bell. Vand. lib. i. cap. 7. p. 194. ^m Evagr. lib. iii. cap. 8. p. 341. ⁿ Cedr. p. 35. Zonar. p. 43, 44.

In the course of the following year, Theodoric, the son of Triarius, who had espoused the cause of Basiliscus, broke into Thrace with a numerous army of Goths, and advanced within four miles of Constantinople; an invasion which so terrified the emperor, that he concluded a peace with him upon his own terms; one of the articles of which was, that Theodoric should be appointed commander in chief of the Roman horse². Next year Marcian, the son of Anthemius, who had reigned in the West, claiming the empire in right of his wife Leontia, the eldest daughter of the late emperor Leo, unexpectedly attacked the imperial palace in Constantinople, at the head of some malecontents, prepared for any desperate attempt. The emperor's guards, endeavouring to make head against them, were either dispersed, or cut in pieces, and Zeno himself shut up with a small number of officers in the palace. Had Marcian pursued his design, and forced the gates of the palace, the emperor must have fallen into his hands; but the attack being with the utmost imprudence put off till the next morning, Zeno in the mean time gained over, partly by presents, partly by promises, most of the followers of Marcian, who, terrified at this defection, took sanctuary in the church of the Apostles, whence he was dragged by the emperor's order, ordained priest, and confined to a monastery in the neighbourhood of Cæsarea in Cappadocia³.

*Marcian
revolts;*

*but is
abandoned
by his own
men, and
forced to
take refuge
in a
church.*

*The Ostro-
goths break
into the
empire.*

As Zeno had not for some years paid the Ostrogoths in Pannonia their annual pension, Theodoric their king no sooner heard of the revolt of Marcian than he made an irruption into Macedon; and from thence advancing into Epirus, reduced Duras, on the Adriatic Sea, that important place being betrayed by a Goth named Sidimont. But Sabinianus, an officer of great experience and address, having surprised and cut in pieces a strong reinforcement that was marching to the assistance of Theodoric, under the conduct of his brother Theudimont, and taken all their baggage, and two thousand waggons loaded with provisions, the Goths, abandoning Duras, retired with precipitation into Pannonia. Next year Zeno not only concluded a peace, but entered into an alliance, with Hunneric, the son and successor of Genferic, who had died three years before⁴. In 481, Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, renewed his ravages, desolating the provinces of Macedon and Thessaly; hostilities which obliged Zeno to comply with his demands, to yield to him part of Lower Dacia and

² Jorn. cap. 57. p. 696. ³ Candid. p. 20. Evagr. p. 335. Theoph. p. 109. ⁴ Marc. ad Ann. 481. Malcl. p. 95.

Mæſia, to give him the command of the troops of the houſhold, and to name him conſul for the enſuing year. Upon theſe terms he withdrew out of Macedon and Theſſaly; reſtored Lariffa, the metropolis of the latter province, which he had taken; and promiſed to employ, when required, all his forces in defence of the empire^r. In the following year Leontius, a native of Chalcis in Syria, and commander of the troops in that province, revolting, ſome ſay at the inſtigations of the empreſs Verina, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor. Zeno immediately diſpatched Illus, captain of the guards, againſt him; but he, inſtead of oppoſing, joined Leontius; and, having ravaged the provinces of Syria and Iſauria, advanced to Antioch, with a deſign to ſeize on that metropolis. Longinus, the emperor's brother, met them in that neighbourhood, at the head of a conſiderable army; but his troops were to a man cut in pieces by the rebels, and himſelf was taken priſoner.

Lower Dacia and Mæſia yielded to Theodoric, king of the Oſtrogoths.

Leontius revolts.

*Yr. of Fl. 2831.
A. D. 484.
U C. 1331.*

Is joined by Illus.

After this victory, Leontius and Illus entered Antioch in triumph. Zeno, upon the defeat and captivity of his brother, diſpatched John, an officer of great valour and experience, into Syria, with what troops he could aſſemble, and prevailed upon Theodoric the Oſtrogoth, to join him with a numerous army of Goths. Theſe two commanders were attended with better ſucceſs; for meeting Leontius and Illus in the neighbourhood of Seleucia, they gained a complete victory; and the following year obliged the two ringleaders of the revolt to take refuge in the ſtrong caſtle of Papyra in Cilicia, which John immediately inveſted, while Theodoric returned, as the war ſeemed now ended, with his troops to Conſtantinople^s. Trocundus, the brother of Illus, taken priſoner by John, as he was attempting to make his eſcape out of Syria, in order to ſtir up the Barbarians, was, by his order, beheaded^t. The ſame year Theodoric, upon ſome diſguſt, withdrew from Conſtantinople, and returned into Pannonia. Evagrius aſſerts, that Zeno, jealous of the glory he had acquired by his late victory, and of the great eſteem perſons of all ranks ſhewed him, attempted to diſpatch him privately^u. However that be, it is certain, that Theodoric, after having ſpent the following year, when Longinus and Decius were conſuls, in raiſing troops, and making other military preparations, as if he deſigned to make war upon the Barba-

They are both deſtroyed, and beſieged in Papyra.

Theodoric the Oſtrogoth breaks into Thrace.

^r Jorn. Rer. Goth. cap. 57. p. 696.
Liberat. cap. 18. p. 125.
lib. iii. cap. 27. p. 336.

^s Theophan. p. 112.
^t Theophan. ibid. Evagr.

rians, broke suddenly into Thrace at the head of a numerous army; and putting all to fire and sword, advanced within fifteen miles of Constantinople; but, instead of laying siege to that metropolis, as was apprehended, he returned into Pannonia the following year, in virtue of a private treaty between him and Zeno, by which the emperor gave him, as some authors write, all the provinces of Italy, held then by Odoacer, encouraging him to rescue them from the hands of that Barbarian, and promising to acknowledge him king of Italy ^w. The Romans afterwards pretended that Zeno had sent Theodoric to conquer Italy, not for himself, but for the emperor of the East, to whom of right it belonged. On the other hand, the Goths maintained that Zeno had yielded it to be held for ever by the Goths. However that be, Theodoric, in the beginning of the autumn of the year 487, when Boetius was consul, returned to Nova in Mœsia, which city he had chosen for the place of his residence. Having spent the winter in military preparations, he advanced, at the head of a powerful army, towards Italy; and entering that country, defeated Odoacer in several battles, and established a new monarchy.

*Leontius
and Illus
taken,
and put to
death.*

Leontius and Illus, after having defended with incredible bravery the castle of Papyra for the space of four years, were at length taken by treachery, and put to death. Their heads were sent to Constantinople, and exposed for several days to public view ^x. In the following consulship of Anicius Probinus, and Chronion Eusebius, Zeno ordered several persons of great distinction to be executed, and banished others, confiscating their estates under pretence that they had favoured Leontius and Illus ^y. Zeno, raging with more cruelty than ever, caused Pelagius, a patrician of great distinction, to be strangled, for no other reason but because he had been told by an astrologer that he was to succeed Zeno ^z. The emperor did not long survive him; for in the month of April of the following year 491, when Olybrius was consul, he was seized with violent pains in his bowels, which carried him off in a few days, after he had lived sixty-five years, and nine days, and reigned seventeen years and three months ^a (B). He is painted by the

*Zeno's
cruelty.*

His death.

^w Jorn. Rer. Goth. lib. ii. cap. 57. p. 696.

Phot. cap. 242. p. 1072. Theodor. p. 558.

^z Zonar. p. 44.

^a Chron. Alex. p. 758.

cap. 29. p. 357.

^x Theoph. p. 114.

^y Cedr. p. 354.

Evagr. lib. iii.

(B) The more modern Greek Cedrenus, tell us, that being writers, and amongst the rest seized with an epileptic fit, he was

the ancients as one of the most wicked and debauched princes recorded in history, destitute of every good quality, and equally incapable of directing civil or military offices ^b (C).

Yr. of Fl.
2838.
A D. 491.
U.C. 1338.

Upon the death of Zeno, his brother Longinus laid claim to the empire; but he being universally abhorred for his lewdness and cruelty, Ariadne, widow to the deceased emperor, easily prevailed upon the senate to acknowledge Anastasius for emperor, who was accordingly crowned on the eleventh of April in the circus, according to some, by Ariadne ^c, according to others, by Euphemius, patriarch of Constantinople, who absolutely refused to place the imperial crown upon his head, till he had bound himself, by a solemn oath, to protect the Catholic church, and maintain the doctrine of the two councils of Nice and Chalcedon. He was no sooner proclaimed emperor than he married Ariadne, being then in the sixtieth year of his

*Anastasius
declared
emperor.*

*He marries
Ariadne.*

^b Procop. Bell. Goth. lib. i. cap. 1. p. 308. Marc. p. 1232. Evagr. lib. iii. cap. 3. p. 334.

^c Theoph. p. 117. Cedren. p. 357.

was buried alive, his wife Ariadne, who hated him, and was in love with Anastasius, whom she immediately married, not suffering him to be relieved, though he made a dreadful noise in his tomb; which being afterwards opened, he was found to have devoured the flesh of his own arms, and even his buskins (1). But of this tragical end no mention is made by the more ancient writers.

(C) Theodulus, a native of Syria, published in the reign of Zeno several pieces against the Manichees, and other heretics, a comment on the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans, and a poem on the miracles related in the Old Testament, and on the fables of the poets (2). His comment has reached our times. John the grammarian published a book against the Eurychians,

which has been long since lost, Malus or Males, by profession a sophist, wrote the history of Zeno and Basiliscus; but of that work only some fragments have reached us (3). Candidus, by birth an Isaurian, comprised in three books a very particular and distinct account of what happened from the election of Leo to that of Anastasius. A short abstract of his work has been conveyed to us by Photius. Evagrius, in speaking of Zeno, often quotes and highly commends Eustathius, a native of Philadelphia, who wrote an abridgment of the Roman history, from Aeneas to the twelfth year of Zeno's reign. Photius speaks of Victorinus, who wrote some orations in commendation of the consuls, and of the emperor Zeno.

(1) Cedren. p. 355. (2) Marc. Chron. Gennad. cap. 91. Sixtus Senenf. lib. iv. p. 381. Possevin. p. 469. Siegbert. cap. 134. (3) Phot. cap. 78. p. 172. Zonar. p. 44. Evagr. p. 78.

*His birth,
education,
employ-
ments, &c.*

age ^d. He was a native of Duras, the metropolis of New Epirus in Illyricum. All we know of his family is, that his father was born in the same city; that his mother was a Manichee, and Clearchus, her brother, an Arian ^e. Anastasius himself is by some styled a Manichee, by others an Eutychian. Magna, whom some maintain to have been the emperor's sister, others to have been wife to his brother, named Paul, was a zealous Catholic ^f. Anastasius had not yet attained to the rank of senator, when he was raised to the empire, being at that time one of the great chamberlain's officers, named silentiarii, whose province it was to cause proper silence to be observed in the palace. He is said to have led, while a private man, a very abstemious life, and to have given signal instances of his integrity; whence, upon his receiving the purple and diadem in the circus, the people, applauding his promotion, exclaimed with one voice, "Reign, Anastasius, as you have lived ^g."

*He abolishes
the chry-
sargyrum.*

The beginning of his reign was deservedly applauded by persons of all ranks; for he immediately remitted whatever was due to the treasury, and entirely abolished the infamous tax called chrysargyrum, which was levied every fifth year upon those, even common beggars not excepted, who sold any thing, of how little value soever; whence it was called the gold of tribulation. To pay it, parents were often obliged to sell their children, after they had been stripped of every thing else. It was not only raised on all traders, in what kind soever of merchandize they dealt, but on the public prostitutes, who, by paying to the prince a considerable share of what they earned by their infamous profession, seemed to have purchased a right to pursue with impunity their scandalous practices. Alexander Severus, being ashamed, though a Pagan, to suffer the money thus raised to be lodged in the treasury, ordered it to be kept separate, and to be employed in repairing the public edifices ^h. Theodosius the Younger suppressed this infamous tribute; but it was soon after revived through the avarice of his successors. This abolition of the chrysargyrum is recorded by all the historians who mention Anastasius, as an action truly great, heroic, and almost divine, worthy of being transmitted to the latest posterity, and capable of covering the many faults which are but too deservedly laid to that prince's charge ⁱ.

^d Evagr. p. 357. Theoph. p. 117. ^e Theodor. p. 558.
^f Niceph. Chron. p. 305. ^g Cedren. p. 357. ^h Lampid.
 in Alexand. p. 212. ⁱ Evagr. p. 370. Const. Manass. p. 63,
 Suid. p. 913.

At the same time the new prince drove all informers out of Constantinople, and put a stop to the enormous abuse introduced by Zeno of exposing to sale all public offices, and bestowing, to the great oppression of the unhappy people, the best governments on the highest bidders ¹.

Informers driven out of Constantinople.

Anastasius having, by these and several other acts of generosity, gained the affections of the people, they to a man joined him against Longinus, the deceased emperor's brother, who, in the beginning of the following year, when the emperor Anastasius and Rufus were consuls, raised some disturbances in Constantinople; but was immediately seized, deprived of his employments, and banished into Isauria, his native country. With him were driven out of Constantinople all the Isaurians, who were very powerful in the late reign. The Isaurians, thus banished the city, espoused the cause of Longinus, and, openly revolting, kindled a civil war in the bowels of the empire. They were headed by Longinus, the late emperor's brother, by another Longinus, surnamed Selinontius, from the city of Selinus in Isauria, the place of his nativity, by Indus, Theodorus, Ninilinghus, and several other Isaurians of distinction, who had been raised by Zeno to the first employments of the state. Conon, bishop of Apamea in Syria, abandoning his flock, joined his countrymen, and became one of the ringleaders of the revolt ¹. Under these chiefs, the rebels seized on an immense quantity of arms, and vast sums lodged by Zeno in a fort in Isauria, which enabled them to raise and arm above a hundred and fifty thousand men. The emperor, alarmed at their progress, dispatched the flower of his troops against them, under the conduct of two of the most renowned generals of that age, John the Scythian, and John surnamed Gibbus, or the Hunch-backed, who encountering the rebels in the neighbourhood of Cotycea in Phrygia, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to take refuge amongst the inaccessible mountains of Isauria, where they maintained themselves six years, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the best generals of the empire ². Ninilinghus, one of their chief leaders, was killed in the above mentioned battle.

*Yr. of Fl. 439
A. D. 492.
U. C. 1339.*

Longinus and the Isaurians revolt.

They are defeated; but continue in arms.

In the following year the emperor, who, notwithstanding the generosity he affected on his accession to the empire, was naturally of a most avaricious temper, laid a heavy tax on the inhabitants of Constantinople, called by Evagrius chrysotelia, which, as it was altogether unexpected, in-

¹ Cedren. p. 358.
² Jorn. p. 555.

¹ Evagr. lib. iii. p. 366. Theoph. p. 118.

*A tumult in
Constanti-
nople.*

Yr. of Fl.
2840.
A. D. 493.
U. C. 1340.

*Theodoric
acknow-
ledged king
of Italy.*

censed them to such a degree, that, running to arms, they pulled down the emperor's statues, and dragged them through the chief streets of the city, with those of the empress Ariadne, uttering most injurious invectives against her and Anastasiusⁿ. How this tumult ended we are not informed. Theodoric the Goth, having completed the conquest of Italy, by the reduction of Ravenna, after three years siege, was proclaimed king of that country, without waiting the return of ambassadors, whom he had sent to Constantinople for the ensigns of royalty. However, he dispatched Festus or Faustus, and Irenæus, two persons of rank, to solicit the emperor's approbation, and excuse the liberty he had taken. Anastasius received his excuses, promised not to molest him in the possession of the country he had conquered, and sent him the ensigns of the royal dignity^o. Hence it appears, that he acknowledged in some degree the authority of the emperor. Besides, he suffered the Romans to receive the consulship from the emperor of the East. It is true he named, in 511, Felix to that dignity; but at the same he begged Anastasius to confirm what he had done^p.

*The Isfrau-
vians de-
stroyed a
second
time by
John the
Scythian.*

*Longinus
and the
other heads
of the re-
bels taken
and put to
death.*

In 494, when Asterius and Præsidius were consuls, Diogenes, one of the emperor's generals, having surprised the city of Claudiopolis in Isauria, held by the rebels, he was closely besieged by bishop Conon, and reduced to such distresses, that he must have soon either perished with hunger, or been cut in pieces with all his men, had not John, surnamed Gibbus, opening himself a way over Mount Taurus, and falling unexpectedly upon the rebels, obliged them to retire with great slaughter. The bishop, fighting with great resolution and intrepidity at the head of his followers, received a wound, of which he died soon after^q. In the two following years some inconsiderable advantages were gained over the Isaurian rebels, who were totally defeated, when the emperor Anastasius was consul the second time, by John the Scythian. Longinus, brother to the late emperor Zeno, and Theodorus or Athenodorus, being taken prisoners, they were both executed by that general's orders, and their heads sent to Constantinople, where they were exposed to public view in the suburbs called Sycæ. The head of Athenodorus was afterwards sent to Tarfus, and set upon a pole before the gate of that city^r. The other ringleaders of the rebellion, namely, Longinus Selinontius, and Indus, were taken the following year, when John the Scythian was con-

ⁿ Marc. Chron. p. 408.

^o Ammian. Anonym. p. 408.

^p Procop. p. 402.

^q Theoph. p. 119

^r Evagr. lib. iii.

cap. 33. p. 366.

ful with Paulinus, and sent loaded with chains to Constantinople. Longinus was afterwards racked to death at Nice. As several cities in Isauria were ruined during this war, which had lasted six years, the inhabitants of Isauria were removed into Thrace, and the annual pension of five thousand pieces of gold, paid to them by Zeno, taken away for ever *.

This year the emperor narrowly escaped being murdered in the circus by the populace, upon his refusing to cause some prisoners to be released who had been concerned in a riot. It was with the utmost difficulty that the guards screened him from the fury of the enraged multitude, and the showers of stones discharged against him. When the multitude found themselves repulsed by the soldiery, they set fire to the hippodrome, which consumed that and several other stately edifices, with the square of Constantine, in which not a single building was left standing †. At this period the Arabs and Saracens, named Scenitæ, made an irruption into Palestine and Syria Euphratesiana; but in Syria they were defeated by Eugenius, who commanded the Roman troops, and in Palestine by Romanus, governor of that province, who, on that occasion, recovered the island of Jotape in the Red Sea, which the Arabs Scenitæ had seized, and protected the Roman merchants trading to India ‡.

A tumult in Constantinople.

In 499, when Joannes Gibbus and Asclepion were consuls, the Bulgarians invading Thrace, Arisius, commander of the troops in Illyricum, marched against them at the head of fifteen thousand men, and engaged them on the banks of the Zurta or Zorta; but was defeated with the loss of four thousand men, amongst whom were the counts Nicostratus, Innocentius, and Aquilinus, and several other officers of distinction. The Barbarians, after having plundered all the open places in Thrace, retired beyond the Danube §. The same year Neocæsarea, and several other cities in Pontus, suffered severely by an earthquake. The year 500, when Patritius and Hypatius were consuls, is quite barren of events. In the following consulship of Pompeius and Avienus, the blue and green factions quarrelling in the circus at Constantinople, above three thousand of the former were killed. The Bulgarians breaking again into Thrace, and the Saracens into Palestine, committed dreadful ravages in those two provinces *. Cabades, king of Persia, being incensed at the emperor's refusing to lend him a

The Romans defeated by the Barbarians.

A tumult in the circus at Constantinople.

* Cassiod. lib. i. ep. 23. lib. ii. ep. 3. Evagr. lib. iii. cap. 35. p. 366.
 Marc. Chron. † Chron. Alex. p. 760. ‡ Theoph. p. 21.
 § Zonar. p. 47. * Marc. Chron. Theoph. p. 153.

The Persians break into the empire,

and take Amida.

Yr. of Fl.
2849.
A. D. 392.
U.C. 1349.

The Roman generals defeated.

certain sum, which he owed to the king of the Nephthalite or Ephthalite Hunns, entered Armenia at the head of a numerous army. Having reduced the cities of Theodosiopolis and Martyropolis, he laid close siege to Amida, which the inhabitants defended with such vigour and resolution, that the king, despairing of being able to reduce it, had already ordered his troops to retire; but some women, probably common prostitutes, reviling and rallying him from the walls in a manner not to be expressed by a modest writer, he resolved to pursue the siege; and at length made himself master of the place, after having lain before it eighty days, or, as others write, four months¹. Most of the inhabitants were put to the sword, and the town was pillaged.

In the mean time Anastasius dispatched a powerful army against the enemy, commanded by Patritius, Hypatius, and Areobindus, which last had married Juliana, the daughter of the emperor Olybrius. Under them commanded Celer, Justin, afterwards emperor, his son Vitalianus, Patritiolis, Romanus, and several other officers of distinction. But the Persians having reduced Amida before they reached that place, they divided the army into two bodies, one, under the command of Patritius and Hypatius, attempting to make an irruption into the enemy's country on the side of Amida, and the other marching under the command of Areobindus to Nisibis, in order to surprize that important place. In the mean time Cabades, having assembled his troops, went to meet Areobindus, who, upon his approach, abandoning his camp and baggage, fled in the utmost confusion to Constantina, after having pressed Hypatius and Patritius in vain to join him, and with their united forces to oppose the enemy, who was far superior in number to either of the divisions they commanded. Areobindus being put to flight, Cabades, without loss of time, marched against Hypatius and Patritius; and coming upon them by surprize, cut their whole army in pieces, the two generals having with difficulty escaped by a timely flight. Cabades, having now no enemy to oppose, over-ran Mesopotamia, extending his ravages to the very borders of Syria, till he was obliged, by the approach of winter, to return into Persia².

In the following year Celer, entering the province of Arzanene, belonging to the Persians, at the head of a considerable army, ravaged it to a great extent, while the other generals undertook the siege of Amida, the Persians being diverted by a sudden irruption of the Hunns. The place

¹ Procop. Bell. Pers. lib. i. cap. 7. p. 20, 21. Evagr. lib. iii. cap. 37. p. 367. ² Procop. p. 22. Theoph. p. 125.

held out till both the Romans and Persians being exhausted with the fatigues of a siege in the depth of winter, it was agreed, that the Persians should deliver the city to the Romans, upon their paying to the king of Persia fifty talents. Thus the Romans recovered the important city of Amida, in the consulship of Sabinianus and Theodorus, after it had been possessed two years by the Persians. Upon their entering the place, they found that the enemy had not sufficient provisions to support them seven days longer, though they had lived very sparingly during the siege. Not long after, a truce for seven years, which lasted about twenty, was concluded between the two empires, Cabades being engaged in war with the Caduceans, Hunns, and other Barbarians. Mondon or Mondo, a Goth, having settled with many of his countrymen in some uninhabited places beyond the Danube, seized on a fortress called Herta; and thence, by frequent incursions into the Roman territories, continued harassing the subjects of the empire, assuming the title of king. Anastasius dispatched Sabinianus against him, son of the famous general of that name, at the head of ten thousand chosen men; a circumstance which obliged Mondon to have recourse to Theodoric the Goth, king of Italy, who the year before had reconquered Pannonia, and recovered Sirmium out of the hands of the Gepidæ. As Mondo had entered into an alliance with Theodoric, Pitzia, one of that prince's generals, marched to his assistance, defeated Sabinianus in a pitched battle near Margus in Lower Dacia, and forced him to take refuge in the castle of Nato^a. These hostilities occasioned a misunderstanding between Theodoric and Anastasius, as we shall relate in the history of the Ostrogoths in Italy.

At this juncture Anastasius, to defend not only the city of Constantinople, but the adjacent country, against the sudden irruptions of the Barbarians, built the famous wall called the Long Wall, and the Wall of Anastasius, of which frequent mention is made by the Byzantine historians. It was distant from Constantinople two hundred and eighty furlongs; extended from sea to sea, being four hundred and twenty furlongs round; and inclosed not only the metropolis, but the city of Selymbria, and the neighbouring country, which was a continued garden, with an incredible number of stately villas, and houses of pleasure, richly furnished and adorned. The wall was twenty feet in breadth, and defended by towers at small distances from each other;

Amida restored to the Romans.

Yr. of Fl.
2852.
A. D. 5051
U. C. 1352.

A truce with the Persians.

The Romans defeated by Mondo the Goth.

Anastasius builds the Long Wall.

^a Jorn. Rer. Goth. p. 599. Ennod. in Panegy. Theodorici p. 309.

Daras repaired and fortified.

The Heruli admitted into Thrace.

*Yr. of Fl. 2859.
A. D. 512.
U.C. 1359.*

Great disturbances in Constantinople.

Vitalianus espouses the cause of the Catholics against the Eutychians.

The emperor promises to comply with his demands.

by which means the inhabitants, upon the shortest warning, had an opportunity of putting themselves in a posture of defence, and repulsing the Barbarians with ease ^b. He likewise caused the city of Daras, a frontier town towards Persia, to be repaired and fortified, in order to prevent the Persians from invading the empire on that side. Darus stood on the Cardus, about fifteen miles from Nisibis, and three from Charrhæ.

In 511, the Heruli, after having long roved from one country to another, passed the Danube, and were received into Thrace; where lands were allotted them, upon their engaging to serve with fidelity in the Roman armies, when required. In the next consulship of Probus and Clementinus, the emperor, at the instigation of the Eutychians, whom he favoured, drove Macedonius, the orthodox patriarch of Constantinople, from his see, and preferred Timotheus, an avowed follower of Eutyches, in his room, who, by attempting to introduce innovations in the public worship, raised great disturbances in that city. Many of the inhabitants were killed in a tumult between the Catholics and Eutychians, and several houses burnt; amongst the rest, that of the pæfekt Martinus, with its rich furniture, that magistrate having narrowly escaped being consumed in the flames ^c. Vitalianus, one of the emperor's generals, espousing the cause of Macedonius, and the other orthodox bishops, persecuted by Anastasius, approached Constantinople, at the head of a numerous army, raised in three days, threatening to depose the emperor, if he did not restore the banished bishops to their sees, and expel the Eutychians. Anastasius, who was a zealous patron of the doctrine of Eutyches, refusing to comply with his request, he made himself master of Mæsia and Thrace; took Cyril, governor of the latter province, prisoner; and defeated Hypatius, the emperor's nephew, who likewise fell into his hands: then appearing before Constantinople with his victorious army, Anastasius, who was not in a condition to oppose him, solemnly promised to comply with his demands; to put an end to the persecution which he had raised against the Catholics; to restore Macedonius, and the other orthodox bishops, to their sees; and to call an œcumenical council, and stand to the decisions of the prelates of the church. Anastasius had no sooner signed these articles, than Vitalianus withdrew from the neighbourhood of Constantinople; and, disbanding his troops, sent Hypatius, whom he had

^b Evag. lib. iii. cap. 38. p. 367. Procop. Ædif. lib. iv. cap. 9. p. 86. Gyl. de Constantinop. lib. i. cap. 21. p. 83. Zon. p. 42.

^c Surtius, p. 173.

taken prisoner, back to his uncle, and retired to his government in Thrace ^d.

Anastasius, thus delivered from his fears, pursued the persecution against the Catholics with more cruelty than ever, as the reader will find related at large by the ecclesiastic writers. In 517, when Anastasius was consul the fourth time, with Agapetus, the northern Barbarians, invited by Marcellinus Getæ, breaking into Illyricum, laid waste Macedon and Epirus, defeated Pompeius, the emperor's nephew, in the neighbourhood of Adrianople; and, penetrating as far as Thessaly, retired from thence beyond the Danube unmolested, with an immense booty, and an incredible number of captives ^e. The following year, the emperor Anastasius was found dead in his chamber on the ninth of July. Authors do not agree in the circumstances of his death: some write, that a violent storm arising, the dread and terror with which he was seized, being conscious to himself of many cruel and unjust murders, put an end to his life ^f; others suppose him to have been killed by lightning ^g. He died in the eighty-eighth year of his age, after having reigned twenty-seven years, and three months ^h. No prince perhaps was ever more beloved in the beginning, nor more hated in the end, of his reign. He gave at first several instances of generosity, complacency, moderation, and application to public affairs, seeming to have nothing so much at heart as the welfare of his subjects: but he soon abandoned himself to all manner of wickedness, selling the public offices, and sharing with the governors of provinces the spoils of the unhappy people, whom he suffered them to oppress with the most enormous exactions. The ecclesiastic writers paint him in the blackest colours imaginable; but as he persecuted the Catholics, and countenanced, to the utmost of his power, the Eutychians, they were perhaps so far prejudiced against him as to overlook the few good qualities which other authors allow him, and regard only his vices.

Anastasius being dead, Justin, then prefectus prætorio, was by the soldiers of the household proclaimed emperor. He was descended of an obscure and mean family in Thrace, having been in his youth employed in keeping cattle. He afterwards lifted among the troops that defended Thrace; and having, on several occasions, given signal proofs of an extraordinary valour and address, he was raised from the

*The Getæ
break into
Illyricum.*

Yr. of Fl.
2865.
A. D 518.
U. C. 1365.

*Anastasius
diss.*

*Justin pro-
claimed
emperor.
His birth,
education,
&c.*

^d Marc. Chron. Vict. Tununenſis, p. 132.
Succ. cap. 48. p. 655.
^e Theod. p. 505.
^f Zonar. p. 47. Cedren p. 362.
^g Chron. Alex. p. 764.
^h Evagr. lib. iv. cap. 1. p. 381. Chron. Alex. p. 764.

^e Jorn. Reg.
Chron. Alex. p.
^h Evagr. lib.

low station of a common soldier to the post of a tribune, and from that soon after to the office of prefectus prætorio. Evagrius writes, that Amantius, the deceased emperor's great chamberlain, having entrusted Justin with large sums to purchase the votes of the soldiery in favour of Theocritus his intimate friend, Justin distributed the money in his own name; and, having thus secured the army to his interest, he was saluted with the title of Augustus, as soon as the death of Anastasius was known: but this account of Evagrius does not at all agree with what we read in the letters said to have been written by Justin himself to Hormisdas, bishop of Rome, soon after his promotion; wherein he tells him that he had been preferred, contrary to his expectation, and against his will, to the imperial dignity¹. By what means soever he attained the purple, he governed with great equity and moderation; and, by his steady adherence to the orthodox faith, and prudent administration, healed in a great measure the divisions which had long rent the church as well as the state, into factions and parties. He had scarce ascended the throne, when Amantius, Theocritus, and several of the deceased emperor's relations, persons of great interest and authority in the empire, conspired against him; but the plot being discovered, the chief authors of it, and, among the rest, Amantius and Theocritus, were publicly executed, to the great satisfaction of the people, who hated them as the avowed patrons of the Eutychians, and the chief promoters of the late persecution against the Catholics². In the following year 519, all the orthodox bishops, who had been banished by Anastasius, were by the emperor's orders restored to their sees, and several synods assembled, in which the doctrine of the church was established, and that of Eutyches condemned³.

Some conspire against him, but are discovered, and punished.

Vitalianus put to death.

Next year Vitalianus, of whom we have made mention before, was raised to the consulship with Rusticus, but was soon after dispatched in the palace by the emperor's order, upon his attempting to corrupt some of the chief officers, with a design to depose Justin, and caused himself to be proclaimed emperor. He had espoused the Catholic cause in the reign of Anastasius; but his caballing against Justin, a zealous patron of the true faith, and his courting the Eutychians, convinced the world, that it was not merely on account of religion he had taken arms against his sovereign. Justinian, the emperor's nephew, being consul with Valerius, Cabades, king of Persia, sent a solemn embassy to Justin,

¹ Vide Baron. ad ann. 518.
² Evagr. lib. iv. cap. 3.

³ Jorn. Reg. Succ. cap. 48. p. 132.

offering to conclude a lasting peace with him, provided he would adopt Cosrhoes, the Persian king's youngest son, whom, to the prejudice of his eldest son Caoses, he had declared his successor. The proposal was received at first with great joy, both by Justin, and his nephew Justinian; but Proclus the quæstor, a man of great integrity, and well skilled in the laws, demonstrating that, in virtue of the adoption, Cosrhoes might claim the Roman empire as his inheritance, it was rejected; a refusal which so incensed Cosrhoes, that he immediately entered Iberia, in order to invade from thence the Roman territories. Gurgenes, king of the Iberians, had recourse to Justin, who dispatched a body of troops to his assistance, under the conduct of Sittas, and the famous Belisarius, who was then but a youth, and served in the guards of Justinian, lately declared commander in chief of all the forces of the empire. Sittas and Belisarius broke into that part of Armenia which belonged to the Persians, and laid it waste; but being encountered by Narses and Aratius, they were put to flight, and obliged to retire into the Roman dominions. Narses and Aratius revolted soon after from the Persians, and served under Belisarius in Italy. The emperor, pleased with the conduct of Belisarius, gave him the command of the forces in Daras, on the frontiers of Persia^m.

Yr. of Fl.
2868.
A. D. 521
U. C. 1368

The Persian war.

Belisarius commander of the troops in Daras.

The Arians deprived of their churches.

A great earthquake at Antioch.

In 525, when Probinus, or Probus, and Philoxenus, were consuls, Justin deprived the Arians of all their churches in his dominions; an edict which occasioned a misunderstanding between him and Theodoric king of Italy, who was a zealous patron of the doctrine of Arius. But what relates to that prince, we reserve for the history of the Ostrogoths in Italy. The same year the city of Antioch was almost overturned by an earthquake, and great numbers of the inhabitants were buried, with their bishop Euphrasius, under the ruinsⁿ. The cities of Epidamnus, Corinth, and Anazarbus in Cilicia, underwent the same fate; but were at a great expence restored, as well as Antioch, to their former condition, by the generous emperor, who was so affected with their misfortune, that, putting off the purple, and laying aside the diadem, he appeared for several days in sack-cloth.

Yr. of Fl.
2874.
A. D. 527.
U. C. 1374.

In 526, Justin declared his nephew Justinian his partner in the empire. He was the son of Sabatius by Bigleniza, the sister of Justin, called by the Romans Vigilantia. He was a native of Tauresium, but brought up at Bederina, the birth-place of his uncle Justin, both cities on the confines of Thrace and Illyricum; wherefore he was by some styled

^m Procop. Bell. Pers. cap. 11, 12. ⁿ Evagr. lib. iv. cap. 5, 6.

*Justin
assumes
Justinian
for his
partner in
the empire.*

a Thracian, by others an Illyrian. He was sent, when a youth, by Justin, then commander in chief of the Roman army, as a hostage to Theodoric, king of Italy, who, upon the news of his uncle's preferment, suffered him to return to Constantinople, where he was immediately honoured with the title of nobilissimus, and, upon the death of Vitalianus, raised to the chief command of the army^o. Some authors maintain, that Justin, at the request of the senate, took him for his partner in the empire; whereas others pretend, that the senate was awed by threats and menaces. Be that as it may, it is certain, that Justinian was this year declared emperor; and, upon his entering the circus with the purple, and other ensigns of the imperial dignity, the populace received him with loud acclamations: he was then, as Zonaras observes, in the forty-fifth year of his age.

Justin dies.

The emperor Justin died about four months after, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, after having reigned nine years, one month, and some days. His death is generally ascribed to a wound received in battle many years before. He could neither read nor write, having been employed by his parents in keeping cattle, till he listed in the army; but was nevertheless a man of extraordinary penetration, and uncommon address, in the management of the most difficult affairs, well skilled in the art of war, and in every respect equal to the high station to which he was raised.

*His cha-
racter.*

*What gave
rise to the
Persian
war.*

Justinian, now sole master of the empire, made it his first and chief business to secure the frontiers towards Persia. With this view he ordered Belisarius, commander of the troops in Daras, to erect a fort in the neighbourhood of Mindon, which might be a curb upon the Persians, and prevent them from attacking the empire on that side. Belisarius had no sooner began the work, than Cabades, who still reigned in Persia, after having attempted in vain, by threats and menaces, to divert him from it, dispatched a body of troops against him. On the other hand, Justinian ordered the two brothers, Curtzes and Buzes, who commanded the troops quartered in the neighbourhood of Mount Libanus, to join Belisarius. Notwithstanding this reinforcement, the Romans, in the battle which ensued, were totally defeated, and great numbers of them taken prisoners, and, among the rest, Curtzes, to whose rash and imprudent conduct the defeat was chiefly owing. After this victory, the Persians, finding the fort abandoned by the Romans, levelled it with the ground^p. War being thus

*The Ro-
mans de-
feated,*

^o Vide Not. Alam. in Procop. Secret. Hist. Pers. cap. 13.

^p Procop. Bell.
declared,

declared, Justinian appointed Belisarius general of the East, ordering him to make an inroad into Persia. Perozes, the Persian general, met him at the head of a very numerous and powerful army in the neighbourhood of Daras; and a battle ensuing, the Persians were defeated, with the loss of five thousand men. As the Persians fled in great confusion, the Romans would, in all likelihood, have cut most of them in pieces, had not Belisarius, apprehending they might rally, and return to the charge, sounded a retreat ¹.

and the Persians in their turn by Belisarius,

The like success attended the Roman arms in Armenia, where Mermeroes, who commanded another army, consisting of Persarmenians, Sunites, and Hunns, was surprised and defeated by Dorotheus, the Roman governor of Armenia, and Sittas, general of the forces quartered in that province. Mermeroes being repulsed, the Romans reduced several strong places in Persarmenia, and, among the rest, Pharangium, which commanded the royal mines, and was delivered to them by one Simeon. About this time Narses and Aratius, two brothers, who, in the latter part of Justin's reign, had commanded the Persian army in Armenia, and gained some advantages over Belisarius and Sittas, as we have already related, revolting from the Persians, joined the Romans, who were now masters of the greatest part of Persarmenia, their native country. Narses, the emperor's questor in those parts, who was likewise a Persarmenian, received them with extraordinary marks of kindness and esteem, making them rich presents in the emperor's name; which encouraged their younger brother Isaac to follow their example, after having held a private correspondence with the Romans, till he found an opportunity of putting them in possession of a strong fort in the territory of Theodosiopolis, named Bolus. Justinian, notwithstanding the advantages gained by his troops in Mesopotamia and Armenia, dispatched ambassadors to Cabades, with proposals for an accommodation; but the treaty being soon broken off, the Persians, early in the spring, invaded the Roman territories under the command of Azarethes. He was joined by an incredible number of Saracens, commanded by Alamundarus their king, who, being a person of great experience, and well acquainted with the country, advised the Persians to invade the Roman territories, not by the way of Mesopotamia and Osrhoene, but to march directly into Syria; which country they might ravage, and plunder Antioch itself, before the army in Mesopotamia could receive the least intelligence of their motions.

and by Dorotheus, a Persarmenia.

Narses and Aratius revolt to the Romans.

Yr. of Fl.
2877.
A. D. 539.
U. C. 1377.

The Persians, attempting to break into Syria, are prevented by Belisarius.

The Persian generals approving the scheme, the army began to move; but Belisarius, apprised of their design, hastened with a strong detachment to the frontiers of Syria, where the Persians finding him, to their great surprize, ready to dispute their passage, they resolved to proceed no farther, but retire, thinking it was dangerous to hazard a battle. On the other hand, Belisarius judging it imprudent to provoke a flying enemy, far superior in numbers, was for suffering them to retire unmolested; but his army upbraiding him with cowardice, he led them on against the enemy, by whom, after a most obstinate dispute, they were routed, Belisarius, with a small body of horse, who were ashamed to forsake him, keeping the field, and by his resolution preventing the enemy from pursuing the fugitives. Next day the Persians, who had lost in the engagement the flower of their army, not daring to venture a second battle, retired in good order, the Romans who were greatly weakened by their defeat, not being able to attack them. The following year, Justinian being desirous of concluding a peace with the Persians, that he might be at leisure to oppose the Vandals, and reunite to the empire the many rich provinces they had seized, dispatched Hermogenes to the king of Persia, with very equitable proposals. But Cabades, instead of accepting them, sent early in the spring another army into Mesopotamia, under the command of Chananarages, Aspendes, and Mermereos, who, after having ravaged the country, invested Martyropolis, a city about thirty miles north of Amida, on the river Nymphius, which parted the Persian and Roman dominions. The place was not in a condition to maintain a siege, being destitute both of soldiers and provisions. The emperor had recalled Belisarius, to consult with him about a war with the Vandals, on which he was chiefly bent; and Sittas, who had succeeded him in the command of the troops in the East, had not sufficient strength to attempt the relief of the place.

Yr. of Fl.
2878.
A. D. 531.
U. C. 1378.

The Persians besiege Martyropolis.

While affairs were thus circumstanced, the emperor was informed, that a numerous army of Massagetes was marching into Persia, with a design to invade the Roman dominions. This intelligence Justinian turned to great advantage, by persuading the Persian deserter, who brought it, to spread a report in the army before Martyropolis, that the Massagetes were in the Roman pay, and their real design was to fall upon the Persians, and raise the siege. This report, with the news that were soon after brought of the death of Cabades, inclined the Persian generals to attend

to the overtures that were made by Sittas and Hermogenes, with whom they first concluded a truce, retiring from before Martyropolis, and soon after a peace, upon the following terms: 1. That the Roman emperor should pay to Cophoes, who had succeeded his father Cabades, a thousand pounds weight of gold. 2. That both princes should restore the places they had taken during the war. 3. That the commander of the Roman forces in Mesopotamia should no longer reside at Daras, but at Constantina. 4. That the Iberians, who had joined the Romans, should be at liberty to return to their own country, or stay at Constantinople *. Upon these terms the Romans and Persians concluded an eternal peace, as it was styled, in 532, the sixth year of Justinian's reign, which, as it was without consuls, as the preceding year had been, is thus marked in the fasti; the second year after the consulship of Lampadius and Orestes. About this time happened at Constantinople the greatest tumult we find in history. It began amongst the different factions in the circus, but ended in an open rebellion; the multitude, highly dissatisfied with the conduct of John the præfectus prætorio, and of Trebonianus then quæstor, forcing Hypatius, nephew to the emperor Anastasius, to accept the empire, and proclaiming him with great solemnity in the forum. As these ministers were greatly abhorred by the people, on account of their avarice, the emperor immediately discharged them, hoping, by that expedient, to appease the tumult; but the populace growing more outrageous, and most of the senators joining the rebellious multitude, the emperor, alarmed and dispirited, would have abandoned the city, and made his escape by sea, had not the empress Theodora, with heroic courage, persuaded him to part with his life, rather than with the empire, by seasonably reminding him of the old saying, How glorious a sepulchre is a kingdom. Justinian, thus encouraged, resolved to continue in the palace, and, with the assistance of the few senators, who had not yet abandoned him, defend it to the last extremity. In the mean time the rebels, having attempted in vain to force the gates, carried Hypatius in triumph to the circus; where, while he was beholding the sports from the imperial throne, among the shouts and acclamations of the people, Belisarius, who had been recalled from Persia, entering the city with a considerable body of troops under his com-

*A perpetual
peace con-
cluded be-
tween the
Romans
and Per-
sians.*

*A great tu-
mult at
Constan-
tinople.*

*The manly
courage of
the empress
Theodora.*

* Evag. lib. iii. cap. 38. Agath. lib. iv. cap. 13. Niceph. lib. xvii. cap. 10. Theoph. ad Ann. Jul. 5, 6. Cedren. p. 366. Hist. Miscell. lib. xvi. Procop. Bell. Pers. ibid.

*The tumult
quelled,
with the
loss of
thirty
thousand
persons.*

mind, and apprised of the usurpation, fell sword in hand upon the disarmed multitude, and being seasonably joined by Mundus, governor of Illyricum, at the head of a band of Heruli, cut above thirty thousand of them in pieces, He took Hypatius, the usurper, and Pompeius, another of the nephews of Anastasius, prisoners, and carried them to the emperor, by whose orders they were beheaded, and their bodies cast into the sea. Their estates were confiscated, and likewise the estates of those senators who had joined them; but the emperor ordered great part of their lands and effects to be afterwards restored, together with their honours and dignities, to their children¹ (F).

The tumult being appeased, and a peace concluded with the king of Persia, the emperor applied his thoughts wholly to the war in Africa, which he had been long determined on. This, and the other carried on against the Goths in Italy, lasted from 433, to 541, a year remarkable for the triumphant return of Belisarius to Constantinople, and no less on account of its being the last that is marked by consuls. During the war with the Goths in Italy, the Hunns passed the Danube, and entering Illyricum, desolated the whole country, took above thirty-two castles, destroyed Cassandria, and returned home unmolested, carrying with them an immense booty, and a hundred and twenty thousand captives. At the same time the Armenians, shaking off the Roman yoke, gained some advantages over the emperor's forces in that province; which, with a groundless report spread abroad, that the emperor growing jealous of Belisarius, would no longer trust him with the command of his armies, encouraged Cosrhoes to invade the Roman dominions with a very powerful army, in violation of the treaty solemnly concluded a few years before. Buzes, who commanded in the East, instead of assembling his forces, and providing for the defence of the provinces, suddenly disappeared, and retired no one knew whither, leaving the enemy at liberty to plunder the country at their pleasure.

*Cosrhoes
invades the
Roman do-
minions.*

As Cosrhoes met with no opposition, he directed his march to Syria. Having taken and plundered Beroea, Hie-

¹ Procop. Bell. Pers. lib. i. p. 265.

(F) Marcellinus supposes that this tumult was raised by Hypatius, Pompeius, and Probus, all three nephews to the emperor Anastasius, each of them setting up for himself; by which means the city was rent into factions, an incredible number of citizens was murdered, and many stately buildings laid in ashes (1).

(1) Marc. Chron.

ropolis, and several other cities, he besieged Antioch itself, which he soon reduced, and gave up to be plundered by his soldiers, who, without distinction of age or sex, put all they met to the sword. The king himself seized on all the gold and silver vessels belonging to the great church; caused all the valuable statues, pictures, and other pieces of art, to be conveyed into Persia; and having thus stripped the proud metropolis of the East of all its wealth and ornaments, he ordered his men to set fire to it, and lay it in ashes; which was done accordingly, none of the buildings, even without the walls, being spared by the outrageous and insulting enemy. Thus perished the most wealthy, beautiful, and populous city of the East. The inhabitants who escaped the common slaughter, and afterwards fell into the enemy's hands, were carried into captivity, and sold in Persia to the highest bidder. Justinian, upon the first news of the Persians entering the Roman territories, had dispatched ambassadors to Cosroes, to remind him of the articles of the treaty concluded a few years before. The king alleged several frivolous pretences for the hostilities he had committed, in order to lay the whole blame on Justinian; but after he had wasted Syria, and enriched himself and his army with the spoils of that province, and its wealthy metropolis, he began to listen to an accommodation; and accordingly a peace was concluded on the following terms: 1. That the Romans should, within two months, pay to the Persian king five thousand pounds weight of gold, and an annual pension of five hundred. 2. That the Persians should relinquish all claim to Daras, and maintain a body of troops to guard the Caspian gates, and prevent the Barbarians from breaking into the empire. 3. That, upon the payment of the above mentioned sum, Cosroes should immediately withdraw his troops from the Roman territories.

The treaty being signed, and the stipulated sum paid, Cosroes began to march back; but in his retreat plundered, as if the war had still continued, the cities of Apamea and Chalcis; and crossing the Euphrates, laid waste Mesopotamia, carrying with him an immense booty, and an incredible number of captives. Justinian convinced, that no treaties were binding with Cosroes, resolved to pursue the war with the utmost vigour; and, with that design, sent for Belisarius, then employed against the Goths in Italy; and, upon his arrival at Constantinople, appointed him general against the Persians. While that brave commander

Yr. of Fl.
2827.
A. D. 540.
U. C. 1387.

Antioch besieged,
and laid
in ashes.

A peace
concluded
with the
king of
Persia;

who nevertheless
ravages
Mesopotamia.

* Procop. Bell. Pers. lib. ii. cap. 12. Evag. Agath. ibid.

Yr. of Fl.
590.
A. D. 543.
U. C. 1390.

The Lazians revolt to the Persians.

was making the necessary preparations to take the field early in the spring of the ensuing year 542, the Lazians, no longer able to bear the arbitrary and tyrannical conduct of the commander of the Roman troops in that country, revolted to the Persians, and delivered up all their castles and strong-holds. Lazica, formerly part of Colchis, lay between the Euxine and Caspian seas, and was governed by its own kings, who were under the protection of the Roman emperor, and received the ensigns of royalty at his hands. Their present king's name was Gubazes, who had served the Romans with great fidelity, and continued attached to their interest, till Joannes Tzibus, commander of the Roman troops quartered in his dominions to awe the neighbouring Iberians, by erecting a fort, to curb the Lazians, and exacting exorbitant contributions for the payment of his soldiers, forced, in some measure, both the prince and his subjects, though otherwise well affected to the empire, to have recourse to the king of Persia, who, upon the first invitation, entered their country, and, being assisted by the natives, expelled the Romans, and placed everywhere Persian garrisons *.

Belisarius enters Persia, and ravages Assyria.

In the mean time Belisarius, not apprised of the revolt of the Lazians, entered Persia at the head of a powerful army; and, having made himself master of a fortress called Sisibranum, ravaged Assyria; but was obliged, by the violent heats, and the distempers that began to rage in his army, to return, before the end of the summer, into the Roman dominions. Cosrholes was no sooner informed of the invasion of Belisarius, than, quitting Lazica, he hastened into Assyria; but, being informed on his march, that the Romans had retired, he put his army into winter-quarters, and withdrew to Ctesiphon †. The spring following, he again invaded the Roman territories, pursuing his march through Comagene, with a design to enter Palæstine, and enrich himself with the spoils of that fertile and wealthy province. Belisarius, who had returned to Constantinople, upon the first news of this invasion, flew to Europus on the Euphrates, and there collected a body of forces, some time after Cosrholes had passed that river; a motion which so alarmed the Persian king, dreading an enemy at his back, that he dropt his intended expedition into Palæstine, and returned to his own dominions, before Belisarius was in a condition to cut off his retreat. The emperor being soon after obliged to recall Belisarius, and send him into Italy, where the Goths had gained great ad-

Cosrholes attempts to invade Palæstine;

but, dreading Belisarius, drops that enterprise.

* Procop. lib. ii. cap. 15, 29.

† Idem ibid.

vantages over the Romans, Cosroes resolved once more to invade the Roman territories, notwithstanding the dreadful plague that raged in Persia, being encouraged by the magi, and a shameful overthrow of thirty thousand Romans, who, attempting to break into Persarmenia, had been defeated by four thousand Persians. Upon this success he invaded Mesopotamia, and invested Edessa; but, not being able to reduce the place, after several unsuccessful attempts, he agreed to raise the siege, and soon after concluded a truce for five years, upon the emperor's paying him two thousand pounds weight of gold, and sending him a celebrated physician, named Tribunus, who had formerly cured him of a dangerous distemper. Not long after the conclusion of the truce, Cosroes, observing the Lazians displeased with their late change, and apprehending they would soon revolt from him to the Romans, resolved to prevent a second revolution, by causing Gubazes their king to be murdered, by transplanting the natives into Persia, and peopling the country, which opened him a passage into the Euxine sea, with Persians, and other nations well affected to his interest.

But his design being discovered to Gubazes, by those who were employed to put it in execution, that prince had recourse, in the most submissive manner imaginable, to Justinian, who, forgetting his past conduct, received him again under his protection, and immediately dispatched eight thousand men, under the command of Dagistæus, to his assistance. This general, being joined by a numerous body of Lazians, laid siege to Petra, one of the strongest cities in Lazica, defended by a Persian garrison, and stored with all manner of provisions. Cosroes, alarmed at this sudden revolution, sent a powerful army, under the conduct of Mermeroes, to the relief of the place. At their approach, Dagistæus, who was a young unexperienced officer, abandoning his camp and baggage, fled in the utmost consternation towards the Phasis. Upon his retreat, Mermeroes advanced to Petra, the garrison of which place, consisting at first of fifteen hundred men, was now reduced to three hundred and fifty, of whom an hundred and fifty were disabled, and unfit for service. Mermeroes repaired with great expedition the breaches in the walls, garrisoned the place with three thousand men, and returned with the rest of his army into Persarmenia, not thinking it safe to continue in Lazica, whither, he was informed, fresh forces were marching, under the conduct of Recithangus, a Thracian,

The Lazians revolt to the Romans.

The Romans obliged to raise the siege of Petra.

The Persians put to flight.

who had served in the army from his childhood, and was deemed one of the best commanders of his age. At his departure, he left a body of five thousand men encamped on the banks of the Phasis, to watch the motions of the Romans and Lazians. Of these Gubazes and Dagistæus surprised one thousand, as they were straggling in quest of booty; and, having cut them off to a man, fell unexpectedly, in the dead of the night, upon the main body, put most of them to the sword, and obliged the rest to save themselves by a precipitate flight. The Romans made themselves masters of their camp, in which, besides their ensigns and baggage, they found a great quantity of arms, and a considerable number of mules and horses. They pursued the fugitives to the confines of Iberia; intercepted several other parties that were conveying provisions into Petra; and, having blocked up all the avenues leading to the place, returned with their booty and captives.

The Persians utterly defeated.

Cosrhoes was no sooner informed of this overthrow, than he dispatched Corianes, with an army of Alans as well as Persians, into Lazica. But Corianes was attended with no better success than the other Persian generals; for, being opposed on the banks of the Hippus in Colchis by Gubazes and Dagistæus, his army was, after a most obstinate dispute, totally defeated, and himself slain^z. These advantages were chiefly owing to the courage and conduct of Gubazes, at whose request Dagistæus, who had shamefully abandoned the siege of Petra, was recalled, and Bessas, an officer of great experience, appointed to command in his room. He immediately invested Petra, and, in the end, reduced that important place, though defended by the Persian garrison with such obstinacy, as favoured of madness and despair. Bessas ordered Petra to be dismantled; and, leaving three thousand in Archæopolis the capital, and nine thousand encamped on the banks of the Phasis, under the command of Odonachus, he retired with the rest into Armenia, his own government. Upon his retreat, Mermeroes entered Lazica; and, having first obliged Odonachus to retreat into the Roman territories, he laid siege to Archæopolis, which however he was forced to raise, having, in several assaults, been repulsed with great loss by the garrison.

Yr. of Fl.
2892.
A. D. 345.
U. C. 1392.

Petra taken by the Romans.

Yr. of Fl.
2897.
A. D. 350.
U. C. 1397.

A truce between the Romans and Persians.

Notwithstanding these hostilities, the Persian ambassadors, who had been sent to Constantinople the preceding year, continued in that city; and, soon after the reduction of Petra, concluded a five years truce with the emperor, upon his paying to the Persian king an immense sum, which

^z Evag. lib. iv. cap. 25, 26. Procop. lib. ii. cap. 30.

raised great complaints among the people, who were rather for pursuing the war, than submitting to pay a tribute to the king of Persia^a. But Justinian was glad to come to an agreement with the Persians upon any terms, that he might not be diverted from pursuing the advantages he had gained over the Goths in Italy; of which we shall speak in a more proper place. The truce was no sooner expired, than the Persians, invading Lazica, took by stratagem the strong castle of Telephis; and then attacking the Roman army, which lay encamped at a small distance, defeated them at the first onset. Gubazes king of Lazica, provoked at the cowardice of the Roman generals, acquainted the emperor with their shameful behaviour; a complaint which incensed them to such a degree, that they conspired to dispatch him: accordingly, having accused him at court of treachery, as if he privately corresponded with the Persians, by wresting the instructions sent them by the emperor, they murdered him, pretending, that he designed to betray them, and deliver all the Romans into the hands of the Persians. The Lazians, incensed against the authors of his death, would have revolted from the Romans, and joined the Persians, had not Justinian appeased them, by causing all those who were accessary to the murder to be publicly executed, and the deceased king's brother to be immediately proclaimed in his room.

The king of Lazica barbarously murdered by the Romans.

In the mean time the Persians, to the number of sixty thousand men, advanced, under the command of Nachoragan, into Lazica, and besieged Phasis; but Justin, who commanded the Roman troops, cut twelve thousand of his men in pieces, and obliged the rest, with their general, to save themselves within the Persian dominions. This defeat so intimidated Cosrhoes, that he immediately sued for peace, which was accordingly concluded upon terms equally honourable to both princes^b. The public rejoicings for the peace with Persia, after such a long and destructive war, were disturbed by a dreadful earthquake, which continued for several days, and overturned a great many stately edifices, and several churches, in which perished an incredible number of people, who had crowded to them during the public confusion. About the same time the plague, which had raged a few years before with great fury all over the empire, broke out again at Constantinople. The same year 558, the Hunns, passing the Danube in the depth of winter, marched in two bodies directly for Constantinople,

The Persians defeated.

Yr. of Fl. 2906. A. D. 558. U. C. 1405.

A peace concluded.

The Hunns break into Thrace.

^a Procop. lib. ii. cap. 17. 28, 29.

^b Idem, cap. 17. 72, 25. & Bell. Goth. lib. iv. cap. 8, 9. Agath. lib. iii. p. 81—90.

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*Are put to
flight by
Belisarius.*

and, laying waste the countries through which they passed advanced, without meeting with the least opposition, within an hundred and fifty furlongs of the city. But Belisarius though now weakened by age to such a degree, that he was scarce able to hold a shield, or brandish a sword marching out against them with a handful of men, put them to flight, and delivered both the emperor and the city from the dangers with which they were threatened. However, the emperor, to prevent them from breaking anew into the Roman dominions, agreed to pay them an annua pension, upon their stipulating to defend the empire against all other Barbarians, and to serve, when required, in the Roman armies.

Yr. of Fl.
296.
A.D. 559.
U.C. 1406.

*Belisarius
disgraced.*

This was the last exploit performed by Belisarius, who, upon his return to Constantinople, was disgraced, stript of all his employments, and confined to his house. Agathias ascribes his disgrace to the malice of his enemies at court, who, envying him the great reputation he had deservedly acquired, and the favour he was in with the people, persuaded the emperor, whose jealousy increased with his years, that Belisarius aspired at the sovereignty; that the people, who preferred him to the most renowned heroes of antiquity, were all to a man ready to second him in his ambitious views; and that the soldiery were still more attached to him than the people. Upon these malicious and groundless insinuations, the emperor, forgetting the past services of the most deserving of all his subjects, of one who had been the bulwark of the empire, and the restorer of the ancient military discipline, recalled him, according to Agathias, without suffering him to pursue his late victory over the Huns; and, upon his arrival at Constantinople, which he deserved to enter in triumph, confined him to his house, after having, with the utmost ingratitude, divested him of all his authority, honours, and employments^c (C).

Yr. of Fl.
2912.
A.D. 565.
U.C. 1412.

About this time, three of the emperor's chief officers, Ablavius, Marcellus, and Sergius, conspired against him, upon what provocation we know not; but the plot being discovered by some persons, whom Ablavius had attempted

^c Agath. Hist. Justin. cap. 9.

(C) The more modern writers pretend, that Justinian caused his eyes to be put out, and reduced him to such poverty, that he was forced to beg from door to door in the streets of Constantinople. But the ancient

authors assure us, that, the year following, the emperor, fully convinced of his innocence, restored him to all his employments, which he enjoyed, without any farther disgrace, to his death.

to engage in it, the conspirators were seized before they could put their design in execution. Marcellus, after having defended himself with great resolution against the officers who were sent to arrest him, stabbed himself with his own sword. Ablavius and Sergius were publicly executed, and the rest of the conspirators banished ^d. The emperor escaped the conspiracy, but did not long outlive it, being soon after carried off by a natural, but sudden death, in the thirty-ninth year of his reign. His public works, the wars which were in his reign carried on, with surprising success, by his two renowned generals Belisarius and Narses, and the new form which he gave to the Roman jurisprudence, have deservedly procured him the surname of Great. Of his public buildings the reader will find a distinct account in Procopius, who assures us, that there was scarce a city in his dominions, in which he did not erect some stately edifice; nor a province, wherein he did not build or repair some city, fort, or castle ^e. In war he recovered, and reunited to the empire, Africa and Italy, after they had been long held, the former by the Vandals, and the latter by the Goths, as we shall relate in the history of those two nations. In peace he signalized his reign by many excellent laws, but chiefly by the famous code, called from him the Justinian Code.

A conspiracy
against
Justinian.

Yr. of Fl.
2913.
A. D. 566.
U. C. 1413.

Justinian
dies.

His code.

In the beginning of his reign he published an edict, directed to the senate of Constantinople, for compiling a new code. For this work he chose the most famous and learned men of his age, at the head of whom was the celebrated civilian Trebonianus, who were to collect into one volume all the constitutions contained in the Gregorian, Hermogenian, and Theodosian codes, and add to them such as had been published by Theodosius the younger, and the other lawful emperors his successors, down to his own reign. Whatever in these laws seemed superfluous was to be retrenched, with the prefaces; their sense and meaning was to be rendered more clear; and the names of the princes who published them, the place, the time, and the persons to whom they were directed, to be prefixed to each constitution. In this form and method was the new code compiled in little more than a year; so that it was published in the beginning of the third year of Justinian's reign, with an edict, commanding that code alone to be quoted by pleaders at the bar, and declaring all laws that were not contained in it to be of no force or authority. It was divided into twelve books, and contained the constitutions of

^d Procop. Hist. Secr. cap. 13.

^e Idem, de Ædific.

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fifty-four emperors, from Adrian to Justinian; whereas the Theodosian code began with Constantine the Great.

Justinian, not satisfied with the code alone, undertook soon after a more noble, and much more difficult work; which was to collect, and digest into order, the opinions and answers of all the celebrated civilians, their remarks and comments on the Roman laws, especially on the *edictum perpetuum*, and their different treatises; in all above two thousand volumes. This difficult task was completed in the space of three years by Trebonianus, and sixteen other able civilians, and called by the Latins *Digesta*, because the opinions of the ancient civilians were there digested into order; and by the Greeks *Pandectæ*, as containing all the ancient jurisprudence. When this great work was near completed, Justinian ordered Trebonianus, Theophilus, and Dorodeus to compile, for the benefit of the youth, the *Institutes*, or first principles of the law, which were published about a month before the *Pandectæ* ^f. As many things were found to be wanting in the code, and Justinian himself had, after the publication of it, enacted several laws, in the eighth year of his reign he ordered a second code to be made, in which were inserted all the constitutions, about two hundred in number, which he had enacted since the publication of the first, and several others contained in the former code, either corrected or annulled. This second code, styled *De Repetita Prælectione*, was published five years after the first, and at the same time a decree, declaring the first to be of no force, and forbidding any constitutions or laws to be quoted in the courts of justice, that were not contained in the new code *De Repetita Prælectione* ^g. Thus was the first code, in a manner, abolished, and all authority given to the second, which has reached our times, divided into twelve books, and seven hundred and seventy-six articles, containing the constitutions of fifty-four emperors, from Adrian to Justinian. After the publication of the *Institutes*, *Pandectæ*, and *Code*, Justinian enacted several laws, which were joined together in a distinct volume, called the *Novellæ Constitutiones*. These were published from time to time by Justinian, not in the Latin, excepting some few, but in the Greek tongue, and collected into one volume after his death ^h. Justinian is not only commended for his indefatigable care in reforming the Roman jurisprudence, but for his piety, prudence, justice, cle-

His Pandectæ.

His Institutes.

His code De Repetita Prælectione.

His Novellæ.

^f Vide Balduin. in Justinian. p. 497. Ritterf. in Jure Justin. in Proœm. cap. 1. num. 4. Edmund. Meril. ad 50. Decif. Justin. ^g Balduin. in Justinian. p. 497. Ritters. in Jure Justin. in Proœm. cap. 1. num. 4. ^h Cujac. lib. viii. Obs. cap. ult.

mency, and every virtue becoming a person in his high station. As for the secret history, filled with most bitter invectives against Justinian and the empress Theodora, it is, by the ablest critics, looked upon not as the work of Procopius, but as a scandalous libel imputed to that writer. It is true, he loaded the people with heavy taxes; but the money thus raised was neither hoarded up by him, nor applied to the gratification of any unlawful passion, but employed in paying his numerous forces; in carrying on the many wars in which he was engaged; in repairing the public buildings, and embellishing the cities of the empire with stately edifices. In the latter part of his reign, he seemed to countenance the Eutychians, no doubt at the instigation of the empress Theodora, who espoused their doctrine; a circumstance which has given occasion to many bitter invectives against her memory. Justinian may deservedly be called the last Roman emperor; for in his reign the majesty of the empire seemed to revive, but soon vanished again, as we shall see in the sequel of the present history.

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